

*Labor Omnia Vincit*

---

# REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL  
CONVENTION

OF

# THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

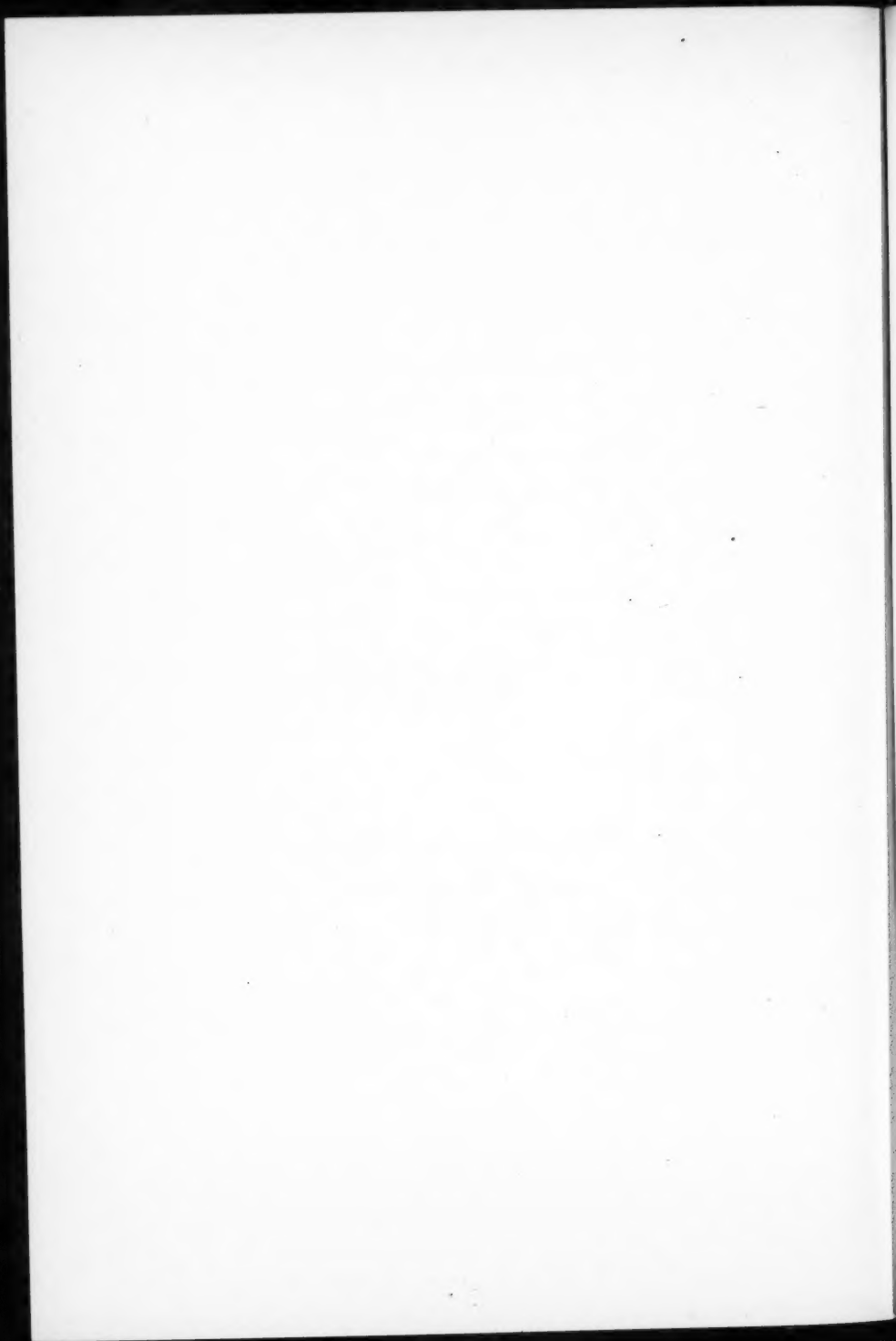
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

1915





# OFFICERS

## OF THE

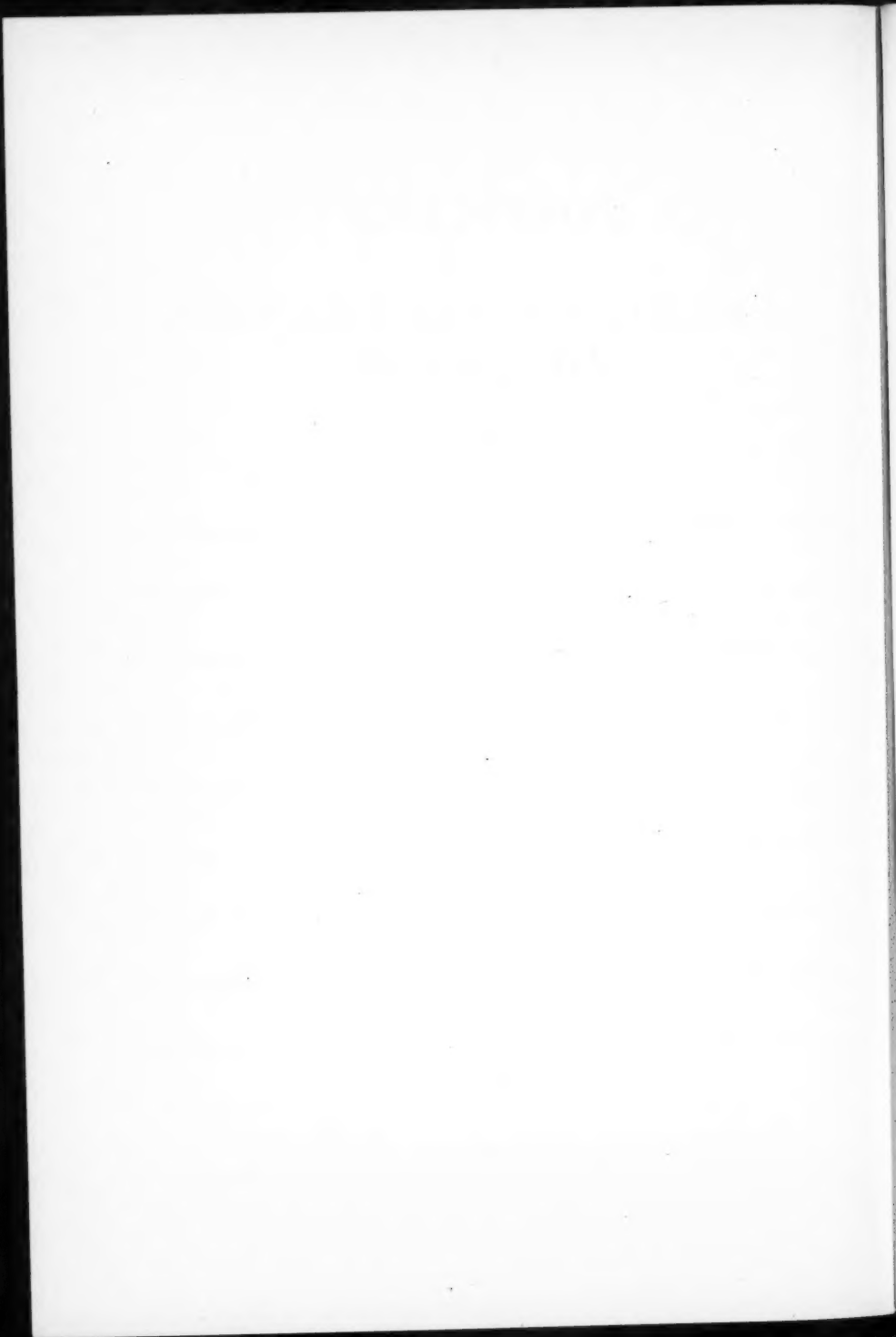
# AMERICAN FEDERATION

# OF LABOR

## 1916

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<i>President,</i>	
SAMUEL GOMPERS	- Washington, D. C.
<i>First Vice-President,</i>	
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<i>Secretary,</i>	
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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	10	Jos. A. Mullaney, 15 Eleventh st., Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	53	A. A. Myrup, 212 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		53	J. Goldstone, 68 McKibben st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		52	R. C. Schneider, 29 Oakland st., Salem, Mass.
		69	Frank X. Noschang, P. O. Box 397, Albany, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	68	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		68	C. M. Feider, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
		68	C. F. Foley, 420 N. Second st., Pottsville, Pa.
		68	Jas. C. Shanessy, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	14	Geo. Abernathy, 1711 Suburban ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	29	James W. Kline, 1270-1285 Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		28	J. M. Tobin, 1424 Jackson st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		28	Wm. F. Kramer, 1270-1285 Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of.....	4	44	J. A. Franklin, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kansas.
		43	A. Hinzman, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kansas.
		43	M. J. McGuire, 288 Guerro st., San Francisco, Cal.
		43	Chas. MacGowan, Seventh st., Silvis, Ill.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	29	A. P. Sovey, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		28	John J. O'Brien, 1236 Valencia st., San Francisco, Cal.
		28	Joseph Collins, 1455 Twelfth ave., San Francisco, Cal.
		72	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	71	John H. Tobin, 5 Cottage st., E. Weymouth, Mass.
		71	Thomas O'Hare, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		71	Chas. H. McKenna, 304 North St., New Bedford, Mass.
		71	J. Thomas Beasley, 64 Hancock st., Dorchester, Mass.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United.....	5	104	Joseph Proebstle, 521 Riddle Road, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		104	Albert J. Kugler, 135 Wegman Place, Jersey City, N. J.
		104	John Rader, 2430 Maplewood ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		104	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York City.
		104	Joseph Obergfell, 2347-51 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Brick Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International.....	1	29	Frank Butterworth, 2341 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
		34	Jos. E. McClory, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of.....	3	33	J. D. Barnes, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		33	Sam Tobin, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		280	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		280	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		280	John A. Metz, 73 W. Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	7	279	A. J. Howlett, 30 Hanover st., Boston, Mass.
		279	P. H. McCarthy, 810 Merchants Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal.
		279	D. A. Post, 416 S. Main st., Wilkes barre, Pa.
		279	A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carriage and Wagon Workers of North America, International Union of.....	1	38	William MacPherson, 6337 Throop st., Chicago, Ill.
		79	G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
		79	Samuel Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	5	79	Thos. F. Tracy, 708 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		79	J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. Tenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		78	Phil H. Mueller, 615 Chestnut st., St. Louis, Mo.
		50	F. J. Kiernan, 21 Inwood st., Dorchester, Mass.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	50	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		50	Wm. Christman, 1163 Wheeling ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United.....	1	30	Max Zuckerman, 16-20 Seventh st., New York City.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, The.....	1	10	E. B. Boyden, care The Bulletin, San Francisco, Cal.
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.....	1	12	Edward Gurney, 2409 Snyder ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	39	Frank A. Scoby, 755 E. Seventh st., Red Wing, Minn.
		73	F. J. McNulty, 408 Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		73	Samuel Grimblot, 336 Sherman st., Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	72	T. A. Singer, 3718 Grand ave., Chicago, Ill.
		72	Charles P. Ford, 408 Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		72	F. J. Sweek, 30 S. Michigan ave., Battle Creek, Mich.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	27	Frank Feeney, 708 S. Fifty-second st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		53	Matt Comerford, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
		53	James G. Hannahan, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	52	John J. Glass, Lafayette High School, Buffalo, N. Y.
		52	R. G. Moser, W. Thirty-eighth ave. and Meade st., Denver, Colo.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	4	40 40 40 40 85 85	Timothy Healy, 211 E. Forty-fifth st., New York City. C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. Twenty-fourth st., Omaha, Nebr. Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill. William J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J. T. A. Rickert, Room 406, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill. B. A. Larger, 116 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	84 84 84	Maier Schwarz, 21 Milk st., Cincinnati, Ohio. Victor Altman, 750 Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y. Margaret C. Daley, 2513 Surf ave., Coney Island, L. I., N. Y.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	2	327 326	Benjamin Schiesinger, 32 Union Square, New York City. Solomon Polakoff, 43 E. Twenty-first st., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.....	3	34 33 33	D. A. Hayes, 930-932 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa. Robert Baxter, Mount Winans, Baltimore County, Md. William W. Campbell, 423 Plymouth ave., Rochester, N. Y.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	2	47 47	T. W. Rowe, 738-46 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio. Wm. F. Clarke, 738-46 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1	10	Thomas J. Mahoney, 4173 Twenty-sixth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Granite Cutters, International Association of America, The.....	3	45 45 45	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass. James Garvey, Milford, Mass. James Smart, 4 Glenwood ave., Barre, Vt.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	29 28 28	Martin Lawlor, 72-73 Bible House, New York City. Michael F. Greene, 52 Freeman st., Orange, N. J. John O'Hara, 251 Main st., Danbury, Conn.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	4	80 80 80 79	Domenick D'Alessandro, 82 State st., Albany, N. Y. J. B. Etchison, 440 1/2 Indiana ave., Indianapolis, Ind. Joseph V. Mareschi, 814 W. Harrison st., Chicago, Ill. Alfonso D'Andrea, 820 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
Horseshoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	2	29 28	Hubert S. Marshall, 809 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Patrick F. Ryan, 6428 S. Carpenter st., Chicago, Ill.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America .....	5	122 121 121 121 121	Edward Flore, 375 Oak st., Buffalo, N. Y. Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Thomas S. Farrell, 310 Prospect ave., S. E., Cleveland, Ohio. Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y. Edmund Raleigh, P. O. Box 893, Springfield, Mass.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	2	33 32	John Williams, Room 506 House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. John J. Sullivan, 4532 Magoun ave., East Chicago, Ind.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	2	30	William J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		30	John T. Taggart, 320 Highland ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union	2	21	James F. Brock, P. O. Box 11, Station 1, Troy, N. Y.
		20	Harry L. Morrison, 683 Third ave., Troy, N. Y.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of.....	1	18	A. Letroadec, 51 Sixth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	1	35	Philip Bock, 699 Chestnut ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		63	T. V. O'Connor, 702 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	63	John Kean, 948 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
		62	A. J. Chlopek, 702 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		62	R. J. Butler, 702 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		144	Wm. H. Johnston, 310 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
		144	J. A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	144	James O'Connell, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		144	A. O. Wharton, Ghio Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		143	Thos. Van Lear, 2395 University ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	1	81	H. Irwin, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, Canada.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	1	61	Homer D. Call, 212 May ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.....	3	34	W. W. Britton, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	George Leary, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard ave., Chicago, Ill.
		45	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	45	Thos. Redding, 5019 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		44	Hugh Frayne, Bartholdi Building, New York City.
		44	Jas. Moriarty, 9 Appleton st., Boston, Mass.
		390	John P. White, 1106 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		390	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
		390	Frank J. Hayes, 1109 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	390	William Green, 1107 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		389	John H. Walker, 304 Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
		389	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		389	Adolph Germer, Mt. Olive, Ill.
		389	John Moore, 77 Ruggery Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		42	P. J. Reardon, care of P. O. Box 473, Anaconda, Mont.
Miners, Western Federation of.....	4	42	James Roberts, Moyie, B. C., Can.
		42	Thomas McManus, Box 11, Goldfield, Nev.
		41	Joseph D. Cannon, 609 Denham Building, Denver, Colo.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
		100	Joseph F. Valentine, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	John P. Frey, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	5	100	R. H. Curran, 107 Hobart st., Rochester, N. Y.
		100	Schuyler Lent, 729 Manhattan ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		100	John F. Dunachie, 300 Leonard st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		200	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	3	200	E. H. Slissman, 68 Haight st., San Francisco, Cal.
		200	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		126	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		126	P. H. Triggs, 218 Walnut st., Springfield, Mass.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	126	Wm. Kemp, 1414 Clinton st., St. Louis, Mo.
		125	J. H. Baker, 459 Flint st., Rochester, N. Y.
		125	T. H. Norris, Granite st., Butte, Mont.
		125	Joseph F. Clark, 3806 S. Twelfth st., Tacoma, Wash.
Papermakers, International Brotherhood.....	1	45	George J. Schneider, 941 State st., Appleton, Wis.
Patternmakers' League of North America.....	2	33	James Wilson, Rooms 1008-9 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		32	James L. Forrest, 738 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	16	Patrick Quinn, 1412 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	35	Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International.....	2	24	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
		24	Henry J. Wessel, 491 Sixteenth ave., San Francisco, Cal.
		46	Edward J. McGivern, Middletown, Ohio.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	46	Charles A. Gunther, 3033 Octavia st., San Francisco, Cal.
		46	John Donlin, 820 W. Twelfth st., Chicago Ill.
		45	James O'Connor, 1053 Saratoga st., E. Boston, Mass.
Plate Printers' Union of America, International Steel and Copper.....	1	13	John J. Deviny, care of Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	4	80	John R. Alpine, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Thos. Kearney, 167 W. Washington st., Room 700, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Rau, 112 W. LaSalle st., Room 37 Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Anderson, 19 Third st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Post Office Clerks, National Federation of.....	1	32	Thos. F. Flaherty, 746 Pacific Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	39	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		39	John P. Duffy, 303 Blakely st., East Liverpool, Ohio.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Printing Pressmen's Union, International.....	4	57 57 57	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. Henry Altman, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. Mervin Lipman, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	56	Dan'l. Murphy, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		36	Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	4	63	D. G. Ramsay, Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.
		62	J. B. Bode, care of B. & M. Ry., Chelsea Station, Boston, Mass.
		62	H. G. Alexander, 122 Tate st., Greensboro, N. C.
Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood.....	3	98	E. Wm. Weeks, 506-7 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		98	E. M. Ware, 309 Conrad st., Palestine, Texas.
		97	W. J. Adames, 508 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of.....	1	50	James F. Riley, 10 Fountain Place, Kansas City, Mo.
		148	W. D. Mahon, 104 E. High st., Detroit, Mich.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	4	147	Rezin Orr, 104 E. High st., Detroit, Mich.
		147	William Taber, 138 N. La Salle st., Room 55, Chicago, Ill.
		147	John T. McGrath, 130 Stone ave., Scranton, Pa.
Railway Postal Clerks, Brotherhood of	1	20	Frank J. Guscetti, 2119 Addison st., Berkeley, Cal.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	1	12	Jeremiah T. Hurley, 413 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
		40	Andrew Furuseth, 57 Clay st., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	4	40	John Carney, P. O. Box 875, Seattle, Wash.
		40	Eugene Steidle, 42 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
		40	I. N. Hylen, Maritime Hall, San Francisco, Cal.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International.....	1	8	W. J. Pettit, LaSalette, Ontario, Canada.
	1	6	J. M. Gavlak, 3643 N. Forty-seventh st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Slate Workers, American Brotherhood of.....	1	3	Pat F. Hanley, Bangor, Pa.
Spinners' International Union.....	1	22	Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman st., Holyoke, Mass.
		45	Charles C. Shay, 107 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance Theatrical.....	4	45	John J. Barry, 75 Albany st., Boston, Mass.
		45	John Suarez, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
		45	L. G. Dolliver, 68 Haight st., San Francisco, Cal.
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of.....	1	27	Thos. J. Dolan, 508-510 Fort Dearborn Building, Chicago, Ill.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	25	James J. Freel, 1839 Eighty-fifth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		24	Charles A. Sumner, 2208 E. Thirtieth st., Kansas City, Mo.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	22	Sam Griggs, 528 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		22	James A. Short, 1245 Farwell ave., Chicago, Ill.



## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Stove Mounters' International Union....	1	11	W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 Jefferson ave., East, Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America....	2	45	Samuel E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	45	Thos. Clohessy, 7207 Peoria st., Chicago, Ill.
		131	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		131	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline st., Boston, Mass.
		131	Michael Casey, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		130	M. E. Decker, Sixteenth and Capp sts., San Francisco, Cal.
Textile Workers of America, United ....	1	189	John Golden, 86-87 Bible House, New York City.
Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	30	Thomas J. Williams, 414 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Timberworkers' International Union....	1	7	J. G. Brown, 202 Maynard Building, Seattle, Wash.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	1	39	E. Lewis Evans, 50-53 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	15	Michael Carraher, 221 Fourth ave., North Pelham, N. Y.
		119	Marsden G. Scott, Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		118	Frank Morrison, 801-809 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International....	5	118	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		118	Hugh Stevenson, 97 Leuty ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		118	T. W. McCullough, 9, The Winona, Omaha, Nebr.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	35	James H. Hatch, 229 E. Sixty-seventh st., New York City.
California State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Hugo Ernst, 14 Seventh st., San Francisco, Cal.
Colorado State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank Spiegl, 2362 Court Place, Denver, Colo.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	S. B. Marks, Comptroller's Office, City Hall, Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Fitzpatrick, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Broden, care of City Clerk's Office, Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. F. Hansen, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. E. Blakeley, 22 S. Commercial st., Emporia, Kans.
Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor.....	1	1	P. J. Ryan, 212 F st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edward S. Alden, 189 High st., Holyoke, Mass.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Chas. E. James, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ford A. Allen, 4009 Woodland ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 531 Diamond st., Butte, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank M. Coffey, Labor Bureau, State Capitol, Lincoln, Nebr.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Joseph Cozzolino, 268 Washington st., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor ..	1	1	Stuart A. Hayward, 788 Seventh st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Patrick F. Casey, 506 Luck ave., Zanesville, Ohio.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fred L. Bourne, 522 E. Thirty-first st., N., Portland, Oreg.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor....	1	1	J. P. Ogletree, care 1311 Sixth ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. O. Gossett, care of City Hall, Fort Worth, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Albert H. Kempton, 525 Ninth ave., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	Chas. R. Case, 1518 Sixteenth ave., N., Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry P. Corcoran, care 610 Ohio ave., Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Herb. R. Schneider, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Astoria (Oreg.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	H. M. Lorntsen, Box 138, Astoria, Oreg.
Atlanta (Ga.) Federation of Trades .....	1	1	J. A. Alley, 500 Greenferry ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Bakersfield (Cal.) Kern County Labor Council.....	1	1	W. W. Harris, care of Labor Journal, Bakersfield, Cal.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor	1	1	John H. Ferguson, 2715 Jefferson st., Baltimore, Md.
Billings (Mont.) Yellowstone County, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. P. McGinley, Billings, Mont.
Bloomington (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
Boise (Idaho) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Geo. A. Warden, Boise, Idaho.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union....	1	1	Harry P. Jennings, 41 Thomas Park, S. Boston, Mass.
Butte (Mont.) Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	O. M. Partelow, 405 N. Montana st., Butte, Mont.
Calumet (Ill.) Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7267 Coles ave., Chicago, Ill.
Chelsea (Mass.) Central Labor Union....	1	1	Henry Abrahams, 987 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. F. Neary, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank L. Rist, 1311 Walnut st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. Wayne Hart, 502 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
El Paso (Texas) Central Labor Union....	1	1	Wm. Sachs, care 209 San Antonio st., El Paso, Tex.
Fresno (Cal.) Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	G. W. Boswell, 1139 I st., Fresno, Cal.
Granite City (Ill.) Tri-City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Thos. M. Cavanagh, 2035 Madison ave., Granite City, Ill.
Great Falls (Mont.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Clara McGinley, Great Falls, Mont.
Hamilton (Ont., Can.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. D. O'Dell, 171 Young st., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Joplin (Mo.) Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Geo. H. Keller, care 716 Joplin st., Joplin, Mo.
Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Council.....	1	1	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City Mo.
Lafayette (Ind.) Central Labor Union....	1	1	Meta Skemp, 204 S. Sixth st., Lafayette, Ind.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Sesma, 540 Maple ave., Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Minneapolis (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. L. Mayo, 4312 Madison st. N. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
New Orleans (La.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James E. Porter, 822 Octavia st., New Orleans, La.
New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 211 E. Forty-fifth st., New York City.
Oakland (Cal.) Central Labor Council of Alameda County.....	1	1	William A. Spooner, 812 Broadway, Oakland, Cal.
Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Leonard Kraft, 1312 Filbert st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	John Hoehn, 609 Wabash Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portland (Oreg.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Eugene E. Smith, 250 Twelfth st., Apt. 112, Portland, Oreg.
Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union.....	1	1	Roderick A. McGarry, 72 Weybosset st., Providence, R. I.
Pueblo (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Ed. Anderson, P. O. Box 219, Pueblo, Colo.
Red Wing (Minn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. G. Hall, Red Wing, Minn.
Reno (Nev.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	George Townshend, 1046 Ralston st., Reno, Nevada.
Richmond (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. C. Leber, 547 Twentieth st., Richmond, Cal.
Rock Island (Ill.) Tri-City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles A. Reagan, 2104 Third ave., Rock Island, Ill.
Sacramento (Cal.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Fred C. Severance, 1420 Fourteenth st., Sacramento, Cal.
St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph J. Hauser, 3631 Salena st., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
Salem (Oreg.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	B. W. Sleeman, 1499 Vincent Ave., Portland, Oregon.
Salt Lake City (Utah) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	D. A. Camomile, 748 Braizer Place, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council.....	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 1379 Masonic ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Santa Clara County (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George A. Batchelor, 72 N. Second st., San Jose, Cal.
Santa Barbara (Cal.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank H. Castro, Santa Barbara, Cal.
Santa Rosa (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	W. H. Ives, 541 A st., Santa Rosa, Cal.
Scranton (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John T. Dempsey, Pauli Building, Scranton, Pa.
Seattle (Wash.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank W. Cotterill, 2142 Ninth ave., Seattle, Wash.
Sedalia (Mo.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert Kraneheld, 911 E. Fourth st., Sedalia, Mo.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
South Chicago (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	E. D. Miller, Room 718, 219 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
South Framingham (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	F. E. Fletcher, S. Framingham, Mass.
Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 407 Myers Building, Springfield, Ill.
Stockton (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George A. Dean, 1415 E. Oak st., Stockton, Cal.
Tacoma (Wash.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Mrs. J. G. Triska, care 1146 1/2 Pacific ave., Tacoma, Wash.
Toronto (Ont. Can.) District Labor Council.....	1	1	John H. Kennedy, 588 Gladstone ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Vallejo (Cal.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. B. Dale, 1224 Napa st., Vallejo, Cal.
Vancouver (B. C.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. H. Spear, Room 210, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.
Wallace (Idaho) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles W. McFarland, 98 King st. Wallace, Idaho.
Walla Walla (Wash.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	P. W. Dowler, 1620 Fourth ave., Seattle, Wash.
Wallingford (Conn.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. L. Merchant, 75 Pais st., Wallingford, Conn.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Newton A. James, Hyattsville, Md.
Youngstown (Ohio) United Labor Congress.....	1	1	M. C. Higgins, 107 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. Voll, 134 Hamline ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cemetery Employees' Union No. 10634.....	1	1	John Sullivan, care 208 Sagamore st., Ocean View, San Francisco, Cal.
Clay Workers' Union No. 14778.....	1	8	James J. White, Box 492, Toronto, Ohio.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959.....	1	9	James J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 13105.....	1	2	Harry A. Milton, 19 Ramona st., San Francisco, Cal.
Federal Labor Union No. 11796.....	1	1	Frank C. Bomar, 214 Foam st., New Monterey, Cal.
Federal Labor Union No. 12631.....	1	1	John Holm, P. O. Box 97, Nome, Alaska.
Federal Labor Union No. 12985.....	1	4	S. P. Johnson, 1024 George st., Butte, Mont.
Federal Labor Union No. 14374.....	1	1	Frank H. Ainsworth, 748 Pacific Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Federal Labor Union No. 14651.....	1	1	Forbes H. Brown, 405 Fremont st., Vallejo, Cal.
Flat Janitors' Union No. 14332.....	1	1	Wm. Quesse, 4732 Indiana ave., Chicago, Ill.
Gas and Water Workers' Union No. 9840.....	1	2	Timothy Driscoll, 538 Noe st., San Francisco, Cal.
Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union No. 12432.....	1	1	J. Hammerschlag, 167a Albion ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Grain Workers' Union No. 11407.....	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 10367..	1	1	John R. Matheson, 508 Missouri st., San Francisco, Cal.
Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14605.....	1	1	G. B. Harrison, 1615 Fifteenth ave., Seattle, Wash.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

XV

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 14843..	1	1	James H. Corbley, 519 W. Monroe st., Springfield, Ill.
Laborers' United No. 13018.....	1	1	Ernest Carter, 2070 University ave., Berkeley, Cal.
Laborers' United No. 11440.....	1	1	Daniel F. Foley, San Rafael, Cal.
Laborers' United No. 14113.....	1	1	F. P. Lamoreux, 1430 West st., Fresno, Cal.
Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861.....	1	1	Oscar Joss, 2940 Sixteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Office Employes' Association No. 12755.....	1	1	Mary E. Galvin, 5342 Ellis ave., Chicago, Ill.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773.....	1	1	J. E. Giles, 402 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188.....	1	1	Thos. G. Riley, 435 City Hall Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14863.....	1	1	A. M. Thompson, 882 Twentieth st., Oakland, Cal.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	C. G. Ammon, 121 Alscot Road, Bemondsey, London, England.
		1	E. Bevin, 36 Princes st., Bristol, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	Fred Bancroft, 239 Quebec ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1		Agnes Nestor, Room 610, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Woman's International Union Label League.....	1		Anna Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.....	2		Rev. E. Guy Talbott, Wright and Callendar Building, Los Angeles, Cal.
			Rev. Charles Stelzle, Fifth ave. Building, New York City.
Farmers' National Congress.....	1		J. H. Patten, 204 Second Street Southeast, Washington, D. C.

Number of Unions.	NAME.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
86	National and International.....	223	18,825
24	State.....	24	24
62	Central.....	62	62
24	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	24	44
6	Fraternal Organizations.....	8	3
202		341	18,958

## List of Fraternal Delegates

To British Trades Union Congress.	From British Trades Union Congress.
1895 Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. 1896 J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser. Martin Fox. 1897 Geo. E. McNeil. James Duncan. 1898 Harry Lloyd. James O'Connell. 1899 Thomas F. Tracy. J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent. 1901 Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke. 1902 Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore. 1903 Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor. 1904 W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll. 1905 John A. Moffitt. James Wood. 1906 Frank K. Foster. James Wilson. 1907 John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky. 1908 Andrew Furusest. James J. Creamer. 1909 John P. Frey. B. A. Langer. W. B. Wilson. 1910 T. V. O'Connor. Wm. B. Macfarlane. 1911 Daniel J. Tobin. George L. Berry. 1912 John H. Walker. Chas. L. Baine. 1913 Louis Kemper. W. D. Mahon. 1914 Matthew Woll.* W. D. Mahon. 1915 Matthew Woll.*** W. D. Mahon. 1916 Matthew Woll.	1894 John Burns. David Holmes. 1895 Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley. Sam Woods. 1896 John Mallinson. Edward Harford. 1897 J. Havelock Wilson. William Inskip. 1898 William Thorne. James Haslam. 1899 Alexander Wilkie. John Weir. Pete Curran. 1901 Frank Chandler. Ben Tillott. 1902 M. Arrandale. E. Edwards. 1903 William Mullin. James O'Grady. 1904 William Abraham. James Wignall. 1905 William Mosses. David Gilmour. Allen Gee. 1906 J. N. Bell. David J. Shackleton. 1907 John Hodge. John Wadsworth. 1908 H. Skinner. A. H. Gill. 1909 J. R. Clynes. W. Brace. 1910 Ben. Turner. G. H. Roberts. 1911 J. Crinion. J. A. Seddon. 1912 R. Smille. J. H. Gwynne. 1913 T. Greenall. ** 1914 C. G. Ammon. 1915 E. Bevin.
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd. 1899 James H. Sullivan. 1900 W. D. Mahon. 1901 John R. O'Brien. 1902 D. D. Briscoll. 1903 John Coleman. 1904 John H. Richards. 1905 Frank Feeney. 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. 1907 Robert S. Maloney. 1908 Hugh Frayne. 1909 Jerome Jones. 1910 John J. Manning. 1911 Wm. J. Tracy. 1912 John T. Smith. 1913 Wm. J. McSorley. 1914 M. M. Donoghue. 1915 H. J. Conway. 1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1898 David A. Carey. 1899 David A. Carey. 1900 David A. Carey. 1901 P. M. Draper. 1902 John H. Kennedy. 1903 James Simpson. 1904 John A. Flett. 1905 William V. Todd. 1906 Samuel L. Landers. 1907 W. R. Trotter. 1908 P. M. Draper. 1909 F. Bancroft. 1910 R. P. Pettipiece. 1911 Wm. Glockling. 1912 John W. Bruce. 1913 Gus Franck. 1914 R. A. Rigg. 1915 Fred Bancroft.

\*No convention.

\*\*No delegates.

\*\*\*Delegates did not attend.

# Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Seranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Cal.	November 8-22.

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

### 1916

#### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

#### CONSTITUTION.

##### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

##### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

##### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local or Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have



## CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

## ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

## ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

## ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the office of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

## ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall

receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended, close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist*, and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his

term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no endorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$6.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy in any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the

full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of three-fourths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1 of this Article has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein

affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International

Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions

are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than sixty (60) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall,

through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$1.00 or more than \$10.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the names of members paid for on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated

union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Union as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

#### ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Section 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one

of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership. It is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railroad, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or

interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



# THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor 1915

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## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

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### FIRST DAY—Monday Morning Session

California State Building,  
Panama-Pacific International Exposition,  
San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 8, 1915.

Pursuant to the law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., by Mr. Daniel C. Murphy, President, San Francisco Labor Council.

Chairman Murphy: In accordance with the usual custom at the opening of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor a member of the clergy will ask the blessing of the Almighty upon our deliberations. The invocation will be offered by the Most Reverend Archbishop Edward J. Hanna.

Archbishop Hanna: O Father Almighty and all wise, in whose power are the destinies of the world, and Who by Thy wisdom dost guide the great movements for the betterment of men and by Thy might bring them unto realization, look down graciously upon Thy children gathered here in Thy name. From the North have we come, from the East and the West, striving ever to make better the

condition of the poor, striving ever to make noble the lives of those who toil; and who labor. Oh! Make us recognize labor's great place in the world's development. Make us recognize our task in lifting the burdens that have weighed too heavily upon the toilers; make us realize the glory of our cause; make us persevering in attaining unto what is just, and make us kindly in the face of that opposition which every great battle for advance must of necessity encounter. Vouchsafe unto us that leadership without which our efforts will be as naught; leadership that is wise, leadership that is patient, leadership that is prudent, leadership ready ever to sacrifice all for the cause to which we have dedicated ourselves. In these days when the industrial dreams of the old world seem to have no outcome, make us know that in Thy power is our success, in Thy power our safety. Make us in these awful times know the great value of human life; make us strive not after the things that pass—treasure, wealth, possession—but after the things that remain—truth, love, service. Oh! grant that we may serve wisely, grant that we may serve well—make us know that the man of heroic mold is the man that gives his life for his brother—and finally make us understand that in our world-wide strug-

gle we can help the lowly, uplift the fallen, bring peace which the world cannot give.

O Father, we need wisdom, we need strength. Give them unto us for Thy name's sake, that Thy kingdom may come, that Thy will may be done on earth as it is in heaven. Amen.

Chairman Murphy: I desire at this time to introduce a representative of the Panama-Pacific Directorate, a man who has during the past year had a great deal to do with the reception of delegations of many of the international conventions that have been held in this city. He is here in his official capacity to extend a welcome in behalf of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. It gives me great pleasure to introduce the President of the Board of Directors of the Exposition, Mr. C. C. Moore.

Mr. Moore: Ladies and Gentlemen—There have been, or will have been within a few weeks, 950 or more congresses and conventions held in this Exposition. Many of them have been significantly and appropriately held here. I might say all have been welcome, but sitting here as delegates of this American Federation of Labor Convention, can any of you doubt that of all that have preceded, this convention has by rights, by the proprieties and by all of the reasons justifying conventions in this Exposition, a special place and a special reason to be here.

Of course you are welcome. There has been a great deal said about the success of the Exposition, its accomplishments, its influence to advance education, an appreciation of art, of science, of mankind in his relations one with the other. I hope and believe we have done something along such generous, splendid lines. But everywhere these grounds over is the evidence of a co-operation of labor, enthusiastically, helpfully, purposefully, and we now extend to you all an acknowledgment and recognition. And with our welcome goes a special fervor that you, its representatives from the country over, have come here to see what labor has done in the Exposition.

We are very proud, not only as Californians, but as Americans, of what has been accomplished here; and while the credit is, and properly must be, distributed to many thousands of earnest people who have contributed, how could this have been brought about if we had not had the enthusiastic co-operation of the very forces and elements you represent. I am glad this morning in the presence of Mr. Gompers, to make acknowledgment to you of the service that good man has rendered this Exposition. He came out early in the history of our work, he entered into the spirit of our undertaking. He saw the potential influence that the Exposition could exert if properly directed. He gave us then assurances of helpfulness, and, friends, many, many times have we called him to that promise and never once has he failed to give us the full

measure of help. I am glad that he is here that he may see the confidence he had in us and in our cause has been justified by results.

In our Exposition Board labor has been represented by the Hon. P. H. McCarthy. He has had his tasks, his trials—because trials and troubles, gentlemen, are synonymous with Exposition—and he has discharged his responsibilities splendidly, helpfully and earnestly and looking forward to the results that have been accomplished. The local labor organizations have helped us much by contributions, and, what is more than contributions, by earnest public spirit, enthusiasm, good will and confidence in our enterprise. That has made possible many things. In the warmth of our local support we have been able to go over obstacles and conditions which were considered insurmountable. I wish, therefore, you would all feel that we of the Exposition Board and citizens generally recognize that the responsibilities that devolved upon labor were properly met here, that you all did measure up to the expectations that we had and that the world had of what labor should do and could do here.

I will say no more. You will know without these words of mine how welcome you are, how appropriately welcome you should be. I will now, in line with the policy of the Exposition, give to your President a little token. It does not mean much in form or outline, but it does carry with it a wealth of sentiment, a degree of appreciation on the part of the Exposition Board that could not be more abundant, could not be more deeply felt if that token took the form of fine metal and precious gems. It is only a bronze medal, but, ladies and gentlemen, it is symbolic of cordial good feeling and warm appreciation on our part always. If Mr. Gompers, you will accept this we will always be grateful for what you have done for this meeting and for your presence here.

Chairman Murphy: It becomes my very pleasant duty to present to some of you who have not met him, the next speaker, who will acknowledge on behalf of the American Federation of Labor the kindly words that have been spoken to us by the President of the Exposition Directorate. It is entirely unnecessary, I take it, to introduce the great and grand man of labor, President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers: Mr. Chairman, Mr. President of the Directorate of the Panama-Pacific Exposition—I expected to be the last speaker this morning in our opening exercises, and hoped to have an opportunity to prepare my address, based upon what you gentlemen have said and what I was in hopes to hear from the Governor of California and the Mayor of San Francisco. I was going to open my remarks with a jest, but the reception accorded me



by you this morning has destroyed the jest upon my lips, so I must address myself to more serious subjects. For the personal tributes paid me I have a great appreciation, I would not be human if I had not, but I prefer to interpret the tribute to the great cause in which we are enlisted; the great movement of the workers of America in the endeavor to crystallize the cause and the sentiment and the hope into the ideals of to-day; the actualities of the future. We have helped, I have helped, but, Mr. Moore and ladies and gentlemen, it would have been impossible for any man to be of effective help did not the great rank and file of the American labor movement understand their duties as well as their rights and be insistent upon both.

You started right. You had to understand, and did understand, that if this Exposition was to be a triumph far exceeding that of any other in the history of America, it was necessary to take into consideration this new element, this great group of our people knocking upon the doors to be heard, not necessarily only to make demands upon society, but to be accorded the privilege of being of service. The men of labor responded to your call. You placed them upon your directorate, you placed them in positions where they gave service. They co-operated with you in every honorable effort to make this Exposition, not only mechanically and artistically a success, not only to make it a financial success, but to place upon the history of this Exposition the magnificent tribute of fraternity and ideality.

There is coming to be understood more widely than ever that our country, the Republic of the United States, is founded upon the sovereignty of her people; that in this great Republic of ours the demand of the wealth producers, whether upon the farm, in the factory, the shop, the mine, the mill or elsewhere, is not based upon any poverty or misery of the masses of our people, but upon their inherent natural right to the rewards of their toil and the reward which society owes to the toilers of our country, the producers of wealth, without which labor and service modern society and civilization must come to an end.

The American Federation of Labor, as its name implies, is a federated body of organizations. It has only that power conceded to it by the organizations constituting and making up the American Federation of Labor. Primarily, and of greater importance than the American Federation of Labor itself, are the great national and international trade unions, the sovereign industrial organizations of men and women of labor. And it is good that the American Federation of Labor has but the power which the organizations concede to it and that all other powers are reserved by them. It makes us understand that there is no power which can be imposed upon our unions or upon their membership; that this federated movement must exist and progress and succeed upon the voluntary obedience of the great rank and file, their consensus of judgment and opinion. The very fact of the voluntary

character of our federation makes it necessary to be careful that we do not exceed the powers conceded to us, for after all, we can only live and prosper upon the good will, the respect and the confidence which the rank and file of the toilers have in our movement and in our men.

We work and struggle, and out of the great mass of the peoples that have come to our shores, speaking as many languages as are reputed to have been spoken in the attempt to build that great historic Tower of Babel, with peoples coming from all climes and countries, with all their prejudices, with all their hatreds, with all their justified feeling of protest—perhaps unexpressed in their own homes—with all their shortcomings, with all their ignorance, with all their intelligence, to have brought about a comprehensive movement of these elements, assimilating them with those among us of American birth and those who have been here for some period of time and have acquired citizenship, to have brought about a movement as broad and comprehensive and humanitarian and practical out of all these elements, says something for the American trade union movement. Thousands and millions of these workers have been brought here, without regard for their short-comings, superinduced by the greed for profit. If they have been brought here for the mere sake of profit they are good enough for us to open the doors of our organizations and invite them in to join, for weal or woe, in this great uplifting cause and struggle.

We are a part of this country; we are not apart from it. We are Americans, either by birth or adoption, and loyal to the principles upon which our Republic is based. We believe there is no country on the face of the globe comparable to the United States of America, and believing that, we believe as firmly that there is much room for improvement and it is the duty, as it is the mission, as it is the purpose of the American labor movement, to do its share in the struggle to secure that improvement.

We may make mistakes, we are an institution of humans and as humans individually we are liable to err and we may err sometimes collectively; but that is one of the faults of democracy, one of the faults for which democracy must pay. It is better that we should make mistakes and learn and profit by them than to have a government, politically or industrially, in which no opportunity is given to struggle for the right, and, incidentally, to make mistakes. But in the great long run of our work there is not a field from which the activity of the organized workers can be excluded, whether it be for the movement to take the children out of the factories and workshops and give them the opportunity to be in the homes, in the school rooms, and on the play grounds that they may imbibe the glorious sunshine and grow into the men and women of the future, upon whom, after all, the perpetuity of our government depends; or whether it be for the protection of life and limb and health, whether it be

for safety—aye, safety at sea as well as in the mines and factories—whether it be for a shorter workday and to build up men and women in strength and character and nobility and spirituality; whether it be to secure a better reward in the form of wages or a higher compensation for work performed, whether it be for sanitary conditions for the work life or the home. These are often interpreted to be the material concepts of the organized labor movement of America, whereas, while these are fundamentally necessary for our physical existence, they are equally essential to the higher and better thought and character and action and lives and hopes and aspirations for which the whole world of labor has struggled for centuries, of which the toilers have borne the scars of the industrial struggle. With all that history, with all the scars and sacrifices there is an idealism to which every human being aspires, and it is the much misunderstood and misrepresented organized labor movement upon which the mission falls to struggle for their achievement.

I feel that I have no right to take up any more of the time of our friends who have honored us by their visit and their speeches of welcome. There is so much to say, there is always so little time in which to say it. I should have much preferred, if I had my choice, to have given way to the Governor of California, Mr. Johnson, and to the Mayor of San Francisco, Mr. Rolph. I could then at the same time have accepted their addresses of welcome, and in anticipation of what they shall say, from the bottom of my heart, for the delegates to this convention, their wives and daughters and friends, all, we thank you, thank you most heartily.

And Mr. Moore, President of the Exposition Directorate, permit me to assure you that I appreciate more than I can find words to say the kindly references to myself and the presentation of this bronze medal. I have a number of medals presented by previous expositions, and they are either in the safe or adorn the walls of the offices of the American Federation of Labor. When I said at the outset that I preferred to interpret the personal tribute to me as the tribute to this great labor movement I meant it, and I accept this splendid token of good will and friendship in that same spirit. It will not be mine, it will belong to the American Federation of Labor, and for our Federation as well as myself I thank you, sir, and through you the Board of Directors who have honored the Federation and myself in this respect.

Chairman Murphy: I will state to President Gompers that the program was arranged out of deference to the wishes of the Exposition Directorate, as it would be impossible for them to fill their various engagements unless they were given a certain stipulated time in which to meet them. For that reason the speakers were called upon in the order they have been.

The next speaker needs no introduction to any audience in the State of California, but for the benefit of those

delegates and visitors who have come from far distances and may not be aware of the fact that the State of California and the organized workers particularly are very fortunate in possessing a chief executive who is conscious of their needs, who is in direct sympathy with us, and who knows exactly our purposes and intentions, I will say these few words in presenting him to you. We are able at all times to get the sincere co-operation, the help that is always needed, and the benefits derived from an administration that is very favorably inclined towards our movement, and because of these facts it gives me great pleasure at this time to introduce the Governor of the State of California, the Hon. Hiram W. Johnson.

Governor Johnson: Ladies and Gentlemen—I listened, as you did, enraptured a few moments ago to a very, very eloquent and touching speech; and as I listened to the great man of labor tell of the concepts of organized humanity, throughout this land and all the world, of how little children should be cared for that they might fitly, in the years to come, direct and preserve this great nation, as I heard him tell of how organized labor was striving for the hopes and the aspirations and the ideals of men and women, my heart beat high, for I can say to you, Mr. Gompers, and to the representatives here assembled, that the concepts of labor described here to-day, are the creed of government of the State of California.

I am here, as I have come many times in the past few months, to welcome as far as I may, as a humble representative of the people of the State of California, the delegates of a great convention. I come to you this morning, however, with a little more pleasure and a bit greater feeling than usual under these circumstances. Not alone do I express to those who have come from afar, our welcome and our greeting, but I extend too to the men and women of California, who have made this State what it has become in the past few years, the most hearty felicitations; and it is more appropriate, it seems to me, that this State should greet this convention and this Federation, than that it should be greeted by any other State in all the nation.

There was a time, my friends, when you and I, in the past, knocked at the doors of legislation in the State of California, asking for justice, and we knocked in vain. And then there came that which was peaceful revolution in our State, and we battered down the opposition that had existed so long, and to-day, within the confines of this particular commonwealth, the doors are wide open to all of God's people. Your accomplishment, in a brief period, has here been marvelous, but the way lies open to you now and the path is clear, to the concepts that are yours. It would, of course, be presumptuous in me to attempt to direct your steps or even to indulge in the suggestions that occur to one occupying the position that I do; but I see, I think, with a clarity of vision that perhaps you who are closer

to your movement may not wholly have, that which besets our path in the future. I see that your danger arises now in a State like California where the way is clear for even greater accomplishment, not from without, but lies within. I see that your course must be steered with steady hands, avoiding on the one hand the Scylla of anarchy of organized poverty, for which there is some excuse, and avoiding on the other hand the Charybdis of anarchy of organized wealth, for which there is no excuse; and avoiding both, remembering that this nation of ours is for all its people, and that this Western Empire, above all the States in the Union, represents its men and its women and its children, may we ever go forward in this State not by revolution, but by peaceful evolution of a fundamental society, seeing and knowing and understanding, and accomplishing justice for all humanity.

I come to you to-day, however, only in welcome and in blessing, if you will permit it. I come not to preach nor in didactic fashion to present to you what a sympathetic participant and one who believes in you may observe. I come now only as your representative, proud of the fact that in the government of the State of California, and in the Governor of the State of California, the men and women and the children of this State, are the sole sovereigns, and that both State and individual stand for the concepts of humanity.

Chairman Murphy said: Fortunate as we are in having as our chief executive a man who is responsive to the needs and requirements of the people, we are also fortunate in so far as our local municipal administration is concerned in having as the executive of civic affairs a man who is mindful and considerate of the people of organized labor and of all the people as any executive we have ever had. It therefore gives me great pleasure to introduce to you the mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, Hon. James Rolph, Jr.

Mayor Rolph: Mr. Chairman, Mr. President of the American Federation of Labor, your Excellency the Governor of the State, Delegates, Visitors, Convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco—It has been my pleasure and my privilege during the last eight months to have extended a welcome on many occasions to conventions which have honored San Francisco by meeting here during our Exposition period. I have extended it with all the warmth that goes with a real San Francisco welcome, and in San Francisco's name I have bid them welcome to our city by the Golden Gate. But this morning, like the Governor and like you, I have been so thrilled by the address delivered by this stalwart champion of labor throughout this

great country of ours that I feel it the greatest privilege I have had during this Exposition year to breathe this atmosphere and to hear the words coming from this distinguished man who represents labor for the upbuilding of humanity, that it is the happiest period I have experienced sitting here on this platform, meeting you and ready to extend to you a hearty welcome in the name of my fellow-citizens of San Francisco.

You have come from all over a great nation, you have come from every nook and corner of this great country of ours, you have come to the west post of civilization on the Pacific to hear from the Governor of the State of California that the creed of the American Federation of Labor is the creed of the government of California; and I want to say to you as the mayor of all the people of San Francisco that that creed is the creed of the government of the City and County of San Francisco. I feel with you in every word Mr. Gompers has uttered. I believe in those principles, and I am just as proud as any man in this convention this morning to say that I, too, carry a union card as an honorary member of the International Brotherhood of Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, Local Union No. 205.

You have come out to visit the World's Exposition, you have come to see what the world has done, you have come to witness the greatest achievement of man, the building of these palaces, this wonderful achievement which crowns the success of the building of the Panama Canal. We opened our Exposition on February 20. We thanked the foreign commissioners, we thanked the governors from all the States, we thanked every one who contributed to the building of this institution, and I have brought this morning my final tribute, which I want to again read today, in my opening speech at the Exposition:

"And now a final tribute. We have paid homage, and justly so, to our friends from afar, to the governors and representatives of other cities and countries, to the men at home who planned this enterprise and to those who have brought it to perfection. We have not forgotten the gifts of the cities, States and nations, nor the men and women whose personal support was given through these commonwealths; to directors, commissioners, governors and presidents too much credit cannot be given, but we who have watched this Exposition grow know that Aladdin's lamp did not produce it. Like Rome, it was not built in a day. When we look at these marvelous buildings we wonder how it was ever done, how mere man could accomplish this miracle.

"And this is the point I wish to make. These palaces of the people are the work of men, and by work I mean hard work. Into this Exposition every morning trudged thousands of men and out of

it every evening they thronged homeward. They were not in holiday dress, there were no glittering badges on their coats, they waved no flags or banners and they made no speeches. Their badges were the badges of toil, a smear of plaster here, a smear of cement across the shoe or a smear of paint across the sleeve; these were their marks of distinction. Their robes of state consisted of overalls and blue jumpers. It was their labors that transformed a waste of mud flats and sand dunes into the fairyland about us. They sank the piles upon which these colossal structures stand; they built them up timber by timber, stick by stick and bolt by bolt. Let us give them their dues. Let us give full praise to the men of muscle and skill, to the men of strong brains and clever hands. It is the biggest and best job on earth, it is a monument to the man who works, and in San Francisco's name I thank him for it."

To-day, to you who represent the great throngs of organized labor throughout this great country of ours, I again make acknowledgment of the work, the skill and the effort put forth by the men, the real men, who built this wonderful Exposition here that you have come to enjoy, and in their name and in San Francisco's name I bid you the most cordial welcome from the finest people in the world in the greatest city in the world; I bid you welcome to a people and a city that are happy that you are here.

My eye has just caught the presence here of a man that I recognize out here as one of the leading stalwart advocates of labor. He is my friend Andrew Furuseth. This morning I was detained on the height overlooking the Pacific Ocean, watching a sailing ship beating her way in to the Golden Gate and bearing the name "Golden Gate." I never see a ship that I do not think of Andrew Furuseth and his fight in the cause of seamen.

I am a ship-owner. I have been in that business all my life. I am in favor of the "Seamen's Bill," and when some of these old shell-backs that have been walking on the beach and thinking of the days when they were in command of the sailing ships that came around Cape Horn and dropped anchor in this peaceful harbor of San Francisco forget, or else have it driven out of them, that the days when the sailor could be tied up by the wrist, when he could be fed on bread and water, when he could be beaten with a belaying pin, when he could be driven out on the jibboom and thrown overboard if he did not obey, are past, the day will come when Andrew Furuseth's bill will be a welcome one.

I have favored that bill; I did what I could in assisting in the passage of that bill; I am for the bill, and any time any one wants to argue with me against the merits of that bill I am ready for the argument. And for the calamity howlers, those who are always looking on the pessimistic side of everything, the time is

not far off when they will be shoved to one side and the principles, the noble principles of the bill, which mean the building up and the helping of humanity, I feel in my very bones will triumph throughout this whole great land of ours.

I thank you for the privilege it has been to me to be present, and, as I said before, I extend the welcome I was invited to extend with all the warmth of a real sunshiny San Francisco welcome.

Chairman Murphy: Following the remarks of the Mayor in regard to the workers who built these great Exposition buildings, it is peculiarly fitting that the next man to speak should be the man who represented the Exposition in the conferences it was necessary to hold from time to time to straighten out any difficulty or misunderstanding that arose. It was natural, that during the progress of building this great Exposition, there were times when the contract needed a little explanation or interpretation. At such times the representatives of labor were met by the gentleman who was delegated by the directorate of the Exposition to arrange for the completion of this great work without any interruption as provided in the contract. This man, we of San Francisco, are well acquainted with and have confidence in. He understands the labor question and was willing to deal fairly with us at all times. I therefore take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. H. D. H. Connick, Director of Works of the Exposition.

Mr. H. D. H. Connick: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—As the chairman has just stated, I was appointed by the Exposition to do several things, among which was to represent the Exposition in all matters appertaining to labor. And I want to take this occasion to congratulate the members of the local Building Trades Council and the local Labor Council and the officials and committeemen they elected and appointed to meet with me from time to time. We had controversies, in fact they are necessary in carrying out a work of considerable magnitude, but in every instance these officials and these committeemen listened to me and listened to men I brought to them to explain their case with the utmost patience and ruled with absolute fairness. The result of that has been that the Exposition has been enabled to conduct its activities without any industrial strife, and it is further proven that it is perfectly possible to carry on any construction work, regardless of its magnitude, or any operation without industrial strife, provided both sides are willing to be fair with each other and absolutely honest.

I thank you for this opportunity to be present this morning, and express my sincere appreciation to those officials and

those committeemen that have worked with me and have given me ideas that have assisted me materially in carrying out this work.

Chairman Murphy said: I need not say much in introducing the next speaker. He is probably as well known to Conventions of the American Federation of Labor as any man I might mention. He has had long experience in the labor movement and has fulfilled the duty of the offices which he has held, the Hon. P. H. McCarthy.

Mr. P. H. McCarthy: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—So much has been said this morning that it would be idle for me to say anything except to welcome you here. But, however, I can not allow the occasion to pass without calling attention to the fact that while 900 conventions, congresses and gatherings of various kinds will have met here by the time this great Exposition closes, yet I know, and there are those sitting on the platform who know there never was a convention, there never was a congress or gathering of any kind which convened within the confines of this great Exposition to which the people who fought for the Exposition and believed it should be held in this city owe more to than to the men who guide the destinies of this greatest of all industrial movements, the American Federation of Labor.

You remember, Mr. Mayor, that when we were in Washington, fighting as men rarely ever fought in order to convince our friends there that we ought to have the Exposition in this city, that they ought to vote to give it to San Francisco to the exclusion of New Orleans—a beautiful city in a beautiful state and a lovable people—but nevertheless we felt if we got the privilege of building it here it would not be a training school for men who had not associated themselves prior to that time with the organizations in the building industry. Rather would it be built by men of union labor equal to the task of giving one hundred cents of value for every dollar paid by the Exposition.

So I say no convention ever convened here more entitled to praise than the American Federation of Labor. I have in mind the fact when I say this that when all the dear brothers in Congress were seen, when every man possible was pledged, there were seventeen votes that must be rounded up somewhere in order that San Francisco win out and that New Orleans be allowed to remain in peace and harmony with her own citizenship without being bothered with a great Exposition like this. The St. Louis convention of this organization resolved itself into strict neutrality. The American Federation of Labor was not going to take up the cause of either city. But just about the time the dear brothers in Congress were about to vote on the question of whether or not we would get it, somehow or other good luck stepped in and the Executive Coun-

cil of this great institution convened in Washington.

McCarthy, who was then Mayor of San Francisco and not an agitator, flew out of the city, went to Washington, looked into the countenance of the brainiest, and, although not in stature, the biggest man in all America, whether it be commerce or labor, and into the countenance of his colleagues, Duncan and the rest of them, and said: "Men, do you propose to keep quiet, do you propose to allow New Orleans to take this Exposition away from a city like San Francisco and a State like California, unionized possibly as no other State could be with the material we have at hand?"

After a while Congressmen found a pile of letters and telegrams on their desks, and they would say to the gentlemen from New Orleans: "We must be released, we must be with San Francisco," and all such changes were traced either to the office of President Gompers or to some person sent there by him. And San Francisco won. Of all the men who have presided over congresses during the life of this Exposition, Gompers alone ought to be the chief, and to-day it is the pleasure of my life to welcome him back here after eleven years. And I welcome you delegates here to this convention in behalf of the State Building Trades Council.

Remember, my friends, that we have done things since you were here eleven years ago. There are many here to-day who were in the San Francisco convention eleven years ago. Our city was wiped out almost entirely by fire. We have not only built this great Exposition, with the assistance of one of the best managements an institution ever had; we have not only built this, I say, but we have rehabilitated our city as it stands to-day in a manner calculated to allow peace and harmony to prevail throughout the entire movement. We haven't had a secession movement or a quarrel. Under these conditions we can welcome you to our midst in words such as the Governor used.

You may have governors at home—I presume you have—but you never will, unless you improve to beat the band, have a governor such as we have. There are some of you also who know you have a United States Senate. That is what we are afraid of. We realize that the biggest men in the United States every once in a while go to the Senate, and we are very much afraid that the biggest man we have here will go. We are fearful that the big men throughout the United States are discussing the question and have their minds set on keeping away from the people of these United States some big things. So we are fearful that our governor, Hiram W. Johnson, will be forced to give up his place here as governor and go into the United States Senate in order to get bigger things for the people as a whole throughout these United States.

We are a little selfish in this. When I was running for mayor in 1907—and

had less chance of being elected than a nice snowball would have in the front parlor of the place presided over by Lucifer—a friend here said: "P. H., don't run, we want you. We need you in this movement more than the city needs you as mayor." While we know our governor can do things for people generally throughout the country, while we know he can take a lot of hot air out of what is being delivered in the upper house in Washington, we don't like to lose him, and I say to those of you political wire-pulling manipulators, if any of you there be in this convention, to let up trying to take Johnson out of California.

No man has ever done so much good within a short time as Governor Johnson has in California. Time was when if we met with an accident we would have to get up a benefit or sell our tools. To Hiram W. Johnson is due the fact that for some years past we have had an employers' liability law that gives us a reasonable amount to keep ourselves and our little ones from want during the period of time we are disabled. When he said to you the people of this State control it and that he was with them he gave expression to a great truth.

The Mayor said he was a union man and had a card of the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders. There can be no more appropriate union for him to go into. He and Andrew Furuseth have been running around salt water so long and attending so ably to the sailors that he also has a perfect right to be there, and a great many of us now feel—myself among them, for I feel that private life is an easy thing, we don't have to go around handing out, you know—the chances are he will be going up higher. I presume when he starts that game if we appeal to Brother Furuseth he may be held down.

At the close of his address Mr. McCarthy announced that the Central Labor Council would meet Thursday night and the Building Trades Council Friday night and invited the delegates to attend both meetings.

Chairman Murphy said: Brother McCarthy has spoken of the accomplishment of the labor movement in California. A great deal of credit for that accomplishment is due to the fact that we have in California a branch of the American Federation of Labor, the California State Federation, and we are fortunate in having with us the president of that organization, Brother Daniel P. Haggerty.

President Haggerty: Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Friends—it affords me very great pleasure to be in a position to welcome you here today, for several reasons. As president of a

great organization consisting of the wage-workers of California and as a native son of California, I welcome you in the State building, and I think it fits in well with the organization of which I am an officer. It is unnecessary for me to go into the details of our organization. You are all familiar with the workings of state federations because you are all members of such bodies.

We are proud of our State, we are proud of the record our organizations have made, we are proud of the fact that in the office of Governor we have a man who is friendly to our organizations. We have made considerable progress during the period of his administration; much more so than during previous administrations. There were several departments in California that were of vital interest to labor that were dead prior to the time Governor Johnson took office. Among them was the office of State Labor Commissioner. When Governor Johnson took charge he appointed a man from the ranks of labor, a man who was in a position to know the wants of labor, and when the time came to put laws into effect we had a commissioner, John P. McLaughlin, a member of the Teamsters' Union, who made the office operative.

I am very glad to be in a position to say that we have a good sprinkling of trade unionists holding important offices in this State. The same can be said of the City and County of San Francisco, where such men are on the Board of Supervisors and on the different commissions. It is very pleasant to be able to state that the Governor and Mayor are men who have looked out for the interests of organized labor. I hope when you go back to your own States and cities you will go to the bat and make them as good as the State of California and the City of San Francisco.

I hope that during your stay in this city you will see the labor temples that have been constructed by labor unions with their own money and their own hands. Look over the Exposition and you can go home and say for once you have visited an exposition entirely constructed by union men. That is one thing California is particularly proud of. We are glad to be able to say that we have built an exposition and conducted it along the lines labor wished, and we are now opening it to you. We hope your stay will be productive of good results and that the proceedings of your convention will bring about a better relationship between the different organizations, bring about better laws in our National Capital and in the various States from which you come.

Again I extend to you a welcome to California, the land of sunshine and flowers.

Chairman Murphy said: I do not think it will be necessary to add any extensive remarks to what has already been said. I merely wish, as a representative of the labor movement in San Francisco, to extend to you all a hearty and sin-



cere welcome. I trust and hope that your deliberations will be productive of much benefit to the people you have the honor to represent.

Unfortunately the gavel, the emblem of authority that is usually turned over to the president by the temporary chairman, has failed to arrive. Hoping you will excuse that dereliction of duty on somebody's part, I will now turn over the convention to the President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

President Gompers said: It is quite fortunate that I was not reserved to address this convention until after Governor Johnson and Mayor Rolph addressed you, for I imagine I should have been inspired to make a real speech. I cannot forego the privilege of expressing for this convention as well as for myself and for the men and women of labor of America our gratitude and appreciation of the addresses of welcome of the Governor and the Mayor, and all that was declared and intimated and urged, of the address of our old comrade in the struggle, P. H. McCarthy, President Haggerty of the State Federation and President Murphy of the San Francisco Labor Council. To all of you and to the great masses of the citizenship, the people, the workers of California, please convey to them as best you can the great gratitude and deep sense of obligation we feel.

You have done, not only splendidly, but nobly, the work of this great Exposition, wonderful as it is. The rebuilding of San Francisco in addition to this Exposition is a marvel, and I am quite sure that the students of history, when this decade and era shall have gone by and the future citizenship will read of the marvelous character and characteristics of the people of California, of San Francisco, there will be a tribute of honor paid you and your people of which no imagination to-day can have any conception.

For myself I want to express my great appreciation and obligation. I have been coming to San Francisco since and including 1891. There are men and women in California whom I count as my dearest friends, men and women as sincerely devoted to the cause of labor, to the cause of liberty, to the cause of justice and the cause of humanity as exist in any part of this continent or this world. I cannot find words to express the profoundness and the depths of my feeling of affection and regard and respect. God speed you people of California! May you ever live up to the high ideal of your hopes and your works. May you be as practical as you are to-day and triumph be the glory of your achievement.

I now declare this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor duly in order and in session.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 8, 1915.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

"Please express to the convention my sincere regrets that the pressure of official business prevents my being present at any time during its sessions, and convey to my fellow trade unionists my heartiest greetings and good wishes for the success of the convention and the great movement of human uplift which it represents.

"W. B. WILSON,  
"Secretary of Labor."

#### Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Moser, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 8, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 329 delegates, representing 85 International and National Unions, 24 State Branches, 63 Central Bodies, 21 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 7 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 10 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, J. Goldstone, R. C. Schneider, 158 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, C. M. Feider, C. F. Foley, James C. Shanessy, 341 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—George Abernathy, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, J. M. Tobin, Wm. F. Kramer, 85 votes.

Bollermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, M. J. McGuire, Charles MacGowan, 173 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, John J. O'Brien, Joseph Collins, 85 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Charles L. Balne, John H. Tobin, Thomas O'Hare, Charles H. McKenna, J. Thomas Beasley, 356 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Froebste, Al-

bert J. Kugler, John Rader, John Sullivan, Joseph Obergfell, 520 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 29 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Joseph E. McClory, J. D. Barnes, Sam Tobin, 100 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—William L. Hutcherson, Frank Duffy, John A. Metz, A. J. Howlett, P. H. McCarthy, D. A. Post, A. M. Swartz, 1956 votes.

Carriage and Wagon Workers of North America, International Union of—William MacPherson, 38 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, Phil. H. Mueller, 394 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—F. J. Kiernan, H. J. Conway, William Christman, 150 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Max Zuckerman, 30 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America—E. B. Boyden, 10 votes.

Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada—Edward Gurney, 12 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Frank A. Scoby, 39 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, Samuel Grimbly, T. A. Singer, Charles P. Ford, F. J. Sweek, 362 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 27 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, John J. Glass, R. G. Moser, 210 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Brennan, 160 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Maier Schwarz, Victor Altman, Margaret C. Daley, 422 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, Solomon Polakoff, 653 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—D. A. Hayes, Robert Baxter, William W. Campbell, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—T. W. Rowe, William P. Clarke, 94 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Thomas J. Mahoney, 10 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, James Garvey, James Smart, 135 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Michael F. Greene, John O'Hara, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common

Laborers' Union of America, International—Domenick D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, Joseph V. Mareschl, Alonsc D'Andrea, 319 votes.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Patrick F. Ryan, 57 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, Edmund Raleigh, 606 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, John J. Sullivan, 65 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 60 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, Harry L. Morrison, 41 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of—A. Letroadec, 18 votes.

Lithographers, International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Phillip Bock, 35 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, John Kean, 250 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—William H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, James O'Connell, A. O. Wharton, Thomas Van Lear, 719 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of—H. Irwin, 81 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—John F. Hart, Homer D. Call, 61 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America—W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 100 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thos. Redding, Hugh Frayne, James Moriarity, 178 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, William Green, John H. Walker, Duncan McDonald, Adolph Germer, John Moore, 3,116 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—P. J. Reardon, James Roberts, Thomas McManus, Joseph D. Cannon, 167 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. H. Curran, Schuyler Lent, John F. Dunachie, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman, D. A. Carey, 600 votes.

Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, P. H. Triggs, William Kemp, J. H. Baker, T. H. Norris, 753 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—George J. Schneider, 45 votes.



Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James S. Forrest, 65 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge & Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Patrick Quinn, 16 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 35 votes.

Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International—Matthew Woll, Henry J. Wessel, 48 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Edward J. McGivern, Charles A. Gunther, John Donlin, James O'Connor, 183 votes.

Plate Printers' Union of North America, International Steel & Copper—John J. Deviny, 13 votes.

Plumbers & Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, Thomas Kearney, Charles Rau, Charles Anderson, 320 votes.

Post Office Clerks, National Federation of—Thomas F. Flaherty, 32 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, John P. Duffy, 78 votes.

Printing Pressmen's Union, International—George L. Berry, Henry Altman, Mervin Lipman, Daniel Murphy, 227 votes.

Quarryworkers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sutor, 36 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of—H. B. Perham, D. G. Ramsay, J. B. Bode, H. G. Alexander, 250 votes.

Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood—E. William Weeks, E. M. Ware W. J. Adames, 293 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric—W. D. Mahon, Rezin Orr, William Taber, John T. McGrath, 589 votes.

Railway Postal Clerks, Brotherhood of—Frank J. Guscettli, 20 votes.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—Jeremiah T. Hurley, 12 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, John Carney, Eugene Steidle, I. N. Hylen, 160 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—W. J. Pettit, 8 votes.

Slate & Tile Roofers' Union of America, International—J. M. Gavlak, 6 votes.

Slate Workers, American Brotherhood of—Pat F. Hanley, 3 votes.

Spinners' International Union—Urban Fleming, 22 votes.

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, John J. Barry, John Suarez, L. G. Dolliver, 180 votes.

Steam Shovel & Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of—Thomas J. Dolan, 27 votes.

Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of

North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 49 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Sam Griggs, James A. Short, 44 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 11 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Samuel E. Heberling, Thomas Clohessy, 90 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen & Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey, M. E. Decker, 523 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, 189 votes.

Tile Layers & Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic & Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 30 votes.

Timberworkers, International Union of—J. G. Brown, 7 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 39 votes.

Tunnel & Subway Constructors' International Union—Michael Carraher, 15 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Marsden G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson, T. W. McCullough, 591 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 35 votes.

California State Federation of Labor—Hugo Ernst, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Frank Spiegl, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—S. B. Marks, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John J. Fitzpatrick, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Frank Broden, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—F. C. Hansen, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—George E. Blakeley, 1 vote.

Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor—P. J. Ryan, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Edward S. Alden, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Chas. E. James, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Ford A. Allen, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Frank M. Coffey, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Joseph Cozzolino, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Stuart A. Hayward, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Patrick F. Casey, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—Fred L. Bourne, 1 vote.

Tennessee Federation of Labor—J. P. Ogletree, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—H. O. Gossett, 1 vote.

Utah State Federation of Labor—Albert H. Kempton, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—Charles R. Case, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Harry P. Corcoran, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—H. R. Schneider, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—J. A. Alleyn, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—John H. Ferguson, 1 vote.

Bakersfield, Cal., Kern County Labor Council—W. W. Harris, 1 vote.

Billings, Mont., Yellowstone County Trades and Labor Assembly, J. P. McGinley, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John B. Lennon, 1 vote.

Boise, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council—Geo. A. Warden, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Harry P. Jennings, 1 vote.

Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Joseph McGovern, 1 vote.

Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—O. M. Partelow, 1 vote.

Chelsea, Mass., Central Labor Union—Henry Abrahams, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—T. F. Neary, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Frank L. Rist, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—J. Wayne Hart, 1 vote.

El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union—Wm. Sachs, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly—C. W. Woodman, 1 vote.

Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades Council—G. W. Boswell, 1 vote.

Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council—Thos. M. Cavanagh, 1 vote.

Great Falls, Mont., Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly—Clara McGinley, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. D. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly—George H. Keller, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Lafayette, Ind., Central Labor Union—Meta Skemp, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council, Frank Sesma, 1 vote.

New Orleans, La., Central Labor Union—James E. Porter, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—C. L. Mayo, 1 vote.

Oakland, Calif., Central Labor Council of Alameda County—Wm. A. Spooner, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Leonard Kraft, 1 vote.

Phoenix, Ariz., Trades Council—Ben. A. Adams, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—John Hoehn, 1 vote.

Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Council—Eugene E. Smith, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Roderick A. McGarry, 1 vote.

Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Ed. Anderson, 1 vote.

Red Wing, Minn., Trades and Labor Council—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Reno, Nevada, Central Trades and Labor Council—George Townshend, 1 vote.

Richmond, Calif., Contra Costa Central Labor Council—J. C. Leber, 1 vote.

Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor—Charles A. Reagan, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—Fred C. Severance, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Joseph J. Hauser, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Salem, Oregon, Trades and Labor Council—B. W. Sleeman, 1 vote.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor—D. A. Camomille, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Andrew J. Gallagher, 1 vote.

Santa Clara County, Calif., Central Labor Council—George A. Batchelor, 1 vote.

Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union—Frank H. Castro, 1 vote.

Santa Rosa, Calif., Central Labor Council—W. H. Ives, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—John T. Dempsey, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—Frank W. Cotterill, 1 vote.

Sedalia, Mo., Federation of Labor—Robert Kraneheld, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—E. D. Miller, 1 vote.

South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union—F. E. Fletcher, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Stockton, Calif., Central Labor Council—George A. Dean, 1 vote.

Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Union—Mrs. J. G. Triska, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., District Labor Council—John H. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Trades and Labor Council—J. B. Dale, 1 vote.

Wallace, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council—Charles W. McFarland, 1 vote.

Walla Walla, Wash., Trades and Labor Council—P. W. Dowler, 1 vote.

Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union—J. L. Merchant, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Newton A. James, 1 vote.

Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—M. C. Higgins, 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.

Clay Workers' Union No. 14778—James J. White, 8 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959—James J. McAndrews, 9 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 13105—Harry A. Milton, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 11796—Frank C. Bomar, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12631—John Holm, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12985—S. P. Johnson, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 14374—Frank H. Ainsworth, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14651—Forbes H. Brown, 1 vote.

Gas and Water Workers' Union No. 9840—Timothy Driscoll, 2 votes.

Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union No. 12432—J. Hammerschlag, 1 vote.

Grain Workers' Union No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

Janitors' Protective Union No. 10367—John R. Matheson, 1 vote.

Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14605—G. B. Harrison, 1 vote.

Janitors' Protective Union No. 14843—James H. Corbley, 1 vote.

Laborers, United, No. 13018—Ernest Carter, 1 vote.

Laborers, United No. 11440—Daniel F. Foley, 1 vote.

Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861—Oscar Joss, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Association No. 12755—Mary E. Galvin, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—J. E. Giles, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188—Thomas G. Riley, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14863—A. M. Thompson, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—C. G. Ammon, E. Bevin, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Fred Bancroft, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League—Miss Agnes Nestor.

Women's International Union Label League—Miss Anna Fitzgerald.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—Rev. E. Guy Talbott and Rev. Charles Stelzle.

We have received credentials from B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu of Japan, representing the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan.

We recommend that the courtesy of the convention be extended to them with the opportunity of being heard at some convenient time.

The committee further reports that they have received credentials from L. P. Straube, coming from the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14288, Chicago, Illinois. A protest was entered against these credentials and as soon as a hearing is held in the matter, the committee will make its final report in this case.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER, Chairman;

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS, Secretary.

Chairman Moser moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Gompers said: The report of the committee is adopted and the delegates whose names have been reported as entitled to seats will now constitute this convention.

President Gompers announced the following appointments:

F. J. Bonnington, Typographical Union No. 21, Assistant to the Secretary.

James Gallagher, Painters No. 19, Sergeant-at-Arms.

James Coulsting, Stationary Firemen No. 86, Messenger.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

"New York, Nov. 8, 1915.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

"Kindly convey to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention my congratulations and best wishes for the complete success of its efforts to further advance and safeguard the interests of the workers.

"JOS. N. WEBER.

"President American Federation of Musicians."

"ASAMBLA OBRERA DE FILIPINAS. Manila.

Manila, Sept. 9, 1915.

"Dear Sir:

"It is our great pleasure to inform you that on June 19th of this year, the Philippine Labor Assembly, composed of more than one hundred thousand representatives of all the different labor organizations in the islands, was inaugurated in the city of Manila. Its objects are to defend the interests of the laboring classes within the legal grounds and to better their general welfare as circumstances permit.

"On behalf of the said Philippine Labor Assembly, we extend to you our

most sincere greeting, hoping to hear from you.

"Sincerely yours,

"JOAQUIN BALMON, Secretary.

"P. E. SOKO, President.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers,

"President of the American Fed-

eration of Labor,

"Washington, D. C."

President Gompers said: The president of the American Federation of Labor has already replied to this letter, and with the consent of the convention it will be referred to the Committee on Organization. There being no objection it was so ordered.

President Gompers read the following telegram from E. A. Bates, Secretary-Treasurer of the New York State Federation of Labor:

"Proposed constitution for the State of New York was defeated by nearly 500,000 majority. That is satisfaction enough for one campaign. Please convey to the delegates to the convention fraternal greetings from the New York State Federation of Labor."

President Gompers said: An abstract of the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been prepared and will be submitted to you. The abstract has been prepared

for the convenience of the delegates and has been made as brief as it was possible to make it. I will call upon the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother James Duncan, to read the abstract of the report of the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan read a portion of the abstract of the report of the Executive Council.

Delegate Tobin, of the Teamsters' delegation, arose and stated that he regretted there were so few delegates present to hear the splendid report being read; that while he did not desire to interrupt Vice-President Duncan, it was his opinion that it would be better to adjourn and have the abstract of the report read upon reconvening Tuesday morning. Vice-President Duncan stated that the Executive Council's report had been printed in full and would be released at 2 p. m., and therefore it would be necessary to finish the reading.

After a brief discussion a motion was made to adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock Tuesday morning in Eagles' Hall. The motion was seconded and carried, and at 2 o'clock p. m. the Convention was adjourned to 10 o'clock Tuesday, Nov. 9th.

## REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., November 8, 1915.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:*

The past year has been one of particular stress for the labor movement, testing its power and its practical efficiency. Like every other organization the labor movement has found itself confronted in its various relationships by war conditions and war difficulties. At the outbreak of the war there came a great catastrophic upheaval, when the activities and policies of peace were suddenly sundered and Europe was plunged into an atmosphere of fighting and destruction.

Men's thought and efforts had been centered upon progress, upon the development of civilization and upon the conservation of human life and the enlargement of opportunities for human development. With the declarations of war, almost in an instant everything was changed, the course and purpose of organized society were changed to further the purpose of destruction and to serve war needs. Skill of men's minds and muscles, knowledge and scientific invention, progress of all the ages were put at the service of the armies and navies engaged in the terrific conflict, destroying human life with unparalleled effectiveness. It seemed as though Europe had suddenly gone mad; all of the agencies to which had been entrusted the welfare and the progress of humanity were suddenly made helpless. But after the period of almost paralyzed horror had passed, we began to devise ways by which we could control the convulsion following the war and utilize even war conditions for human betterment. The period of readjustment enabled us as a nation to adapt ourselves so as to organize upon a basis that would enable us to protect the citizens of our own nation.

The working people have been those who have suffered most from these changes. During that period of wonder and horror that followed the beginning of the war many of the workers were suddenly left without the means of earning a livelihood; left to struggle on as best they could for themselves and those dependent upon them, although they had not been able to provide out of their scanty wages to meet such an emergency. Industries throughout the country struggled on for a time in a halting sort of fashion and some stopped. The commerce that was prepared to meet the needs of peace was wasted in the war situation. There followed a period of depression which meant to the workers of our country unemployment of such a serious nature that thousands were facing starvation. Yet, in the midst of all of this confusion, this turmoil, uncertainty and even despair, there was one agency upon which the workers fixed their trust and hope, the one agency that was appealed to by the toilers and the oppressed, not only of this but of the nations that were suddenly submerged in the European war.

The labor movement has done much in the crisis of the European war, but it has been hampered by lack of funds. The same obstacle is felt in carrying out ideals and plans for greater helpfulness in all international relations.

This agency remained because it was founded for an unselfish purpose, because it did not exist for the hope of gain, because all of its efforts were bent upon the protection and assistance of human beings. The labor movement owes its existence to the needs of men. It expresses their hope for the future. It continues because it meets the needs of the people, and it maintains its power and its vigor in proportion as it keeps itself free from the agencies of greed and of selfish interest that would use it to further their own purposes or would weaken it to eliminate its opposition. In this country as the desires of men increase and are more urgent, the need for the labor movement becomes greater. In the period of distress and disruption that followed, men's thoughts and men's hopes were turned to the labor movement of America. Whether organized or unorganized, they knew they could depend upon that organization to help them in their time of need.

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The working people have been those who have suffered most from these changes. During that period of wonder and horror that followed the beginning of the war many of the workers were suddenly left without the means of earning a livelihood; left to struggle on as best they could for themselves and those dependent upon them, although they had not been able to provide out of their scanty wages to meet such an emergency. Industries throughout the country struggled on for a time in a halting sort of fashion and some stopped. The commerce that was prepared to meet the needs of peace was wasted in the war situation. There followed a period of depression which meant to the workers of our country unemployment of such a serious nature that thousands were facing starvation. Yet, in the midst of all of this confusion, this turmoil, uncertainty and even despair, there was one agency upon which the workers fixed their trust and hope, the one agency that was appealed to by the toilers and the oppressed, not only of this but of the nations that were suddenly submerged in the European war.

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In the time of peace, the labor movement is the constructive force in the industrial world which brings system, organization and opportunity for progress into industrial relations between employers and employees. It is the democratic medium by which the toilers can work out their problems, remedy wrongs and secure for themselves ever increasing opportunity for better living.

Industrial organization is now upon too large a scale to permit of haphazard methods and disorganized conditions in any of its relations. Employers have found that their interests in industry must be very highly systematized if they are to survive in the struggle with their competitors. Employees can not remain a helpless disorganized mass with inarticulate wants and needs if they are not to be crushed and maimed by the strong organized forces in industry. Such inhumane and unwise policy would result in reducing the workers to a condition for which only industrial revolutions and rebellions would secure betterment, protection or justice. Such a policy is not worthy of an enlightened nation. It is subversive to all ideals of industrial progress or industrial statesmanship.

It has become a generally accepted fact that all relations of life must be so organized that there shall be in existence agencies for constructive development and gradual and natural progress—agencies whereby the problems arising in these various relationships can be worked out without upheavals or unnecessary disturbances. It is now recognized that policies and principles of statesmanship must be applied to industrial relations as well as to political relations. In truth, industrial relations are now of greater consequence than political relations because they touch the lives of the people more intimately and with greater power for good or evil than do political relationships. Furthermore, it is now recognized throughout the civilized world that the agency necessary for the existence of regulation, system and progress in relations between workers and their employers is the trade union, which is founded upon the highest ideals for associated effort of any kind. It is a simple democratic organization which meets the needs of the workers and enables them to protect themselves and make such progress that they shall become of increasing value and importance to the nation.

The labor movement of America was the great steadying force in the period of upheaval and transition that followed the outbreak of the war. It was the force that insisted upon the maintenance of existing standards that protected the workers against all efforts to throw upon them the full burden of the war. It was the force that demanded for the workers an opportunity to work in order to earn a daily living. It was the force that held true and tided things over.

When employers had readjusted to meet the changing conditions and to meet the demands of European nations that had grown out of the conduct of the war, the labor movement of the country was the agency that enabled the workers to share more equitably the results of the industrial impetus given by the war. The workers soon realized that the employers intended to keep to themselves all of their vastly increased profits. The organized workers made demands through their regular representatives and many unorganized workers caught the spirit of the day and organized in order that they too might make their demands effective. Thus there came in many industries a great labor forward campaign. It was recognized that the organized economic power of the workers was their main dependence under all conditions and all necessities, whether for protection or for opportunity to share in prosperity.

In the meanwhile the workers of the warring nations were constantly turning to the labor movement of America for assurance that the influence and the power of our own workers of this country would be exerted upon international relations for the maintenance of the cause and rights of humanity. Appeals came from the workers of desolated lands for assistance and in it all and through it all the spirit of fraternity, the spirit of fellowship among industrial workers survived, even when the outward physical ties of organization were temporarily lost in the stress of war.

Even though of late there has been increasing difficulty in maintaining intercourse with the labor movements of some foreign countries, yet there still remain the spirit of fraternity and the confidence that the American labor movement will stand for the rights of humanity, of the workers in all of the countries, and will insist upon the paramount importance of humanity. Yet to maintain the force of our labor movement straight and unerring, has not been an easy task. There have been innumerable influences that have sought to fasten themselves upon the labor movement of this country because they recognized its power and because they desired to use it to serve their own purposes.



It has been due to the integrity, the honor and manhood of the wage-earners that many efforts to embroil our country in the present international complications have failed. They have held their ideals too dear to be sacrificed to personal gain, and they have not deviated from the determination to make all forces and all conditions contribute to the progress of the labor movement which is the well-being of the wage-earners. In every trade they have sought to obtain higher wages, shorter hours of work, and better working conditions. They have used their influence to secure not personal benefits, but something that would lift the labor movement upon a higher plane with greater opportunities. These efforts to use the labor movement have come in all manner of guises. They have come as humanitarian efforts; they have come as patriotic appeals; they have come as promoting the highest ideals which human beings have conceived. But the trade union movement of America has steadfastly refused to be moved from the principles upon which it has built up its present power and effectiveness. The trade union movement, the powerful militant organization in industry for the protection of the rights of the workers and for the maintenance of industrial justice, has refused to give its sanction to any political movement in furtherance of peace at any price. While the trade union movement recognizes that peace is absolutely necessary for normal, consecutive development and progress, yet it refuses to secure this peace at the sacrifice of ideals and standards of justice. It maintains that a necessary assurance of peace is power for self-protection and readiness to maintain rights. The principles of statesmanship that hold true in the industrial world hold true in the political world.

The trade union movement holds that peace in any relationship can be secured only when justice prevails and that peace follows because men are accorded their rights and are assured opportunities for necessary progress. The trade union movement is founded upon democratic principles; therefore, it holds that people have a right to work out their own salvation according to their own ideals. In accord with this ideal it refuses to sanction any effort to interfere with others who are working out their own problems. Further, it holds that it ought to take advantage of every opportunity to plan for peace in a constructive way. At the Philadelphia Convention, the trade union movement endorsed a proposal that when the nations shall meet to determine upon conditions of peace at the conclusion of the present war, that representatives of the wage-earners—the great masses of all the nations—ought to be present in order to present and insist upon conditions and declarations that shall provide for the safety and the advancement of human welfare and shall maintain human rights as of greater importance than any other consideration. The trade union movement insists that a human being is of greater importance than the product of his toil. The human being is the creator and in him lies that infinitely valuable thing—creative genius. Creative genius is the thing that civilization and the agencies of civilization ought to protect. This is the principle which the trade union movement has endorsed, and which it proposes to further in all of the councils of state.

As we have said again and again, the trade union movement is as wide and as deep as human life. There is nothing that concerns human life that is foreign to the labor movement. While the efforts of the trade union movement are directed first of all to secure certain material benefits, these benefits are for the purpose of promoting and advancing human life. It has been demonstrated that the shorter workday lengthens the lives of the workers. It gives them opportunities for better living. It is indisputable that higher wages provide the workers with the necessities for better living, and therefore make better men and women. Improved conditions of work protect the health of the workers, conserve their productive power and make them of greater value to themselves and the nation.

From this it is evident that the work of the trade union movement is of tremendous importance to the workers themselves and to the nation, and it is also evident how serious are the duty and obligation that devolve upon us as the members of this Executive Council. The seriousness of that duty and obligation has been ever present to our members, and we have tried to do what we could and make the following report of our year's work.

We have had four meetings during the year as follows:

January 11-16, 1915; April 19-24, 1915; September 20-25, 1915, and November 6, 1915.

There were submitted to us during the year 162 documents. The most important of the matters to which we have given attention and consideration during the year are included in this report.

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1914, and ending September 30, 1915.

It is with satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of \$110,632.39—\$70,132.39 in cash and \$40,500 advanced from the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions on account of \$50,000 loan to erect American Federation of Labor office building. Of the total amount on hand, \$97,887.83 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$12,744.56, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$8,683.16 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$4,061.40, is in the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied December 17, 1914, to defray expenses of appeals in the United Hatters, contempt cases and for the organization of women workers.

The total receipts from all sources are \$271,625.53, the total expenses are \$303,985.95, which includes the \$40,500 advanced on office building loan, leaving the actual expenses amounting to \$263,485.95. Deducting the actual expenses from the receipts shows an excess of the receipts over the expenditures of \$8,139.58.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1915:

### RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1914.....		\$102,492 81
Per capita tax.....	\$176,372 31	
Supplies.....	8,028 54	
Interest on funds on deposit.....	2,340 00	
American Federationist.....	36,731 27	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case.....	15,777 24	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	5,373 95	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	14,257 98	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	890 53	
Reinstatement and initiation fees.....	5,804 47	
Money received and not receipted for.....	858 50	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,190 74	
		271,625 53
Total.....		\$374,118 34

### EXPENSES.

General.....		\$193,595 26
Defense fund:		
Local trade and federal labor unions.....	\$8,223 57	
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan.....	40,500 00	
		48,723 57
American Federationist.....	35,294 06	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,052 66	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case.....	11,982 43	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	9,192 62	
Reinstatement and initiation fees.....	145 35	
		303,985 95
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....		\$70,132 39

### RECAPITULATION.

In general fund.....	\$12,744 56
In defense fund for local and federal labor unions.....	57,387 83
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....	\$70,132 39
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan from defense fund.....	40,500 00
Balance on hand September 30, 1915, including building loan.....	\$110,632 39

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Appropriations:	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$500 00
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	450 00
Union Label Trades Department.....	52 25
Rent.....	5,924 50
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned.....	139 36
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	5,052 66
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Secretary's bond.....	20 00
Fire insurance.....	14 45
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,173 00
Legislative expenses.....	7,068 75
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	241 24
Office fixtures.....	83 90
Postage stamps.....	4,501 02
Printing and binding proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention.....	2,669 50
Stamped envelopes.....	1,011 84
Supplies and printing.....	18,377 03
Telegrams.....	2,090 64
Expenses of delegate to Philadelphia Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	51 30
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates.....	11 50
Expenses of fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	207 85
Philadelphia:	
Committee rooms.....	190 00
Expenses, Secretary attending Philadelphia Convention.....	106 80
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	424 00
Printing and supplies.....	132 34
Printing daily proceedings.....	2,295 60
Stenographers.....	1,139 89
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs.....	180 02
Salary:	
President.....	6,875 01
Secretary.....	4,750 01
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employees.....	41,730 82
Janitor service.....	47 80
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	269 10
Executive Council meetings.....	6,157 20
President traveling during year.....	1,893 84
Secretary traveling during year.....	424 14
Defense fund:	
Strike benefits.....	8,190 90
On account of amount advanced on office building loan.....	40,500 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	32 67
Assessment:	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case.....	11,982 44
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	9,192 62
Organizing expenses.....	72,342 90
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	35,294 06
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter for organizing and legislative purposes.....	3,648 00
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	1,404 00
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	381 15
Legal expenses.....	25 00
Expenses attending Louis Kemper's funeral.....	91 00
Expenses relative to erecting of booth and American Federation of Labor exhibit at Panama Exposition.....	3,885 75
Refund of reinstatement and initiation fees received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	133 10
Total.....	\$303,985 95

## ONE-CENT ASSESSMENTS

Assessments levied on the membership of affiliated organizations August 4, 1913, and December 17, 1914, were to defray expenses of appeals in the United Hatters' case, and the contempt case, and after all expenses were paid in these cases the balance to be used to organize women workers.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1914.....	\$266 59
Receipts from October 1, 1914, to and including September 30, 1915.....	15,777 24
Total.....	\$16,043 83

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## EXPENSES.

On account of attorney fees and expenses relative to the United Hatters' case:	
Alton B. Parker	\$7,500 00
Frank L. Mulholland	1,368 61
Printing brief in Lawlor vs. Loewe case, Alton B. Parker	376 25
On account of stenographic work, Hatters' case, J. H. Ralston	71 70
On account attorney fees preparing bill to be introduced in Legislature, J. H. Ralston	100 00
Organizing expenses, S. A. Conboy	720 04
Organizing expenses, M. Kelleher	940 15
Organizing expenses, Wm. Collins	449 01
Organizing expenses, M. Scully	456 67
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$11,982 43</b>

## RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	\$16,043 83
Expenses	11,982 43

Balance on hand September 30, 1915. **\$4,061 40**

\*All expenses incurred in the Buck Stove and Range, Contempt and United Hatters Case have been paid, and there is a balance of \$4,061.40 in this fund to be used for the organization of women workers.

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1915, INCLUSIVE

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 35 years:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882	268 20	252 25
1883	690 19	352 32
1884	357 42	543 20
1885	584 03	450 58
1886	474 11	635 08
1887	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908	207,655 23	196,937 36
1909	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912	207,373 60	277,479 23
1913	244,292 04	258,702 92
1914	263,166 97	265,737 21
*1915	271,625 53	303,985 95*
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$3,417,126 95</b>	<b>\$3,346,994 56*</b>

## RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	\$3,417,126 95
Expenses	3,346,994 56

Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915 **\$70,132 39**

\*On account of amount advanced on Office Building loan **40,500 00\***

Balance on hand September 30, 1915, including building loan **\$110,632 39**

**ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT TO ORGANIZE WOMEN WORKERS**

(Levied February 28, 1914, by the Executive Council in accordance with resolution adopted by the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L.)

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses from October 1, 1914, to September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1914.....	\$3,818 67
Receipts from October 1, 1914, to and including September 30, 1915.....	5,373 95
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$9,192 62</b>

EXPENSES.		
NAMES OF ORGANIZERS.	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
1. Kelleher, Mary.....	New Jersey Pennsylvania, New York.....	\$1,047 64
2. Collins, William.....	New York.....	931 24
3. Conboy, Sara A.....	Indiana, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Georgia, New Jersey, New York.....	853 70
4. McMahon, Thomas.....	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania.....	801 85
5. Miller, A. W.....	Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Minnesota, Maryland, New Jersey.....	797 65
6. Reagan, Thos. J.....	Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Georgia.....	607 00
7. Walker, Jesse.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	582 98
8. McIntyre, B. F.....	South Carolina, Georgia.....	571 95
9. Deskan, Samuel.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	508 27
10. Mills, K. B.....	New York.....	504 00
11. Sicard, Edmond.....	New Hampshire, Massachusetts.....	492 93
12. Scully, Mary.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut.....	448 52
13. Miles, Chas. A.....	Tennessee, New York.....	430 16
14. Agurkes, Joseph J.....	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Georgia.....	282 20
15. Smith, E. B.....	Georgia.....	181 60
16. Hogan, C. B.....	New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts.....	84 23
17. Wilkins, J. J.....	New York, Connecticut.....	66 70
Total.....		\$9,192 62

RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$9,192 62
Expenses.....	9,192 62

**CHARTERS ISSUED**

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1915, there have been issued 212 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, one was granted to the following International:

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen:

One State Branch: South Carolina State Federation of Labor;

Trade unions, 126; Federal Labor Unions, 40.

Forty-four Central bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Mississippi:	South Carolina:
Tuscaloosa.	Jackson.	Greenville.
California:	North Carolina:	Spartanburg.
Santa Barbara.	Charlotte.	South Dakota:
Canada:	Durham.	Aberdeen.
Sherbrooke.	New York:	Tennessee:
Illinois:	Mt. Kisco.	Bristol.
Carlyle.	Tonawanda.	Texas:
Gillespie.	New Jersey:	Abilene.
Oglesby.	Atlantic County.	Amarillo.
Royalton.	Nevada:	Brownwood.
Sandoval.	Tonopah.	Cleburne.
Westville.	Oklahoma:	Commerce.
Indiana:	Sapulpa.	Strawn.
Dunkirk.	Pennsylvania:	Texas City.
Iowa:	Harrisburg.	Vermont:
Iowa City.	Johnstown.	Wilder.
Kansas:	Mt. Carmel.	West Virginia:
Hutchinson.	Nanticoke.	Clarksburg.
Massachusetts:	New Kensington.	Wheeling.
Gardner.	Shamokin.	Washington:
	Porto Rico:	Bremerton.
	Bayamon.	Chehalis.

### CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS. Suspended, 1: Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers; membership, 2,500. Merged, 1: American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, amalgamated with Operative Plasterers' International Association of United States and Canada; membership, 1,200.

CENTRAL BODIES. Disbanded, 18.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 42; suspended, 148; reinstated, 18; joined internationals, 4; revoked 2.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 12; suspended, 70; reinstated, 18; joined internationals, 5.

### CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1915

YEAR.	International.	Department.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897.....	8		2	18	154	35	217
1898.....	9		0	12	129	53	203
1899.....	9		1	35	303	101	449
1900.....	14		5	96	484	250	849
1901.....	7		4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months).....	14		6	127	598	279	1,024
1903.....	20		3	171	743	396	1,333
1904.....	11		5	99	179	149	443
1905.....	3		1	67	143	73	287
1906.....	6		4	53	167	87	317
1907.....	3		1	72	204	93	373
1908.....	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909.....	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910.....	3	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911.....	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
1912.....	2	1	2	57	149	49	260
1913.....	2		1	63	197	59	322
1914.....	2		1	44	128	50	225
1915.....	1		1	44	126	40	212
International.....							1
State.....							1
Central.....							44
Federal Labor Union.....							40
Local Trade Union.....							126
Total.....							212

### NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS

The American Federation of Labor in the past nineteen years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, the following seventy-five national and international organizations:

#### 1896.

Mineral Mine Workers' Progressive, Northern.  
Actors' National Protective.  
National Union of Textile Workers.  
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union.  
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.  
Federated Association of Wire Drawers.

#### 1897.

Bicycle Workers' International Union.  
Gold Beaters' National Union.  
Steam Engineers' National Union.  
Core Makers' International Union.  
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.  
Brotherhood of Paper Makers.  
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's National Union.

#### 1898.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.  
Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America.  
Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

1899.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.  
National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.  
Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers.  
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.  
Team Drivers' International Union.

1900.

Chain Makers' National Union of the United States of America.  
Glass Workers' National Union.  
International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.  
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.  
Building Laborers' International Protective Union.  
International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.  
United Metal Workers' International Union.  
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

1901.

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.  
Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.  
International Watch Case Makers.  
International Association of Car Workers.  
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America.  
National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.

1902.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America.  
Sawsmiths' Union of North America.  
Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.  
National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States.  
United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.  
International Association of Tube Workers.  
International Association of Marble Workers.  
Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.

1903.

Quarrymen's International Union of North America.  
American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.  
International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.  
International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters.  
International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.  
Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America.  
International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.  
International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.  
Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of.  
International Association of Glass House Employees.  
Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America.  
Glove Workers' International Union of America.  
Order of Commercial Telegraphers.  
Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.  
National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America.  
International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.

1904.

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and.  
International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.  
Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers' International Union.  
Brushmakers' International Union.  
International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.  
International Union of Building Employees of America.  
International Union of Paper Box Makers.  
Tack Makers' International Union.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## 1905.

National Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.  
International Union of Pavers and Rammermen.

## 1906.

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America.

## 1907.

International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of  
United States and Canada.  
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.  
Lobster Fishermen's National Protective Association.

## 1910.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

## 1913.

International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada (second time chartered).

## UNION LABELS

There are now 56 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

## ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.	Garment Workers, Ladies.	Painters.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Glove Workers.	Papermakers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Grinders and Finishers, Pocket	Photo-Engravers.
Boilermakers.	Knife Blade.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Blacksmiths.	Hatters.	Plate Printers.
Bookbinders.	Horseshoers.	Powder Workers.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	Iron and Steel Workers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Brewery Workmen.	Jewelry Workers.	Print Cutters.
Brickmakers.	Lathers.	Sawsmiths.
Broommakers.	Laundry Workers.	Slate Workers.
Brushmakers.	Leather Workers on Horse	Stove Mounters.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brother-	Goods.	Tailors.
hood.	Lithographers.	Textile Workers.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	Machine Printers and Color	Timber Workers.
Carvers, Wood	Mixers.	Tobacco Workers.
Cigarmakers.	Machinists.	Travelers' Goods and Leather
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.	Marble Workers.	Novelty Workers.
Coopers.	Metal Polishers.	Typographical.
Electrical Workers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Upholsterers.
Garment Workers, United.	Molders.	Weavers, Wire.

## ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.	Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Clerks, Retail.	Meat Cutters and Butcher	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam.	Workmen.	White Rats Actors.
Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers; Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water); Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band, and Hose Supporter Makers; Flour and Cereal Mill Employees; Carbon Makers; Pennant Makers, and Soap Makers.



## VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1907 up to and including 1915. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A. ....	110	105	107	127	138	146	151	157	158
Barbers' International Union, Jour. ....	241	255	255	265	285	299	318	343	341
Bill Posters.....	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	93	100	100	100	100	93	90	96	85
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	157	152	126	161	199	167	162	167	173
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	320	320	320	325	327	333	343	381	356
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	89	79	71	78	79	85	91	94	85
Brewery Workmen, International Union.....	*	400	400	400	450	450	450	520	520
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.....	43	28	25	38	34	34	39	32	29
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl. ....	9	8	8	6	7	7	7	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union.....	5	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated.....	58	81	73	71	78	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....	1929	1796	1640	1904	1946	1923	2107	2128	1956
Carriage, Wagon, & Automobile Workers.....	31	15	15	11	30	27	29	35	38
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....	16	13	13	12	12	10	10	11	10
Car Workers, International Association of.....	50	44	50	50	46	*	*	*	*
Cement Workers.....	58	73	90	90	90	90	90	73	16
Chainmakers' National Union.....	6	6	3	2	c	c	c	c	c
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	399	409	398	432	436	418	402	400	394
Clerks, Bro. of Railway.....			56	50	50	50	50	50	50
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal.....								15	20
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.....	500	500	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office.....	9	12	13	14	16	18	22	28	32
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	23	13	15	21	22	28	38	36	30
Commercial Telegraphers.....	35	19	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers.....	13	13	8	6	6	6	8	10	12
Coopers' International Union.....	53	49	41	41	43	45	46	45	39
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.....						3	3	3	3
Electrical Workers, International Bro.....	302	321	138	160	180	196	237	308	362
Elevator Constructors.....	23	25	20	21	21	23	26	27	27
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	175	168	161	160	160	177	200	203	210
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway.....						2	1	++	++
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary.....	125	173	107	81	80	114	160	160	160
Fishermen's National Prot. Assn., Lobster.....	6	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad.....	63	78	46	47	40	25	10	29	+
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.....	7	8	8	3	*	*	*	*	6
Foundry Employees, International Bro. of.....	10	7	5	7	5	5	5	6	6
Fur Workers, International Association of.....	4	4	2	2	c	c	c	c	c
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl. ....								8	37
Garment Workers of America, United.....	334	439	534	542	525	464	585	607	422
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. and Canada.....	80	88	93	100	100	100	100	100	100
Glass Workers' International Assn., Amal.....	14	12	11	12	12	11	13	12	11
Glass Workers of America, Amal., Window.....	61	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Glass Workers, American Flint.....	*	*	*	*	*	*	91	99	94
Glass Snappers, Window.....	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Glove Workers.....	8	8	8	8	9	11	13	11	10
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National.....	5	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife.....	3	3	2	2	+	+	+	+	+
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Granite Cutters' International Assn. of A., The.....	126	130	131	134	135	135	135	135	135
Hatters of North America, United.....	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos.....	5	8	6	5	8	8	8	10	10
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.....	97	112	88	114	127	125	221	256	319
Horseshoers of United States and Canada.....	44	61	72	72	49	52	53	57	57
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.....	363	356	368	370	430	476	539	590	606
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.....	100	100	60	80	45	45	55	64	65
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Assn.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	102	100
Jewelry Workers' International.....	6	4	3	4	3	2	++	++	++
Lace Operatives, Amal.....	8	8	8	8	9	10	11	12	12
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....	23	16	18	187	668	584	788	699	653
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal.....	40	58	50	50	50	50	50	55	60
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	31	40	35	29	26	26	26	28	41
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	40	40	40	37	26	20	19	18	18
Leather Workers of America, Amal.....	10	8	8	8	6	6	c	c	c
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Assn.....	23	11	13	17	21	24	26	28	35
Lithographic Pressfeeders.....			10	9	9	9	10	+	+
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	320	315	213	208	250	235	220	250	250
Machinists, International Association of.....	560	621	484	569	671	598	710	754	719
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

## VOTING STRENGTH.—Continued.

ORGANIZATIONS.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915
Maintenance of Way Employees, Intl. Bro. of.....	132	135	100	87	100	91	80	65	81
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of.....	20	22	24	27	28	28	30	41	16
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	53	63	63	54	31	40	54	62	61
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.....	163	161	160	162	172	166	169	178	178
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2549	2525	2670	2337	2504	2670	3708	3345	3116
Miners, Western Federation of.....					513	506	485	369	167
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.....	375	375	394	400	500	500	546	600	600
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	624	648	596	635	676	685	709	744	753
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	31	43	10	16	24	28	40	44	45
Pattermakers' League of N. A.....	50	55	50	52	56	60	65	67	65
Pavers and Rammers, Intl. Union of.....	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	16	16
Paving Cutters Union of U. S. of A. & Can.....	18	20	26	32	32	35	35	35	35
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.....	28	29	32	35	37	40	44	47	48
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A. Intl.....	50	50	40	40	40	20	10	10	10
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & Can., Oper.....			145	152	147	157	173	180	183
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	160	180	184	200	206	260	290	297	320
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	58	59	59	58	59	65	65	77	78
Printing Pressmen, International.....	166	172	178	186	190	190	190	193	227
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. S. and C.....	12	12	12	13	13	12	13	13	13
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.....			10	7	28	35	31	35	43
Quarry Workers, International.....	41	45	45	50	35	40	40	40	36
Railway Carmen of A. Bro.....				228	269	287	280	287	293
Railway Employes' Amal. Assn., St. & Elec.....	320	320	333	367	393	402	457	545	589
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wks.....	10	10	10	11	12	12	12	12	12
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	248	255	168	160	160	160	160	160	160
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	19	16	16	9	+	+	+	+	+
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....								7	8
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	6	6
Slate Workers.....	30	27	21	14	7	4	3	3	3
Spinners' Intl. Union.....	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.....	55	56	56	56	56	d	d	d	d
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.....									27
Steel Plate Transferers' Assn. of America.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.....	29	31	35	40	42	43	45	45	49
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	85	83	89	80	86	89	66	60	44
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	15	14	10	9	11	11	11	11	11
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	92	93	80	80	87	87	96	98	90
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	167	161	132	117	120	120	120	120	120
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	366	377	320	358	382	415	469	511	516
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	150	150	150	200	250	250	250	250	250
Textile Workers of America, United.....	114	129	100	100	100	109	162	180	189
Theatrical Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance.....	60	62	80	91	98	110	132	150	180
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	21	19	17	19	21	24	27	30	30
Timber Workers.....	18	17	18	18	15	15	31	25	7
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	14	14	15	8	3	3	f	f	f
Tip Printers.....	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	+	+
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	51	46	43	41	40	37	36	37	39
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Ind.....	7	5	5	6	8	9	9	9	9
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union.....				13	17	18	19	17	15
Typographical Union, International.....	428	440	455	491	518	547	564	594	591
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	26	28	28	28	28	28	31	35	35
Watch-case Engravers, International.....	2	2	2	2	2	c	c	c	c
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White Rats Actors' Union of A.....	13	11	11	11	66	110	110	110	87
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3
Woodmen and Saw Mill Workers.....	10	3	7	6	+	+	+	+	+
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	93	40	41	32	31	e	e	e	e
Centrals.....	574	606	594	632	631	560	621	647	673
Locals.....	713	616	608	647	680	590	659	570	489
State Branches.....	37	38	39	39	38	41	42	43	44
Total vote of Unions.....	16425	16892	15880	16737	18643	18499	20976	21185	20433

\* Charter revoked. + Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ++ Disbanded.

a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recognized. e Merged with Carpenters. f Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. \*\* Withdrew.

**CHARTERS**—Reports from the Secretaries of 86 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 1,791 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,421 lapsed and surrendered. Of the 1,367 of the charters lapsed and surrendered were locals of the National and International unions, and the remainder were charters of the International Federation of Labor Unions.

**GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP**—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 36 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 33,609.

**STRIKES**—Reports from 70 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,004 strikes, in which there were 144,932 involved. Of that number 99,543 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$3,418,831.72. Adding to that amount \$88,254.10, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of \$3,507,085.82 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATION.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L. locals.....	166	54	.....	8	10	5	3	4,837	3,587	2½c per hour	.....	\$9,147 12	\$1,520 68
Asbestos Workers.....	4	2	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	400	400	.....	.....	13,800 00	.....
Bakers.....	17	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	344	344	.....	1 hour	973 00	.....
Barbers.....	34	27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	75	.....	.....	.....	500 00	.....
Bill Posters.....	2	1	30	.....	.....	1	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	500 00	.....
Boat and Shoe Workers.....	14	15	359	1	1	3	2	1,048	13	.....	.....	73,743 00	173 46
Boilermakers.....	16	13	86	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	85 09	.....
Bookbinders.....	13	23	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	164	175	.....	.....	822 00	15,000 00
Brewery Workers.....	6	6	.....	11	7	8	2	3,726	.....	.....	.....	50,349 00	1,150 00
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.....	11	6	.....	1	.....	1	.....	80	30	5to 10 percent	.....	5,000 00	350 00
Broommakers.....	11	14	34	3	.....	2	1	85	.....	.....	.....	196,545 00	2,620 00
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	162	222	.....	12	2	.....	.....	16,200	25,000	5c per hour	1 hr.	.....	.....
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	4	.....	250	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 hrs. per wk. a	1,001 34	.....
Carvers, Wood.....	.....	.....	.....	6	1	.....	.....	24	18	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cigarmakers.....	15	8	.....	3	1	8	3	925	581	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerks, Retail.....	42	.....	.....	29	.....	2	9	600	.....	.....	.....	55,000 00	1,000 00
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	200	.....	.....	.....	2,500 00	250 00
Commercial Telegraphers.....	3	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	140	120	2½c per hour	.....	2,100 00	175 00
Diamond Workers.....	64	25	2,760	11	3	3	2	3,760	2,080	25c per day	.....	1,400 00	.....
Elevator Constructors.....	2	.....	130	.....	.....	.....	.....	55	55	50c per day	.....	5,436 00	.....
Engineers, Steam.....	24	8	.....	6	.....	5	4	59	12	.....	.....	5,211 00	2,000 00
Farmers, Stationary.....	23	5	.....	11	3	2	.....	804	778	.....	6 day week 4 hrs. per day	.....	.....
Foundry Employees.....	.....	.....	1,000	1	.....	.....	.....	180	180	10c per day	.....	5,000 00	87 00
Garment Workers, United.....	18	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	10,000	10,000	10 to 20½ a day	4 per week	4,386 00	1,000 00
Garment Workers, Ladies.....	20	62	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	700	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	8	3	.....	6	2	2	.....	5,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,460 00
.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters Issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number Involved.	Number Benefited.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Glass Workers, Anal.	2	2											
Glass Workers, Flint.	1	11		1		6	1	589	250		1/2 hour	\$185,291 14	\$300 00
Glove Workers.	12	46		17		7		5,000	4,400	75c per day c		11,439 14	6,340 00
Granite Cutters.												222,775 57	5,300 00
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.													
Hatters.	56	50	1,250	14		1		2,000	1,520				
Hedeariers.	17	7	120	1		1		281	241	1 to 7 1/2c hr.			
Horsehoers.	43	67	62	10		9	9	2,090	912	25c per day		61,436 45	23,022 27
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	7	4	3	3		3		1,200	700			2,500 00	600 00
Iron and Steel Workers.								1,200	1,000			16,592 80	750 00
Lace Operatives.						2		1,300	1,400				
Lathers.	18	29	950	7	4	2	1	320	267	25c & 50c day d	e	2,550 00	2,800 00
Laundry Workers.	24	11	605	7		2		15				2,101 00	
Laundry Workers on Horse Goods.								80				15,038 00	
Lithographers.	41	18	800	12	2		1	6,000	5,840			1,500 00	500 00
Longshoremen.								40				122,330 51	
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.	38	73	16	43	7	51	1	11,500 m		30c per day		700 00	
Machinists.	25	62											
Maintenance of Way Employees.													
Meat Cutters and Butcher Work-													
men.	15	14						343	600		2 and 4 per week	12,965 49	60 00
Metal Polishers.	10	9		30	5	15	3	720	600			15,624 00	1,000 00
Metal Workers, Sheet.	33	20		7	3	2	4	500	300			17,300 00	
Mine Workers, United.	89	74		1				13,000				1,738,500 00	
Miners, Western Federation of.	13	16		1	1	1		7,000	2,000	30-60c per day		7,576 25	4,750 00
Molders, Iron.	1	13		1		20		1,091				162,384 72	
Musicians.	37	8	1,500										
Painters.	59	120											
Papermakers.	5	7											
Patent Office Employees.	8	5		12		4		166	150			22,000 00	
Paving Cutters.	5			5				250	200			1,139 13	
Photo-Engravers.	138	1		1		1						2,886 40	35 00
Piano and Organ Workers.												5,980 40	3 00
Plasterers.	67	30	75	26	1								
Plumbers and Steamfitters.	42	17	350	38	6								
Post-office Clerks.	18	2	500			13		2,177	2,100	50c per day		525 00	
Potters, Operative.	13	1	685					2,755	2,630			26,091 00	600 00
Powder and High Explosive Workers.	1		20			2		90				26,074 85	

# CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Print Cutlers.....	12	4	6,000	1				18	15			\$942 50	\$100 00
Printing Pressmen.....	10	1	1,189					650				1,800 00	1,000 00
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.....	8	2	2,000			1		1,600	1,400			53,000 50	
Quarry Workers.....	5												
Railroad Telegraphers.....	70	53		1				40	40			65 30	400 00
Railway Carmen.....	10	6	5,000	10		1		20,980	20,885	1c to 4c hr. f		1,000 00	
Railway Postal Clerks.....	13		892										50 00
Railway Telegraphers.....	4	2											2,775 60
Seamen.....	8	1											
Signalmen, Railroad.....	4	4											
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	1					1		140					
Slate Workers.....	47	4		3	10			150	150			5,000 00	5,000 00
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....	4							550	400			7,000 00	50 00
Stage Shovel and Dredgemen.....	2												
Steam Fitters and Boilers.....	9	4	1,222	1	1	2		100	100	25c a day	\$ hrs. per wk.	355 00	200 00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	4	3	25	2				90	50 25 to 50c a day			925 00	
Stonecutters.....	12	5		4	1	5		50	15			6,400 00	
Stove Mounters.....	106	42	6,000	24	2			3,000	3,000	30c a day	1/2 hr.	17,500 00	1,000 00
Tailors.....	10	1	3,000	10	26	1		5,110	2,110	5 to 15 per c <sup>g</sup>	2 1/2 per wk.	30,000 00	1,000 00
Textile Workers.....	4	1		3				250	210			1,000 00	3,000 00
Timber Workers.....	1	3					55h					4,000 00	1,000 00
Tobacco Workers.....			165										
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	5	4		5				300	300	\$2 per wk.	1/2 & 1 hr.	1,500 00	70 00
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.....	2							305	85			159,857 11	500 00
Typographical Union.....	17	14	1,034	2	5	6	3	225	200	15 per cent		2,351 00	
Union of Shipbuilders.....	3	5		7		1	2						10 00
Wagon and Elastic Goods Weavers, American Wire.....			4										
Totals.....	1,701	1,421	38,500	552	115	218	119	144,932	99,543			\$3,418,831 72	\$88,254 10

a for 6 members; b jobs completed; c for 5,000 members; d 25c per day for 235 women members; 50c per day for 32 men; e 122 members gained 9-hour day; 57 members gained 8-hour day; f 1,100 gained from 10c to 25c per day; 250 advanced from average of 29c per hour to minimum of 72c per hour; 37 1/2 per hour; g 10 per cent for the layers; 20 per cent for the layers; h lockouts; i hours reduced from 12 to 8 per day for 1,214 and 6-day week for 2,060; j 11,000 benefited; k for 80 members; l lockout; m in strikes pending; n 26 demands won.

**BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE  
PAST YEAR.**

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool In- surance.	Unem- ployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals.....	\$2,820 75	\$40 00	\$1,380 53	\$871 70	\$3 00	\$1,342 13
Bakers.....	4,389 95	1,425 00	53,605 00			
Barbers.....	29,625 00		58,298 29			
Billposters.....						300 00
Boilermakers.....	8,100 00					
Bookbinders.....	7,575 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	16,325 00		91,212 34			
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Wk.....	300 00					
Broommakers.....	700 00		500 00			
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	324,000 00	45,000 00				
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	575 00					
Carvers, Wood.....	1,400 00				139 85	
Cigarmakers.....	283,961 26	5,960 00	210,000 00	56,000 00		100,000 00
Clerks, Retail.....	11,035 00		17,270 00			
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	2,823 00					7,099 00
Commercial Telegraphers.....						500 00
Coopers.....	5,400 00		200 00	1,000 00		
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.....	400 00					
Diamond Workers.....	2,950 00		2,589 00			10,932 50
Firemen, Stationary.....	8,000 00	2,000 00				
Foundry Employes.....	150 00		435 00			
Fur Workers.....	400 00					
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	69,411 15			9,000 00		55,000 00
Glass Workers, Amal.....	150 00					
Glove Workers.....	100 00					
Granite Cutters.....	29,713 00					
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.....			126 00			
Hatters.....	36,014 25					1,200 00
Hodcarriers.....	9,000 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.....	65,145 97		95,621 55			
Iron and Steel Workers.....	7,900 00	1,550 00	16,440 00			
Lace Operatives.....	3,326 75					
Lathers.....	6,683 00					
Laundry Workers.....	700 00					115 00
Leather Workers on H. G.....	1,640 00		2,135 00			
Lithographers.....	8,420 00					
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.....	2,400 00					
Machinists.....	60,805 68					
Meat Cutters and Butcher W.....	2,500 00					120 00
Metal Polishers.....	5,151 00		6,000 00			2,600 00
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	10,700 00					
Miners, Western Federation.....	29,700 00		59,500 00			10,500 00
Molders, Iron.....	79,063 40		144,338 00			46,960 00
Painters.....	108,882 50	13,075 00	30,800 00			
Papermakers.....	3,000 00					
Patternmakers.....	6,700 00		8,034 81		1,965 43	15,780 50
Paving Cutters.....	2,800 00			1,275 00		
Photo-Engravers.....	3,900 00		10,933 71			
Piano and Organ Workers.....	2,100 00	800 00	1,500 00			1,250 00
Plasterers.....	35,600 00					
Plumbers and Steamfitters.....	21,200 00		68,903 00			
Post Office Clerks.....			1,400 00			
Potters, Operative.....	10,575 00					
Print Cutters.....	500 00					
Printing Pressmen.....	12,231 50					
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.....	250 00	200 00	375 00			
Quarry Workers.....	1,372 00					
Railroad Telegraphers.....	100,650 00					
Railway Employes, Street.....	310,866 34		56,877 62			
Roofers, Composition.....	1,600 00					
Seamen.....	15,578 17a					
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	800 00					
Slate Workers.....	900 00	100 00		200 00		
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....						2,000 00
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.....	300 00					
Steel Plate Transferers.....						40 00
Stereotypers and Electrotypes.....	5,200 00					
Stonecutters.....	10,065 00					
Stove Mounters.....	1,100 00					
Switchmen.....	119,399 25					
Tailors.....	12,848 70		21,180 90			
Textile Workers.....	3,000 00					
Tobacco Workers.....	1,450 00		6,248 00			
Travelers' Goods and L. N. W.....	400 00					
Tunnel and Subway Con.....	2,880 00			2,000 00	12 50	
Typographical Union.....	254,715 93	b				
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	200 00					854 16
Weavers, American Wire.....	200 00		68 00			
<b>Totals.....</b>	<b>\$2,190,718 55</b>	<b>\$70,150 00</b>	<b>\$965,971 75</b>	<b>\$70,346 70</b>	<b>\$2,120 78</b>	<b>\$256,002 29</b>

a Including sick benefits, \$5,300.00; shipwreck benefits, \$10,183.50. b Maintenance Union Printers' Home, \$107,662.02; Old Age Pension, \$302,651.55.



Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year are, in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the Internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception they provide death, sick, out-of-work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of the local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

#### INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 4. Number of persons involved, 400; benefited, 400. An advance in wages of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour. No reductions in wages in past year. 20 agreements secured without strike.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 22. 300 members were involved in shop strikes, each affecting from one to ten men. As a result of these strikes about 30 per cent received increases in wages and the same percentage reduced the hours of labor from ten and nine, to nine and eight per day. Improvements secured in sanitary conditions of workshops. Cost of strikes, \$13,860. 148 agreements secured without strikes. Death benefits, \$4,389.95; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,425; sick benefits, \$53,605.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 27. 344 members were involved in various strikes, and all were benefited. Cost of strikes, \$973. Death benefits, \$29,625; sick benefits \$58,298.29.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 30. One strike pending. 15 members involved. Six agreements were secured during the year without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Cost of strikes, \$500. Unemployed benefits, \$300.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved 3,500. 9 agreements renewed without strike. Cost of strikes, \$5,100. As result of organization members are enjoying on an average of 40 per cent better wages, with a shorter workday.
- Boilermakers.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 359. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 1,048; number of persons benefited, 13. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 200; the balance were displaced or returned to work under same conditions. 3 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$73,743. Death benefits, \$8,100. Donations to other unions, \$173.46.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 86. 1 strike pending. 7 members involved. 15 agreements were secured without strikes. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization, the eight-hour day has been established with a 10 to 30 per cent increase in wages. Death benefits, \$7,575. Donations to other unions, \$85.09.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 23. Strikes won, 3. Number of persons involved, 164; benefited, 175. Despite business depression the organization succeeded in not only maintaining wages and conditions for the members, but there were various instances of wage increases and betterment of conditions. Cost of strikes, \$822. Death benefits, \$16,325; sick benefits, \$91,212.34; disability benefits, \$5,300. Donations to other unions, \$15,000.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 6 local and 2 branch unions; surrendered, 6 local and 6 branch unions. Strikes won, 11; compromised, 7; lost, 2; pending, 8. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 3,726. Cost of strikes, \$50,349. Donations to other unions, \$1,150.
- Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 6. Strikes won, 1; pending, 1. 13 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages in past year. Death benefits, \$300.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—No report.

- Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 14. Strikes won, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 80; benefited, 30. 20 members struck against reductions in wages, and were successful in preventing reduction. 10 members secured an advance of 15 per cent in wages; 115 an advance of 10 per cent; 15 an advance of 7 per cent, and 146 an advance of 5 per cent. 14 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes \$5,000. As result of organization, 40 per cent of members have increased wages on an average of 35 cents a day. Death benefits, \$700; sick benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$350.
- Brushmakers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 34. One strike lost; 2 pending. Number of persons involved, 35; number of persons involved in strikes pending, 22. 10 agreements were secured without strikes. Cost of strikes, \$300. As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from sixty to fifty-four per week. Donations to other unions, \$150.
- Carpenters.**—Charters issued, 162; surrendered, 222. Strikes won, 12; compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 16,200; benefited, 25,000. An average increase of 5 cents per hour was secured. A reduction in hours of labor from nine to eight hours per day was general where strikes occurred to reduce hours. Donations to other unions, \$2,620. The strike resulting in benefit to the greatest number occurred in Chicago, lasting three months, and established a minimum wage of 70 cents per hour. Cost of strikes, \$196,545. Death benefits, \$324,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$45,000.
- Carriage and Wagon Workers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 250. 46 agreements were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$575.
- Carvers, Wood.**—Strikes won, 6; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 24; benefited, 18; balance secured work at other shops. Hours of labor were reduced for 6 members from fifty-nine to fifty-two per week. Cost of strikes, \$1,001.34. As result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from sixty to forty-four per week in architectural shops, and from sixty to fifty-four in most furniture factories, and wages raised from the scale of \$15 to \$20 to \$20 to \$35 per week. Death benefits, \$1,400. Tool insurance, \$139.85.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 8. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; lost, 3; pending, 8. Number of persons involved, 925; benefited, 581. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 199; balance went to work in other shops. Four agreements were secured without strike. Wages were reduced in a few instances, other attempts were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$286,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$5,920; sick benefits, \$210,000; traveling benefits, \$58,000; unemployed benefits, \$100,000.
- Clerks, Retail.**—Charters issued, 42. Death benefits, \$11,035; sick benefits, \$17,270.
- Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.**—Strikes won, 29; lost, 9; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 600. Cost of strikes, \$55,000. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Sick benefits, \$2,823; unemployed benefits, \$7,099. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Commercial Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 1. 1 agreement was secured without strike, affecting 120 members; increases in wages and improved conditions aggregating \$3,000 per year. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. As a result of organization, in the press and broker service, wages range from 25 per cent to 40 per cent above those paid previous to organization. Organized commercial telegraphers are paid 30 per cent higher than those not organized. Unemployed benefits, \$500.
- Compressed Air Workers.**—No report.
- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 3; pending 1. Number of persons involved, 140; benefited, 120. Increase in wages of 2½ cents per hour for 120 members. 30 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$2,100. As a result of organization, the eight-hour day is almost generally enforced, whereas formerly twelve and fourteen hours constituted the workday, and the wage-scale has been nearly doubled at many points. Death benefits, \$5,400; sick benefits, \$200; traveling benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$280.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Death benefits, \$400.
- Diamond Workers.**—No reductions in wages in past year. Death benefits, \$2,950; sick benefits, \$2,589; unemployed benefits, \$10,932.50. Donations to other unions, \$175.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 64; surrendered, 25; gain in membership, 2,760. Strikes won, 11; compromised, 3; lost, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 3,760; benefited, 2,080. Gains in wages averaging 25 cents a day. 147 agreements secured through negotiations with employers. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted.



- Elevator Constructors.—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 130. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 55; benefited, 55. Gain in wages of 50 cents per member per day. 28 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,400. No reductions in wages.
- Engineers, Steam.—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 8. Strikes won, 6; lost, 4; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 59; benefited, 12; 8 returned to work under same conditions; 37 persons involved in strikes pending. 82 agreements secured without strike, benefitting 6,229 members. Cost of strikes, \$5,436.
- Firemen, Stationary.—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 11; compromised, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 864; benefited, 778. Hours of labor reduced from twelve to eight per day for 1,214 members with 25 per cent increase in wages. The six-day work week, in place of seven days, was secured for 2,060 members. 500 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$5,211. Death benefits, \$8,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.
- Foundry Employees.—Charters surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 180; benefited, 180. Gain in wages of 10 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$150; sick benefits, \$435. Donations to other unions, \$57.
- Fur Workers.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,000. Strikes won, 8. Number of persons involved, 10,000; all were benefited. Wages increased 10 to 20 per cent per day. Hours of labor reduced from fifty-three to forty-nine per week. An agreement also secured conceding ten legal holidays during the year with pay. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$5,000. Death benefits, \$400.
- Garment Workers, United.—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 65. Strikes won, 5; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 700. Cost of strikes, \$4,586. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 5,500. As result of strikes, the forty-eight-hour week was secured for the New York and Boston rain-coat workers, and for the Connecticut corset workers. New York, Boston and Chicago organizations have concluded agreements, providing a number of trade improvements, including increasing the earnings to a minimum of 70 cents per hour for operators, and \$27.50 per week for cutters.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Organization was successful through conference with manufacturers in preventing wage reduction. Death benefits, \$69,411.15; traveling benefits, \$9,000; unemployed benefits, \$55,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,460.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2. 4 agreements were secured without strikes. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$150.
- Glass Workers, Flint.—Strikes pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 589. Attempt to reduce wages was successfully resisted in conference with manufacturers; considerable improvement made in working rules and sanitary conditions in factories locally. Cost of strikes, \$185,291.14. Donations to other unions, \$300.
- Glove Workers.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 11. Strikes won, 1; 250 benefited, 1 strike pending. One strike of 1,500 glove cutters for a wage increase was lost, 8,000 glove workers affected; all returned to work under same conditions. 250 members reduced hours of labor one-half hour per day. 11 agreements were secured without strike, one providing for 20 per cent increase in wages, affecting 52 members. Resistance to wage reduction pending in one city. Cost of strikes, \$11,439.14. Death benefits, \$100.
- Granite Cutters.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 4 (jobs completed). Strikes won, 17; pending, 7. Number of persons involved, 5,000; benefited, 4,400. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 600. 5,000 members secured advance in wages of 75 cents per day. Regulation of use of unhealthy tools, elimination of some of them, and improved sanitary conditions, including installation of sanitary drinking-water devices, are among improvements secured. Cost of strikes, \$222,775.57. As a result of organization the eight-hour day has been established since 1900; in addition, now have half-day holiday on Saturday and members paid weekly in cash. Death benefits, \$29,713. Donations to other unions, \$6,340.
- Grinders and Finishers.—1 charter surrendered. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Sick benefits, \$126. Donations to other unions, \$17.
- Hatters.—Sanitary conditions have been greatly improved in many factories. All agreements with

- union factories were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$36,014.25. Unemployed benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$5,300.
- Hodcarriers.**—Charters issued, 56; surrendered, 50. Gain in membership, 1,250. Strikes won, 14; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,000; benefited, 1,520. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 480. From 1½ to 7½ cents per hour gains in wages, advances for the year aggregating \$1,685,491. Death benefits, \$9,000.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 120. Strikes won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 281; benefited, 241. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 40. Gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day. Saturday half-holiday secured in a number of cities. There has been a vast improvement in the sanitary conditions in shops in the last five years. No reductions in wages in past year. As result of organization, wages have been increased 25 cents per day with a general improvement in working conditions.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees.**—Charters issued, 43; surrendered, 67. Strikes won, 62; compromised, 10; lost, 9; pending, 9. Number of persons involved, 2,090; benefited, 912. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 1,096; balance displaced or returned to work under same conditions. Six-day work week established in a number of cities, and where six-day work week was not attained, daily hours of labor were reduced. Vast improvement in sanitary conditions surrounding work. Local unions succeeded in securing many agreements covering one and two men jobs. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$61,436.45. As a result of organization over 60 per cent of members have had workday reduced from fourteen to ten hours per day, and the members average \$1.50 per week better wages. Death benefits, \$65,145.97; sick benefits, \$95,621.55. Donations to other unions, \$23,022.27.
- Iron and Steel Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 3; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 700; 500 returned to work under same conditions. All agreements prevailing last year were renewed without strike. There were some instances of reductions in wages; other attempts were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. As a result of organization, members have been able to maintain wage standards and reduced working hours to a reasonable number with better conditions generally. Death benefits, \$7,900; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,550; sick benefits, \$16,440. Donations to other unions, \$600.
- Lace Operatives.**—2 strikes pending. Number of persons involved, 200; 100 returned to work under slightly improved conditions. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$16,592.80. Death benefits, \$3,326.75. Donations to other unions, \$750.
- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 29. Strikes won, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,400; benefited, 1,400. Death benefits, \$6,683.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 950. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 4; lost, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 320; benefited, 267. 235 women members secured increase of 25 cents per day; 32 men secured 50 cents per day; 122 gained the nine-hour day; 57 members secured eight-hour day. 62 agreements were secured without strike, resulting in an increase in wages of at least 25 cents per day for 28 locals, and hours of labor reduced one or more per day for 34 locals. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$2,550. As result of organization, the practice of laundry workers haying to room and board on the laundry premises has been abolished, the nine-hour day has been established and wages increased from 25 to 50 per cent. Death benefits, \$700; unemployed benefits, \$115. Donations to other unions, \$2,800.
- Leather Workers on Horse Goods.**—Gain in membership, 605. 2 strikes pending, 15 members involved. Cost of strikes, \$2,101. Death benefits, \$1,640; sick benefits, \$2,135.
- Lithographers.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 800. 1 strike lost; number of persons involved, 80. Cost of strikes, \$15,038. As result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from fifty-three to forty-eight per week in 11 establishments. Death benefits, \$8,420.
- Longshoremen.**—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 18. Strikes won, 12; compromised, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 6,000; number of persons benefited, 5,840; balance returned to work under same conditions. The eight-hour day has been procured for the marine workers on the Great Lakes. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully, resulting in slight improvement in working conditions in some instances. Cost of strikes, \$800. Donations to other unions, \$500.

- Machine Printers.**—Gain in membership, 16. 3 strikes pending, 40 members involved. Secured agreements with 30 mills providing for improved shop conditions. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. Death benefits, \$2,400.
- Machinists.**—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 73. Strikes won, 43; compromised, 7; pending, 51. 11,500 members involved in strikes pending. Strikes secured increase in wages of 30 cents per day in some instances. 7,262 members secured reduction in working day from nine and ten to eight per day, as result of strikes; 8,780 secured the eight-hour day without strike. 86 agreements, secured without strike, were reported to headquarters. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$122,330.51. Death benefits, \$60,805.68.
- Maintenance of Way Employees.**—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 62. One strike lost. Secured agreement with one railroad providing for recognition of the union. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$700.
- Marble Workers.**—No report.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 14. One strike lost, 343 persons involved. Returned to work under same conditions. 41 agreements were secured without strike. In some instances these agreements provide for a reduction in hours to nine per day; in others, for increases in wages. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$12,265.49. As a result of organization the members have reduced the number of hours 30 per cent, and increased wages 40 per cent. Death benefits, \$2,500; unemployed benefits, \$120. Donations to other unions, \$60.
- Metal Polishers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 30; compromised, 5; lost, 3; pending, 15. Number of persons involved, 720; number of persons benefited, 600. Hours of labor were reduced from fifty and fifty-two to forty-eight per week at the same scale of wages. 60 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$15,624. Death benefits, \$5,151; sick benefits, \$6,000; unemployed benefits, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 20. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 3; lost, 4; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 300. Cost of strikes, \$17,300. Death benefits, \$10,700.
- Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 89; surrendered, 74. Strike won in Ohio involving 13,000 members. Cost of strikes, \$1,738,500.
- Miners, Western Federation of.**—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 16. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 7,000; benefited, 2,000; balance involved in strikes pending. Advances in wages of from 30 to 60 cents per day. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$7,576.25. Death benefits, \$29,700; sick benefits, \$59,500; unemployed benefits, \$10,500. Donations to other unions, \$4,750.
- Molders.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 13; strikes pending, 20. Number of persons involved, 1,091. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$162,384.72. Death benefits, \$79,063.40; sick benefits, \$144,338; unemployed benefits, \$46,960.
- Musicians.**—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,500. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization, musicians enjoy higher wages, shorter hours, and vastly better conditions.
- Painters.**—Charters issued, 59; surrendered, 120. Death benefits, \$108,882.50; death benefits, members' wives, \$13,075; sick benefits, \$30,800.
- Paper Makers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 7. Strike in progress against 7 mills; 12,000 persons involved. 9 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$22,000. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$3,000.
- Pattermakers.**—Strikes won, 12; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 166; benefited, 150; number involved in strikes pending, 16. Strikes in most instances were to maintain existing conditions. One local union secured eight-hour day, and one local secured the nine-hour day; wage advances secured in many places without strikes. Wages were reduced in some instances; other attempts were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$5,139.13. Death benefits, \$6,700; sick benefits, \$8,034.81; tool insurance, \$1,965.43; unemployed benefits, \$15,789.50.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 5. Number involved, 250. Benefited, 200. 23 agreements were secured without strikes. No reduction in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$2,886.40. Death benefits, \$2,800; traveling benefits, \$1,275. Donations to other unions, \$35. As a result of organization, wages have been raised from the scale of \$3 to \$4 for a ten-hour day to the scale of \$4 to \$5 for an eight-hour day.

- Photo-Engravers.**—Charters surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 138. Strikes won, 1; 1 strike pending, 2 persons involved. 6 agreements secured without strikes. Cost of strikes, \$5,980.40. Death benefits, \$3,900; sick benefits, \$10,933.71.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 75. 3 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, 2,100; death benefits, members' wives, \$800; sick benefits, \$1,500; unemployed benefits, \$1,250. Donations to other unions, \$3.
- Plasterers.**—Charters issued, 67; surrendered, 30. Gain in membership, 350. Demands for improved conditions won in 26 instances; 1 strike compromised. Number of persons benefited, 2,100. As a result of conferences with employers 4 locals work 5 days per week, involving 1,386 members. Cost of strikes, \$525. Death benefits, \$35,600.
- Plate Printers.**—No reduction in wages in past year.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 17. Strikes won, 39; compromised, 6; pending, 13. Number of persons involved, 2,755; benefited, 2,630. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 125. An advance in wages of 50 cents per member per day. 200 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages have been resisted with success in all cases that have been settled; 5 strikes pending against wage reduction. Cost of strikes, \$26,691. Death benefits, \$21,200; sick benefits, \$68,903.
- Post-office Clerks.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 500. Reduction in wages in some instances; other attempts were successfully resisted. As a result of organization, the eight-hour and higher classification laws were secured, with wages 10 per cent higher. Sick benefits, \$1,400. Donations to other unions, \$600.
- Potters, Operative.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 685. Strikes pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 90. 1 agreement secured without strike providing an improvement in working conditions for the members affected. Cost of strikes, \$26,074.85. Death benefits, \$10,575.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters issued, 1; gain in membership, 26. 3 agreements were secured without strike providing for better wages under 2 of the agreements. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted with the result that higher wages were secured. As a result of organization the eight-hour day has been established with a fair wage-scale previous to organization the ten and twelve hour day prevailed.
- Print Cutters.**—Three-year agreements which expired August 31, 1915, were renewed for three years with some slight improvements. Death benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 4; gain in membership, 6,000. Strikes won, 1; number involved, 18; benefited, 15. 60 agreements secured through negotiations with employers. Cost of strikes, \$942.50. Death benefits, \$12,231.50.
- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,189; 1 strike pending against reduction in wages, 650 involved. 4 agreements were secured as a result of negotiations with employers. Cost of strikes, \$1,800; death benefits, \$250; death benefits, members' wives, \$200; sick benefits, \$375. Donations to other unions, \$1,100.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,600; number of persons benefited, 1,400; 200 still out. 1,100 members gained from 16 cents to 25 cents per day; 250 members increased minimum from an average of 29 cents per hour to 34 cents, and after one year to 37 ½ cents per hour. In some instances, payday and overtime have been regulated through agreements. 7 agreements were secured without strike, affecting 700 members and providing for increased wages, regulating payday, and better working conditions. Cost of strikes, \$53,000.50. Death benefits, \$1,372.
- Railroad Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 2,000. Death benefits, \$100,650.
- Railway Carmen.**—Charters issued, 70; surrendered, 53. Strikes won, 1. 40 members benefited. All existing contracts continued; no new demands made, on account of business depression. No reduction in wages in past year. As a result of organization wages formerly ranging from 12 ½ cents to 16 cents have been raised to 28, 30 and as high as 37 cents an hour; car inspectors formerly on monthly salary of \$35 to \$40, now paid by the hour. Cost of strike, \$65.30.
- Railway Clerks.**—No report.
- Railway Employees, Street.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 5,000.

- Strikes won, 10; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 20,980; benefited, 20,885; 50 persons involved in strikes pending; balance left employment of companies. 11,000 members were benefited by wage increases averaging from 1 to 4 cents per hour. 60 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, with the exception of one instance. Cost of strikes, \$1,060. Death benefits, \$310,866.34; sick benefits, \$56,877.62. Donations to other unions, \$400.
- Railway Postal Clerks.**—Charters issued, 18. Gain in membership, 892.
- Roofers, Composition.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2. 5 agreements secured without strike. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from nine and ten to eight per day, and wages increased 25 cents and 50 cents per day. Death benefits, \$1,600. Donations to other unions, \$50.
- Sawsmiths.**—No reduction in wages in past year. As a result of organization, wages have been advanced from the scale of 25 to 35 cents per hour to the scale of 40 to 50 cents per hour.
- Seamen.**—Charters issued, 4. One agreement secured without strike, providing for small increase in wages for 3,500 members. Burial and sick benefits, \$15,578.17; [shipwreck benefits, \$10,183.50. Donations to other unions, \$2,775.60.
- Signalmen.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 1.
- Slate and Tile Roofers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 4. Strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 140. 3 agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, \$800.
- Slate Workers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 2. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$900; death benefits members' wives, \$100; traveling benefits, \$200.
- Spinners.**—Gain in membership, 50. Strikes won, 3. Number of persons involved, 150; benefited, 150. 2 agreements secured without strikes increasing prices paid to piece-workers, and regulating other working conditions. No reduction in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$5,000.
- Stage Employees.**—Charters issued, 47; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 60; compromised, 10; pending, 10. Number of persons involved, 550; benefited, 400. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 150. 50 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, resulting in some instances in a 10 per cent increase. Cost of strikes, \$7,000. As a result of organization, wages have been increased 50 per cent. Unemployed benefits, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.
- Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.**—Charters issued, 7. No negotiations in regard to agreements as none expired this year. Death benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$50.
- Steel Plate Transferers.**—Gain in membership, 4. Unemployed benefits, \$40.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 110. 32 agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, \$5,200.
- Stonecutters.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,222. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 100. Gain in wages of 25 cents per day and hours of labor reduced 4 on Saturday. 4 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$355. Death benefits, \$10,065.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 25; Strikes won, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 90; benefited, 50. Gains in wages ranging from 25 cents to 50 cents per day. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$925. Death benefits, \$1,100. Donations to other unions, \$200.
- Switchmen.**—Charters issued 1; surrendered, 5. Death benefits, \$119,399.25.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 1; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 50; benefited, 15. Attempts to reduce wages are being resisted; settled satisfactorily in one instance, other cases are still pending. Cost of strikes, \$6,400. Death benefits, \$12,848.70; sick benefits, \$21,180.90.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 106; surrendered, 42; gain in membership, 6,000. Strikes won, 24; compromised, 2. Number of persons involved, 3,600; benefited, 3,600. Gains in wages averaging 30 cents per day. Reductions in hours of labor averaging one-half hour per day. 228 agreements were secured as a result of negotiations with employers. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$17,000.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 10; compromised, 26; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 5,226; benefited, 5,110.

Gains in prices were secured averaging from 5 per cent to 15 per cent; most of the members are pieceworkers. Hours of labor reduced from fifty-five to fifty-two and one-half per week for 11,050, without reduction in pay. Among the improvements in sanitary conditions of factories was a general clean-up of the silk mills in Pennsylvania as a result of the campaign of the organization. Agreements were secured without strike, providing for increases in wages as follows: Woolen Yarn Workers, Philadelphia, increase of \$1 per week for 826 members; dyers, Philadelphia, 5 cents per hour for 200 members; Willimantic, Conn., \$2 per week increase for 245 members; Amsterdam, N. Y., \$1 per week; Maynard, Mass., from \$1 to \$4 per week for 800 members. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$30,000. Death benefits, \$3,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.

**Tile Layers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 250; benefited, 210; 40 displaced or returned to work under same conditions. Wages were increased 15 per cent for tile layers and 20 per cent for helpers. Established union shop agreements in several cities where no agreement had existed previously. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. As result of organization the average wage for tile layers has been increased from \$3 to \$4.50 per day, and for helpers from \$1.25 to \$2.25 per day. Donations to other unions, \$3,000.

**Timber Workers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 3. 55 lockouts involving entire membership were lost, resulting in wage reductions; however, average wages are still higher than those prevailing prior to organization. Cost of lockouts, \$4,000.

**Tobacco Workers.**—Gain in membership, 165. Hours have been reduced to nine, eight and one half, and eight hours per day in different factories, with increased pay. In 4 cases the forty-four-hour week was secured and in another case the forty-five-hour week. These improvements were secured [through contractual relations maintained with employers and the influence of the union label. As result of organization, hours of labor range from forty-four to fifty-four instead of sixty per week with wages from 3 to 11 per cent higher, and greatly improved conditions in factories. Death benefits, \$1,450; sick benefits, \$6,248. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.

**Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 5. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 300. Wages raised from \$13 to \$15 per week. Hours reduced from ten to nine and one-half hours and nine hours per day. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. Death benefits, \$400. Donations to other unions, \$70.

**Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**—Charters issued, 2. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization the eight-hour day has been established with a gain in wages of 23 cents per hour. Death benefits, \$2,880; traveling benefits, \$2,000; tool insurance, \$12.50. Donations to other unions, \$500.

**Typographical Union (From June 1, 1914, to May 31, 1915).**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 1,034. Strikes won, 3; lost, 3; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 295; benefited, 85; 17 displaced or returned to work under same conditions. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 193. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Total yearly earnings of members were increased \$104,953. Cost of strikes, \$159,857.11. Death benefits, \$254,715.93; old-age pensions, \$302,651.55. Maintenance of Union Printers' Home for aged and sick members, \$107,662.02.

**Upholsterers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 5; lost, 2; pending 1. Number of persons involved, 225; benefited, 200. 15 per cent increase in wages secured. 12 agreements secured without strike. Wage reductions in two instances; three other attempts were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$2,351.

**Weavers, Elastic Goring.**—Death benefits, \$200; unemployed benefits, \$854.16. Donations to other unions, \$10.

**Weavers, Wire.**—Gain in membership, 4. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$200; sick benefits, \$68.

**White Rats Actors.**—No report.



## A. F. OF L. LOCALS

The directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor report gains as follows:

- Bottle, Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union No. 10875, Baltimore, Md.: 1 agreement secured without strike under which the 8-hour day will be established on a sliding scale within eighteen months.
- Bottle Sorters' Union No. 14842, Detroit, Mich.: Won 1 strike, benefiting 20 members. Agreement established union shop, and conceded an increase of \$1 per day to each member. This local union previously reduced hours from 10 to 9 per day.
- Clay Workers' Union No. 14778, Toronto, Ohio: Won 1 strike and effected a compromise of another strike through which settlement 1,200 members were benefited with an increase of 12½ cents in wages.
- Curb Stone Cutters and Setters' Union No. 8373, Toledo, Ohio: Secured Saturday half-holiday with a 20 per cent increase in the prices for piecework and 10 per cent in the wages of the day workers.
- Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.: A three-year agreement secured without strike, under which hours of labor were reduced from 10 to 9, and the wages increased from 36 to 40 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union No. 8033, Edwardsville, Ill.: Two strikes won by this local and 1 strike compromised, benefiting 50 members. Settlement reduced the hours 2 per day, and increased the wages of the members 3½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union No. 8217, Malden, Mass.: Secured the Saturday half-holiday throughout the year.
- Federal Labor Union No. 11643, Madison, Me.: Better conditions as to safeguards against accidents. In the past 5 years wages have been increased 15 per cent.
- Federal Labor Union No. 12552, Utica, N. Y.: Wages of members increased from \$2 to \$3 per day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 12696, Sheridan, Wyo.: New agreement secured increasing wages.
- Federal Labor Union No. 12916, Lincoln, Nebr.: Wages of building laborers increased from \$1.75 for a 10-hour day to \$2.40 for an 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 13048, Millinocket, Me.: Marked improvement in guarding all danger points in mill.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14538, Coalgate, Okla.: This local reports former conditions as follows: Engineers, \$65 and \$80 per month, 12-hour day; Firemen, \$45, 12-hour day; Ice Pullers and Drivers, \$50 per month, 12-hour day. Present scale as follows: Engineers \$70 to \$80 per month; Firemen, \$65; Ice Pullers and Drivers, \$2.10 per day, with an 8-hour day established throughout the plant.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14646, Denver, Colo.: Secured the Saturday half-holiday for 5 members; 8-hour day established.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14713, Harrisburg, Ill.: Won 2 strikes, benefiting entire membership of 125. Wages increased from 40 to 80 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 hour per day for laundry workers. Secured agreements with 8 contractors and one for city work through negotiations. Men employed at common labor worked formerly 8 to 9 hours for \$1.50 to \$2 per day; union has established uniform 8-hour day at a scale of \$2.40 to \$2.80 per day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14781, New Glasgow, N. S.: 1,800 members of this local were benefited as a result of strike, with an average 25 per cent increase in wages per member per day. 500 men had their hours of labor reduced to 8 hours, from 11 hours for day workers and 13 hours for the night shift. Improvements in working rules and sanitary conditions in nearly every plant within the jurisdiction of the local.
- Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators, United No. 14569: 100 members secured an increase in wages from 3 to 8 per cent as a result of strike. 14 agreements secured without strike. Furnishes following comparative statement relative to conditions prevailing before and after organization: "Low wages; no limit to working hours; home work; discharge in dull season; no heed to workers' grievances. 50 per cent increase in wages; 8-hour day; no home work; equal distribution of work in dull season; conferences held and grievances adjusted."
- Freight Handlers' Local Union No. 70, Boston and vicinity: Wages of members increased from \$9 per week to \$13.80 and payment of time and one-half for overtime.
- Hair Spinners' Union No. 10399, Chicago, Ill.: A two-year agreement secured without strike. Increased wages from \$4 to \$4.25 per day and time and one-half for overtime, with double

- time for work on holidays. The wages of members of this local previous to organization were \$2.50 per day, with payment of straight time for overtime and holidays.
- Hair Spinners' Protective Union No. 12353, Baltimore, Md.: 1 agreement secured without strike. Increased wages from \$2.64 per day of 9 hours, to \$2.88 per day, benefiting the full membership of 28. The former conditions of these members were \$10 and \$12 per week for 10 hour day.
- Hair Spinners' Union No. 14543, East Chicago, Ind.: Wages increased 2½ cents per hour.
- Hospital Nurses and Attendants' Union No. 14655, Dunning, Ill.: Agreement secured providing 1 day's rest in 7, equal pay for women for same class of work, wage-scale providing an automatic increase, and pay for time lost in case of sickness.
- Janitors' Union, Municipal, No. 14782, Chicago, Ill.: Members secured a raise in wages from \$65 to \$67.50 per month and established a uniform 8-hour day.
- Janitors' Protective Union No. 10367, San Francisco, Cal.: Previous to organization the members worked 9 and 10 hours a day at wages ranging from \$50 to \$65 per month. They now have the 8-hour day with wages ranging from \$70 to \$90 per month. \$3 per day paid the janitors employed at theaters.
- Laborers, United, No. 14190, San Jose, Cal.: Improved conditions as follows: Formerly 9 to 12 hours per day at \$1.50 to \$2.50; at present the 8-hour day at \$2.50 per day with pay for overtime.
- Marble, Mosaic, Terrazzo Workers' Union No. 10263, St. Louis, Mo.: Wages raised from 35 cents to 37½ cents an hour for an 8-hour day.
- Meat, Food and Sanitary Science Inspectors' Association No. 12912, Chicago, Ill.: Minimum scale increased from \$1.080 to \$1.200 per annum, with automatic increase to \$1,440 per annum. This local is comprised of civil service employees of Chicago; members attribute increase mainly to their affiliation with organized labor.
- Meter Workers' Union No. 14502, Dorchester, Mass.: Hours of labor reduced 1 per day without any reduction in wages. Members receive one-half pay when ill.
- Mineral Water Bottlers' Union No. 11317, Newark, N. J.: Wages range from \$17 to \$19 against \$12 per week formerly.
- Neckwear Workers' Union No. 14350, St. Louis, Mo.: Hours of labor for members have been reduced 1 hour per day, and prices increased a few cents on each style of neckwear. Saturday half-holiday during July and August.
- Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased from \$3.50 to \$4.80 per day. Members of this organization are civil service employees of the city of Chicago, and attribute their success in securing increase in wages as a direct result of organization.
- Railroad Freight Handlers' Union No. 84, New Orleans, La.: Wages of members increased from \$1.50 to \$1.90 per day.
- Railroad Shop Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 14486, Thurmond, W. Va.: Secured an agreement by which members receive pay for overtime at the rate of time and one-half.
- Sugar Workers' Union No. 10519, San Francisco, Cal.: Wage-scale formerly ranged from 19 cents to 25 cents per hour; since organizing increased to 25 to 27 ¼ cents per hour.
- Teachers, Women, High School, Federation of, No. 14658, Chicago, Ill.: Succeeded in preventing a threatened cut of 7 ½ per cent in salary; 7,000 Chicago school teachers affected.
- Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union No. 10943, Granite City, Ill.: 1 agreement secured without strike providing for 15 cents per day increase for one department benefiting 30 members. A reduction of 1 hour per day in hours of labor secured for women workers.
- Tobacco Strippers' Union, Girl, No. 14847, Wheeling, W. Va.: Members now work 8 hours at the same wages, which they formerly received for 10 hours.
- Water Pipe Caulkers' Union No. 10830, Newark, N. J.: Established a scale of \$4 a day for 8 hours.
- Yeast Workers' Union No. 14639, Washington, D. C.: Agreement secured reducing hours of labor from 10 to 8 per day with a 15 per cent increase in wages.

#### LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On September 30th of this year we had 489 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 23,763 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$97,887.83 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout. Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.



**Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions**

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1915:

**RECEIPTS.**

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund ..... \$14,257 98

**EXPENSES.**

	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Horse Nail Workers, No. 6170, Hartford, Conn.....	57+	13	\$2,976 00
Umbrella Makers, No. 14493, New York, N. Y.....	100	6	2,400 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 7087, Belleville, Ill.....	61+	5	1,222 90
Bottle Caners, No. 10535, San Francisco, Cal.....	29+	6	704 00
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, No. 14520, Kansas City, Mo.....	40	2	320 00
Cooks and Waiters, No. 10968, Tampa, Fla.....	15	4	240 00
Horse Hair Dressers, No. 12889, Philadelphia, Pa.....	6	6	144 00
Suspenders Makers, No. 9560, New York, N. Y.....	8	3	96 00
Agricultural Workers, No. 11978, Anasco, P. R.....	16	1	64 00
Axe Workers, No. 14228, Glassport, Pa.....	6	1	24 00

Total of strike benefits paid..... \$8,190 90

Refund of over-payment of per capita tax received in defense fund..... \$32 67

\*From the defense fund of local trade and federal labor unions, on account of \$50,000 office building loan..... 40,500 00

Paid out of defense fund..... \$48,723 57

**RECAPITULATION.**

Balance on hand in defense fund September 30, 1914..... \$91,853 42

Received in defense fund ..... 14,257 98

Paid out of defense fund..... \$106,111 40

Cash balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions..... \$57,387 83

\*On account of amount advanced on Office Building loan from the defense fund..... 40,500 00

Balance on hand in defense fund September 30, 1915, including amount advanced on Office Building loan..... \$97,887 83

The following table will show that since the defense fund was inaugurated in 1902 up to and including the fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$275,892.24 and paid out \$218,504.41:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Cash balance on hand.
1902.....	\$20,423 00		\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,893 78	103,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	785 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
1912.....	19,336 26	67,455 33	85,663 27
1913.....	18,214 70	18,953 15	84,924 82
1914.....	16,316 60	9,388 00	91,853 42
*1915.....	14,257 98	*48,723 57	57,387 83
Total.....	\$275,892 24	\$218,504 41	

**RECAPITULATION.**

Total Receipts..... \$275,892 24

Total Expenses..... 218,504 41

Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915..... \$57,387 83

\* On account of amount advanced on Office Building Loan from the defense fund.... 40,500 00\*

Balance on hand September 30, 1915, including amount advanced on Office Building Loan..... \$97,887 83

## ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$72,342.90. Of this amount, \$876.20 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly to the American Federation of Labor.

NAMES OF ORGANIZERS.	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
*1. Hugh Frayne.....	New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Connecticut.....	\$6,282 13
2. J. L. Lewis.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, District of Columbia.....	4,018 91
3. J. E. Roach.....	New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, District of Columbia, Connecticut.....	3,557 95
4. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho.....	3,538 75
5. E. T. Flood.....	Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri.....	3,466 68
6. C. P. Taylor.....	Washington.....	3,359 69
7. T. H. Flynn.....	West Virginia, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri.....	3,318 58
8. Cal Wyatt.....	Pennsylvania, New York, District of Columbia, Ohio, Indiana, Connecticut, Rhode Island.....	3,187 94
9. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, Vermont.....	3,156 74
10. J. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois.....	3,049 05
11. J. A. Flett.....	New York, Ontario, Quebec, Canada.....	3,022 29
12. Henry Streifler.....	New York, Connecticut, Ohio.....	2,989 13
13. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, District of Columbia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey.....	2,769 56
14. P. F. Duffy.....	New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	2,568 36
15. Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico.....	2,277 71
16. C. J. Folsom.....	Washington, Oregon.....	2,269 69
17. Joseph Richia.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	1,561 05
18. J. D. Chubbuck.....	Wisconsin, Minnesota.....	1,536 97
19. H. T. Keating.....	Ohio.....	1,447 92
20. O. A. Cone.....	South Carolina, Georgia.....	1,348 72
21. J. B. Dale.....	California.....	1,291 80
22. Grant Hamilton.....	Colorado, Nebraska, Missouri, District of Columbia, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana.....	1,197 80
23. Joseph Tylkoff.....	New York, Illinois, New Jersey.....	1,245 10
24. P. J. Smith.....	Illinois.....	1,036 73
25. John Tafelski.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, District of Columbia.....	1,005 03
26. A. Rayner.....	Washington.....	959 73
27. William Collins.....	New York, New Jersey.....	952 05
28. G. R. Brunet.....	Canada.....	951 95
29. Sol Sontheimer.....	Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York.....	919 65
30. J. A. Short.....	Illinois.....	479 03
31. Michael Sotak.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia.....	424 94
32. W. R. Boyer.....	New York, Wisconsin, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Colorado, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa.....	350 50
33. George Selepets.....	Pennsylvania.....	272 31
34. J. G. Brown.....	Washington, Oregon.....	249 93
35. J. Brown.....	Virginia.....	224 66
36. L. Tarcia.....	Pennsylvania.....	159 30
37. J. Barafalda.....	Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio.....	136 95
38. David Kreyling.....	Illinois, Missouri.....	129 18
39. Jerome Jones.....	Georgia, South Carolina.....	111 23
40. F. A. Fitzgerald.....	Louisiana.....	102 83
41. William Wycis.....	Pennsylvania.....	98 96
42. J. E. Toone.....	District of Columbia.....	90 00
43. A. Rosenthal.....	New York.....	87 76
44. C. Aviles.....	Porto Rico.....	80 00
45. F. C. Thorne.....	New York, New Jersey.....	63 21
46. Fred Reilly.....	Pennsylvania.....	58 22
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	876 20
	Total.....	\$72,342 90

\*This amount includes \$2,491.03 paid out by Organizer Frayne for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer and interpreter, and other organizers.

## AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1915, are \$36,731.27, the total expenses are \$35,294.06, which makes an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$1,437.21

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts.....	\$36,731 27
EXPENSES.	
Commission on advertising contracts.....	\$10,952 48
Contributions.....	26 00
R. G. Dun & Company.....	100 00
Postage pound rate.....	1,253 65
Printing regular edition <i>American Federationist</i> .....	8,345 47
Printing additional copies for local unions, <i>American Federationist</i> .....	12,833 78
Refunds.....	32 68
Salaries.....	1,750 00
Total.....	\$35,294 06
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$36,731 27
Expenses.....	35,294 06
Excess of receipts over expenses.....	\$1,437 21

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts Exceed Expenses.	Expenses Exceed Receipts.
1893-94.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	3,184 21	2,675 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	3,408 39	3,004 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,689 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	25,726 57	24,928 86	796 71	
1905-06.....	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07.....	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11.....	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58
1911-12.....	17,240 19	18,731 77		1,491 58
1912-13.....	16,730 14	19,914 94		3,184 80
1913-14.....	28,040 26	33,507 21		5,466 95
1914-15.....	36,731 27	35,294 06	1,437 21	

## BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1915 INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds for affiliated organizations:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1908-9.....	\$1,692 35	\$1,226 03
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1909-10.....	2,874 75	2,392 75
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 38
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1911-12.....	2,710 07	2,089 15
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,898 55
			1914-15.....	5,190 74	5,052 66

Totals.....\$26,364 91 \$21,399 43

RECAPITULATION.	
Total receipts.....	\$26,364 91
Total expenses.....	21,399 43
Excess.....	\$4,965 48

## APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL AID

Under date of December 3, 1914, an appeal was issued by the Executive Council for financial assistance for the International Glove Workers' Union of America, the United Textile Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners, as follows: to assist Glove Workers on strike in Gloversville and Johnstown, New York; to assist the textile Workers on strike at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Company of Atlanta, Ga.; to assist the Western Federation of Miners to defend thirty-nine members of their organization under indictment in Calumet, Michigan. The following is a statement of the amounts received and forwarded:

Receipts.....	\$6,371 91
Forwarded:	
International Glove Workers' Union of America.....	\$2,126 25
United Textile Workers of America.....	2,084 90
Western Federation of Miners.....	2,137 76
Refunded.....	23 00
	\$6,371 91

## HEADQUARTERS

The following comparative statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1915, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 4,739 letters, circular letters, and packages per day and 343,100 *American Federationist* and 805,900 A. F. of L. News Letters, as follows:

	1914.	1915.
Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	2,509	5,230
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	49,708	110,890
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	68,001	99,364
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	80,176	90,402
American Federation of Labor News Letters.....	1,420,000	805,900
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	269,400	343,100
Total.....	1,889,794	1,454,88

## VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1915 INCLUSIVE

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747	1902.....	10,705	1907.....	16,425	1912.....	18,499
1898.....	2,881	1903.....	15,238	1908.....	16,892	1913.....	20,976
1899.....	3,632	1904.....	17,363	1909.....	15,880	1914.....	21,185
1900.....	5,737	1905.....	16,338	1910.....	16,737	1915.....	20,433
1901.....	8,240	1906.....	15,621	1911.....	18,693		

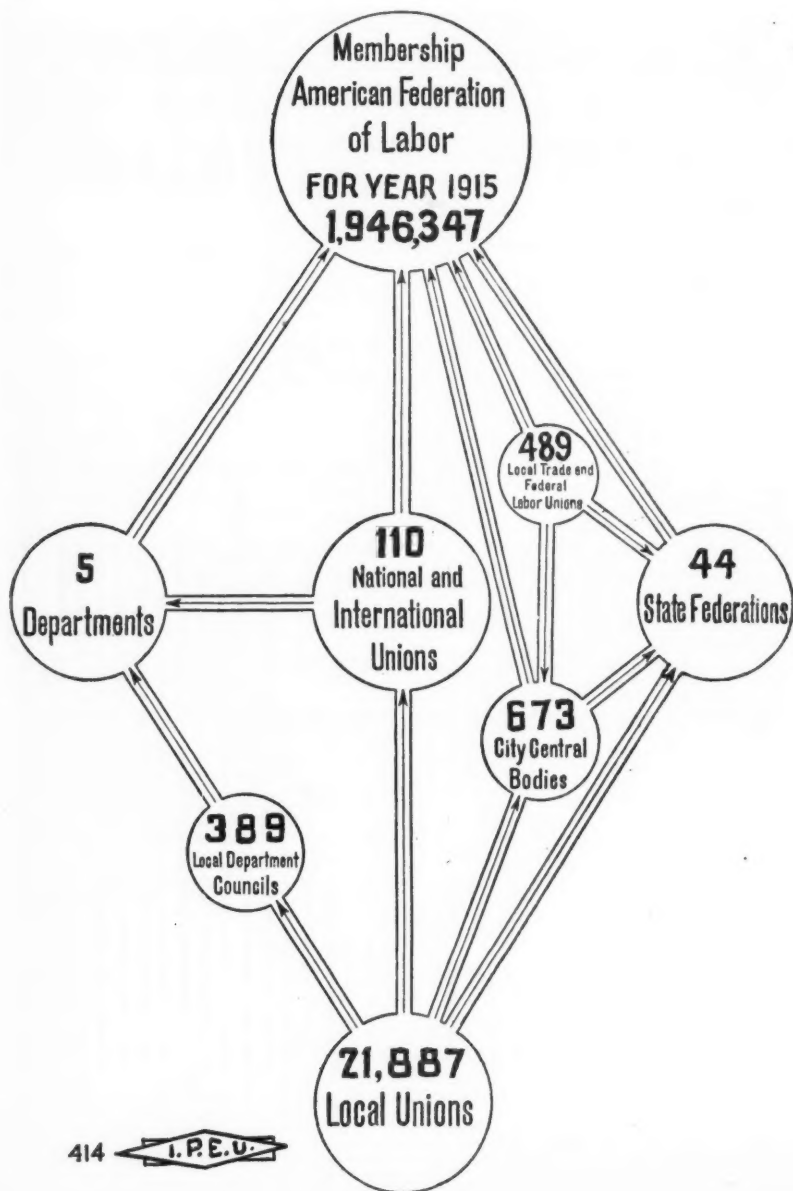
## MEMBERSHIP

The average paid up and reported membership for the year is 1,946,347, a decrease of 74,324 members, the first decrease there has been in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor since 1908. While the average membership for the year shows a decrease of 74,424, the September membership of this year is 1,994,111—a decrease of only 26,560. National and international organizations are required to pay per capita tax only upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the 1,946,347 membership reported does not include the members involved in strikes and lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received. Forty-three national and international unions of the 1,010, show an increase in their average membership over last year of 46,772 members, which is an encouraging growth. Thirty-three organizations show no increase. Thirty-four organizations show a decrease of 118,019 members. The directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions show a decrease of 3,077 members. The decrease in the membership of the directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions is contained in the nine local unions that joined international unions and the local unions suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. A number of the suspended unions will be reinstated during the coming year.

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1907.....	1,538,970
1898.....	278,016	1908.....	1,586,885
1899.....	349,422	1909.....	1,482,872
1900.....	548,321	1910.....	1,562,112
1901.....	787,537	1911.....	1,761,835
1902.....	1,024,399	1912.....	1,770,145
1903.....	1,465,800	1913.....	1,996,004
1904.....	1,676,200	1914.....	2,020,671
1905.....	1,494,300	1915.....	1,946,347
1906.....	1,454,200		

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the steady growth in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1915—thirty-five years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 21,887 local unions in the 1,010 national and international unions and 489 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 1,946,347 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1915.





## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council. Respectfully submitted.

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

## TREASURER'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

I herewith fraternally submit my annual report as Treasurer, and trust that my services have been of some value to the Trade Unions, Members of the Federation of Labor, and through the Federation to all men and women wage-workers.

Financial statement, October 1, 1914, to September 30, 1915:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1914.		1914.	
October 31.....	\$21,281 80	October 31.....	\$22,373 13
November 30.....	15,192 88	November 30.....	23,192 88
December 31.....	27,193 65	December 31.....	27,811 40
1915.		1915.	
January 31.....	23,816 66	January 31.....	21,152 86
February 28.....	20,886 34	February 28.....	20,690 78
March 31.....	21,205 50	March 31.....	20,749 57
April 30.....	18,492 79	April 30.....	18,266 77
May 31.....	20,507 85	May 31.....	19,641 26
June 30.....	21,963 56	June 30.....	22,038 88
July 31.....	16,884 05	July 31.....	18,244 07
August 31.....	17,335 21	August 31.....	18,333 46
September 30.....	46,865 24	September 30.....	71,490 89
Total income for year.....	\$271,625 53	Total expenses for year.....	\$303,985 95
Add balance on hand Sept. 30, 1914.....	100,492 81		
Makes total funds.....	\$372,118 34		

(NOTE: In the expenses as given above is included in July \$3,000.00, in September \$37,500.00, a total of \$40,500.00 paid on Headquarters Building at Washington, D. C.)

RECAPITULATION.	
Total funds (balance and income).....	\$372,118 34
Deduct total expenses.....	303,985 95
Leaves in hands of Treasurer.....	\$68,132 39
Leaves in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance September 30, 1915.....	\$70,132 39
Treasurer's balance, where deposited:	
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., subject to check.....	\$18,132 39
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., interest bearing certificates.....	50,000 00
Treasurer's balance.....	\$68,132 39
Treasurer's deposits guaranteed by American Surety Company:	
Interest collected during year.....	\$2,340 00
Total funds handled during twenty-six years as Treasurer.....	\$3,377,438 49

JOHN B. LENNON,  
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., September 30, 1915.



## INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND WAR

When the Executive Council made its report to the Philadelphia Convention, the European war had been in progress for several months. The horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery, seemed so horrible as to be well-nigh impossible.

But the months that have passed have revealed the tenacity of purpose involved in the war, the grim determination to fight the struggle to some definite decision, yet every day and every month of the war have demanded their toll of human blood and human life and the suffering of those left at home.

The purpose and the method of war are a direct reversal of the purpose and the ideals of peace. Human beings are merely the agencies for carrying on war—they are the centers about which activities for peace revolve and for whom all of civilization and all of progress exist. With the beginning of hostilities, civilized life has been completely revolutionized and the affairs of life have been put upon a war basis. Those things which do not help in the destruction of the enemy or for their own protection and defense are, for the time being, neglected by the warring nations. All of science, literature, music, and art that do not have some direct bearing upon the war or conduct of war seem to have disappeared completely from the thoughts of those who are intent upon destroying the armies of the enemy. Out of all this grim and deadly hostility there have grown an intensity of feeling, racial prejudice and bitterness that make all efforts at peace impractical and futile for the present. America has maintained a policy of isolation from entangling alliances and has kept free from the diplomatic jugglery that has involved so many European countries in wars. Our situation and physiography have aided this purpose. It has been our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation. Through such a policy we hope to be in a position to use our national power and influence to take advantage of any opportunity to secure peace and to establish conditions of equity and justice between nations.

However, the economic ties that bind together the nations of modern civilization are so strong, so numerous and so interwoven, that the life and the affairs of any one country necessarily affect all other countries, and it is impossible for any nation to maintain isolation. The countries of the world have intimate international relations. Finances have international centers. There are common storehouses and common factories in all the nations. These ties can not be severed wholly or partially without bringing well-nigh incredible suffering upon the peoples of the countries concerned. The outbreak of the war interfered with many of the industries and occupations of Europe. These peoples became increasingly dependent upon the stores and resources of the United States and other countries. As a result, our foreign commerce was completely changed in character. The products that we sent abroad had to be adjusted to meet new demands and new needs. This necessitated change and readjustment in the industries of the United States. We found that we were unable to obtain many things for which we had depended upon European countries.

This period of readjustment in the winter of 1914 meant to the wage-earners of the United States unemployment for many and all of the evil consequences of unemployment. But with the readjustment there came to many industries great opportunities for the sale of their products abroad, opportunities to produce the things that were necessary to supply the needs of the warring nations. As our country had maintained a policy of political neutrality, it was necessary also to maintain a policy of commercial neutrality and the products of our factories and our fields were open to purchase by the buyers of any nation. The fortunes of war made commercial intercourse with our country easier for some nations than for others. The nature, the extent and the direction of our commerce have almost completely changed during the months that the war has been in progress.

It was necessary for the protection of American citizens to continue our foreign commerce. There has developed in this country and in some other countries a conscience that is extremely sensitive to the effects of our foreign commerce. According to this concept, commerce that supplies nations with certain products becomes, in some degree at least, responsible for the war itself and for the loss of life. Those who have this conviction feel



that an embargo should be put upon such products, and that all trade should be forbidden in these things which enable Europe to continue the struggle.

But these persons do not consider fully the disastrous effect upon the workers of our country as well as upon all of the citizens that would come from such a restriction and discrimination of trade which would result in closing so many industries and would quickly reduce thousands of men, women and children of our country to starvation. There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. Cotton, automobile trucks, horses, mules, are normal and necessary agencies for the cultivation of peace—they are also necessary agencies in carrying on war. Should we make any attempt to differentiate we would be involved in an interminable dispute over the possible purpose to which materials can be put. All nations are now turning to America as the great producer of food, clothing, and the necessities of existence.

Although it is recognized that these supplies from America do in a sense enable the foreign countries to carry on the war, yet it is also recognized that we have no right as a nation to interfere with the right of any other nation to determine in what manner it shall uphold its demands for justice. So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free they can not be forced or coerced by other nations, even in the matter of peace.

There are evils and horrors which result from war, but there are also evils and horrors that result from a despotism that denies people and nations freedom to work out their own best welfare according to their own highest ideals. We respect neither an individual nor a nation who forgets his or its rights merely for the sake of maintaining peace. Individuals or nations who consciously permit a right to be denied establish a precedent of injustice that affects all others. We do not condemn individuals or nations that have fought nobly for ideals and for rights. On the contrary, we glory in their courage and in their convictions and in the noble fight they have made. Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist. So now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for America's citizens as well as our desire to restore peace.

Peace can not be restored until the European nations are willing. There have been in the last year sentiments and movements for peace that have been powerful to the ultimate realization of that purpose. Some of these movements have been genuine, others have been created by individuals and interests that were really unneutral. These movements have taken various forms; some have tried to influence the policies of the state and governmental authorities of our country; others have tried to work upon public opinion and still others have sought to use the good name of our labor movement to further the interests of some foreign country. But all of these efforts have thus far been futile. The citizens of our country, including all of the workingmen, are too genuinely patriotic, liberty-loving and humane to permit themselves to be used by any such agency. The efforts to use the workingmen of our country have been of two kinds: one to get through them the endorsement of the foreign policy to place an embargo upon so-called "munitions of war;" the other has been to stir up industrial contentions and disputes and thus interfere with the actual process of production so that products to be sent abroad may be stopped. Foreign agencies have been trying to reach corruptly some of the organizations of the workers but they have not succeeded. There is nothing touching the industrial and commercial life of America that is not of interest to the warring nations. They have sought all angles of control but everywhere they have found a spirit of faithfulness in America, a spirit of unity and solidarity among the workers that impelled them indignantly and decisively to reject such offers after their real nature was made clear.

#### *Labor's Proposed Peace Congress*

The Philadelphia Convention adopted a resolution favoring the holding of a labor conference at the same time and place that a general congress should be held at the close of the present European war in order to determine conditions and terms of peace. The resolution instructed the E. C. to hold itself in readiness to call to such a meeting representatives of the organized labor movements of the various nations. It was thought that such a conference would have great weight in urging and presenting the welfare of humanity and in determining the nature of the decisions of the world congress.

This proposal was submitted to the various organized labor movements of other countries and they were asked to communicate their opinions in regard to the plan. So far we have had replies expressing approval from the French national movement, from the secretary of the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne and from the South African Industrial Federation; from Germany came an opinion that such a plan was impracticable. Of course it is impossible to know whether the communication containing the section of the E. C. report upon international war and peace and the resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Convention ever reached many of the labor headquarters. Attention is here called to the correspondence published in the current issue of the *American Federationist*, and upon which we amplify under the caption, "International Federation of Trade Unions." That correspondence must also be considered in connection with the subject now under consideration.

Previous peace congresses of this nature have been more concerned with political schemes and the aggrandizement of individual nations, the maintenance of spheres of influences, than they have been with human welfare, democracy and the rights of the people. The organized labor movement of the world represents the cause of humanity. There is no agency more capable or more fit to present and urge the claims of the people than the organized labor movements of the various countries. Ordinarily representatives in these great political congresses are not chosen by the people or as representative of the interest of the people, but they are chosen from among statesmen, politicians and those who represent great material interests. There is no assurance that the members of this next congress that must be held will be chosen in any different manner. Therefore, the holding of a Labor congress becomes necessary in order to infuse the spirit of humanity and democracy into this political conference.

The congress will afford a tremendous opportunity, for many nations are involved in the war, practically all of the eastern hemisphere. There may be presented an opportunity tending to democratize the countries and the institutions of Europe politically, and to determine the spirit and the kind of relations that are to prevail between the peoples thereof in the future. This is an opportunity for which America is peculiarly fitted. Our country stands as the land of freedom, the land of democracy. Our ideals have been an inspiration to the people of all lands and have induced many to make the struggle for freedom. Freedom is our ideal because we value human life, because we have the conception of the possibilities into which men and women may grow. The people of all countries have turned to our shores for inspiration and for hope. Millions have sought refuge here; others sought opportunity. This congress may enable our country to make our ideals the ideals of the whole world. To be sure, we have not been able to realize our ideals fully, but the great value of America has been that she has given the world a tremendous inspiration. It may be in this congress we can come nearer to making that ideal a reality in the lives of the people of the whole world. It is because of this great opportunity we have been especially desirous that America and her citizens shall avoid any relations that may in the future interfere with our effectiveness in acting as a disinterested mediator and conciliator.

The war is so tremendous, the struggle so intense, the chances so uncertain, that it is impossible to tell at what time peace may come and peace proceedings be inaugurated. For that reason it was felt that the E. C. ought to agree upon some tentative plan for the rapid assemblage of a labor conference. This is particularly necessary inasmuch as the organized labor movements of the fighting countries are necessarily somewhat demoralized through the war; their finances are depleted and they have not the means nor the facilities to obtain immediate and authentic information in regard to the political movements of the various countries. For these reasons, it is necessary that some general agreed upon plan shall be made public in these various countries. Of course, there will be bitterness engendered from the experiences and the results of the war, but the workers everywhere will have to lay aside their personal prejudices and even emotions that are closely related with their ideals, in order to co-operate for the mutual welfare and common betterment of humanity. As members of a great world society all of the interests of our lives are very closely entwined, and we can not, even if we desire, maintain our interests isolated. Either we must be united for our common advancement and our common protection or we will be defenseless against the plans and manipulations of the agents and representatives of the great interests, for it may be depended upon that these interests will co-operate for their own aggrandizement; that they will not allow individual feelings to interfere with their ultimate purposes,

*Purposes of Labor's Peace Congress*

A conference such as we proposed must be approached by representatives of Labor of the world with full consciousness of common interest and all methods necessary to attain those interests. There must be so keen an appreciation of the great things and the important things that the ephemeral and the personal may not interfere with the co-operation necessary to establish greater ideals.

The nations engaged in the war have the right to determine their own policies, and the American labor movement does not propose any interference with this right of each nation. The war was caused by conditions and influences for which we are not responsible and the beginning of which it is not now our mission to discuss. Any effort on the part of our country to intervene now would be interpreted as partisan and hence a violation of neutrality. Only by holding aloof from all movements, however well intentioned, until the right time to influence our government to interfere, can the labor movement be in a position to be most helpful in the constructive work of preparing regulations for international adjustments. The matters with which we are mainly concerned and which it is our duty to help determine, are those things which have to do with reorganization at the close of the war and the establishment of agencies to maintain international justice and therefore permanent peace between nations.

During the previous history of the world, international relations have been left as the field for professional diplomats and politicians. As a result this field has not been organized and there are few permanent agencies for dealing justly, comprehensively and humanely with international questions and rights. There exists, however, what may constitute a nucleus for developing permanent institutions. This nucleus consists of The Hague Tribunal and that indefinite mass of international customs known as international law.

Suggestions have been made to these embryonic institutions to further develop into a more comprehensive provision for influencing international relations.

However, there has been no effort to democratize these institutions and to make them directly responsible to the peoples of the various nations concerned.

The demand for democratic control and democratic organization of international agencies and international methods must come from the people, for it is hardly probable that diplomats and statesmen will voluntarily propose to share their power and authority with the masses of the people; and yet it is the masses of the people who suffer most grievously from wars and who must bear the brunt of war both during the time of fighting and in the period of readjustment that follows cessation of warfare.

Not only has there been little or no effort to democratize international relations, but very little consideration has been given to democratizing the foreign policies of countries. The latter problem must be worked out by each nation, but would follow naturally from the establishment of the rule of the people in international affairs. The matters that will be considered by any general Peace Congress called at the end of the present European war will be of vast importance in determining future policies and the directions of development for decades, aye, perhaps for all time.

At all previous congresses of this type the matters considered have been purely political and have been determined from the viewpoint of professional diplomacy which is concerned with statescraft rather than with the larger problems of national statesmanship and the general welfare of the masses of the people. Since the welfare of the wage-earners of all nations is largely affected by international regulations, in all justice it should be given primary consideration in the deliberations of a World Peace Congress.

Just as the wage-workers of each country have by insistent demands forced their political agents to consider matters affecting their welfare, and have forced national recognition of the principle that the well-being of the people that constitute the nation is a matter of fundamental importance to the nation, so the wage-workers of the various nations must insist that there shall be established as an international principle that the welfare of human beings is of the greatest importance in international relations and intercourse. In whatever provisions are made for international political agencies, the labor movements must present the demands of the people that these agents must be responsible to them.

No doubt propositions concerned with international industrial and commercial undertakings will be considered by the Peace Congress. It will devolve upon the representatives of the wage-earners to present and to demand recognition for the human element concerned in such agreements. It has been altogether too common for such problems

to be considered only from the purely commercial and private profit standpoint. Consideration of the human side will result only from the self-interest and the altruism of the wage-earners themselves. Any effective effort along this line will necessitate a more thorough international organization of the labor movements of the various countries. Experience has demonstrated that the success of the labor movement of each country has been directly proportionate to its success in economic organization, so success in maintaining the interests of the wage-earners and international relations will depend upon the kind and nature of our international organization.

It is impossible to plan in advance for all questions that may come up for consideration. The delegates must use discretion and judgment guided by the fundamental principle that human welfare must have the greatest consideration.

#### *Suggested Plan for the Congress*

There are various difficulties that arise in making a plan to convene the proposed conference. Not all the organized labor movements of the world belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and not all countries have national centers or federated labor movements, consequently any regulation for representation in such a congress must have considerable flexibility.

This perhaps would be a workable plan:

Let every national center affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions send not more than two delegates to the conference.

The labor movement of any country, even though not affiliated, could send one delegate.

If there is no one general labor movement in a country, let the representatives of the organizations of that country agree to send one delegate. It happens that many of the European countries consist of several nations, which have their separate national labor organizations.

The wage-earners of many countries have not yet effected national organization. It would be extremely difficult to get in touch with the responsible officials of these labor movements as quickly as might be necessary in order for them to send representatives to the proposed labor conference. It is necessary then to make provisions for the representation of such countries in some other than purely formal methods.

It is suggested that, in addition to the formal invitations sent to labor centers, that publicity be given to these invitations through the press, and that the notice of the time and place of holding the conference shall constitute in itself an invitation to participate in that conference through authorized representatives. In the meantime until then if there be time the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to extend formal invitations and issue the call in the name of the A. F. of L., and at the earliest possible moment after action has been taken by this convention.

In view of the fact that peace when it comes will probably come very quickly and there will be comparatively little time for making provisions for the labor conference and for circulating information in regard to that conference, it might be well to prepare in advance a circular to be sent to national centers, national labor movements and to be circulated by the labor press of the world generally in order that a more complete representation may be obtained. Then it should also be understood that representatives to this congress must be either officials or duly accredited representatives of economic organizations of wage-earners. No representations of political organizations, of philanthropic associations, or any other sort of an organization except a bona fide labor organization, shall be admitted as members of the conference.

The delegates to this international conference before leaving their home countries should make provisions for publicity through the labor press of their countries for the deliberations and the decisions of the labor conference so that the wage-earners of the whole world would be in possession of the truth in regard to what transpires.

In order that the position of the workers of the United States in regard to international peace and war may be fully representative and carry with it the weight of the unanimous voice of Labor of the country, we recommend that all International Trade Unions be urged to give their endorsement and pledge their co-operation to the program and plan outlined by this convention for the holding of a World's Labor Conference.

## INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

As a result of war conditions, the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been virtually suspended. The international conflict disrupted the interests and occupations of peaceful civilization and has instituted a war regime. All life and industry have been forced to readjust to war conditions. The ideals and the purposes of peace have been replaced by institutions and organizations to serve the purposes and furtherance of war. As the war has cut asunder many of the ties that bound nation to nation, so it has rendered impossible the fraternal relations existing between the national labor movements of the belligerent countries. Since the headquarters of the National Federation of Trade Unions is in Berlin, the capital of a country virtually surrounded by armed forces, it has been difficult for this international organization to continue its work or to keep in touch through correspondence with the trade union centers of other countries.

In November, of 1914, President Legien of the International Federation announced that under the conditions the regular work of the organization would be discontinued and the funds be used only for the purpose of maintaining the organization, and not for the purpose of propaganda. This was necessary in order to preserve the neutrality of the labor organizations. He also announced that the President of the Dutch Trade Union Center, Mr. J. Oudegeest, would be the intermediary through whom he would communicate with the various national trade union centers. It was also decided that the Congress of the international federation which the Zurich Congress decided should be held at San Francisco, 1915; would be indefinitely postponed. But the progress of the war intensified feeling and made communication increasingly difficult. The rigid censorship in many countries renders it practically impossible to secure adequate and comprehensive information in order to keep in touch with labor conditions in the various countries and to discuss any common interest.

In February a conference of some labor representatives of France and England was held in London. Both the British Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation du Travail of France disavowed any responsibility for the holding of this conference, or any of the views expressed therein. The French trade union movement had been invited to participate in that meeting, but not the British as an organization. The delegates from the French organization were instructed to confer during their stay in London with the British Federation in regard to plans for the future of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

As a result of long and serious conferences, W. A. Appleton and L. Jouhaux jointly wrote to President Gompers. In their letter they asserted that, while there was no personal animosity toward the people of Germany, yet that all present in the conference agreed that the national and racial bitterness engendered by the war would nullify the usefulness of the international trade union movement if headquarters were continued within a belligerent country. They stated that it was obvious that many years must elapse before the British, Belgian and the French workers could proceed to Berlin with the same freedom and confidence that existed prior to the outbreak of war. They felt that some change was necessary in order to prevent the disintegration of the international trade union movement, and they suggested that the international office should be moved, at least for the time, to some country whose neutrality was guaranteed by treaty and physiography. America was considered ideal in all respects except that it was too widely separated by distance. Switzerland was the only other country that seemed to have all desirable characteristics, and Berne was designated as the most satisfactory location.

Inasmuch as Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux appreciated fully the gravity of the situation and the desirability of avoiding dismemberment of the international trade union movement, they requested President Gompers to present this matter to Mr. Legien. They most earnestly and emphatically asserted that their request was not due to any personal feeling against President Legien, but because of their deep anxiety to maintain the solidarity of the international trade union movement. In accord with this request, President Gompers wrote to Mr. Legien and laid the matter fully before him.

The course which President Gompers pursued was endorsed by us in our official capacity as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We proposed also that a plan be adopted which, in case of future wars, would automatically remove the headquarters of the international federation from a belligerent country to a neutral one.

As before referred to, the war has made regular correspondence extremely difficult.

Mr. Legien wrote in connection with this matter, but his original letter was lost. His first impression was that the proposition was a matter that ought not to be decided by vote through correspondence, but only after a thorough and personal conference in which the whole question could be discussed. He felt that to change headquarters of the International Secretariat at that time, under the existing conditions, would be an expression of lack of confidence that would, in the future, have a harmful effect upon the whole movement. He expressed uncertainty as to whether or not the request of the French and British representatives was in the form of a regular motion that was to be submitted to the members of the international federation, or whether the affiliated organizations that did not participate in the London conference should have a separate conference.

However, in the interim, before his letter was received, the representatives of the British and French movements issued a circular to the affiliated organizations presenting this proposition for neutralization of the offices and officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In the official journal of the British General Federation of Trade Unions, the correspondence which that office had between Messrs. Appleton, Jouhaux, Legien, Oudegeest and Gompers was published. Later, Mr. Oudegeest of Holland, upon request of Mr. Legien, issued a circular publishing a fuller version of the correspondence.

In the November, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*, President Gompers published the entire correspondence between him as the representative of the A. F. of L., and the officers of the trade union movements of other countries; and between the officers of various countries. This correspondence is published under the title, "Labor's International Relations—As a Result of the European War. Labor's Book of All Colors." That correspondence should be considered in connection with our report.

Mr. Legien's proposal to hold a conference in Amsterdam did not meet with general approval. Mr. Appleton in writing to Mr. Oudegeest upon the subject stated that Mr. Legien did not appreciate the bitterness that the war had engendered in Great Britain and France, and that it would be useless to ask the people to agree to a conference.

We have endeavored as best we could to maintain friendly relations with the labor movements of all countries and to avoid any action that would in the slightest degree interfere with our usefulness and our influence in promoting the best interests of the organized labor movement the world over. We have been able to hold ourselves in readiness to be helpful at such a time when an opportunity for constructive work shall be presented and in order that our influence may be unimpaired and may be powerful for the cause of human rights and democracy. We have been very careful to avoid anything that might be construed as unneutral or in any way hostile to the interests of any group of workers.

In December, 1914, Mr. Oudegeest of Holland wrote a circular letter to the various trade union national centers presenting the terrible conditions that existed in Belgium and the want and dire necessity that had befallen the Belgian people. They had no work and no way to maintain themselves. The peril of starvation was imminent. Mr. Oudegeest asked in behalf of these Belgian workers contributions from the trade union movement of the other nations. A personal representative of the Belgium people brought President Gompers information which substantiated the statements already received.

This appeal for help for the Belgian workers the E. C. of the A. F. of L. directed to be published in the *American Federationist* with the direction to send all contributions to Mr. Oudegeest who was entrusted with their distribution.

As already stated the regular congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions was to have been held at San Francisco concurrent with this convention. That was to have been the first meeting this organization ever held outside of Europe. For that reason it was expected that this meeting would have a far-reaching influence and consequence in extending the spirit and relationship of fraternalism, and in strengthening and increasing the tie of unionism that binds together the working people of all countries. However, 1915 finds such conditions existing in the civilized world as have made impossible the holding of this labor congress from which so much was expected that would be of infinite value in promoting human welfare and in establishing agencies whereby the workers could secure for themselves ever increasing benefits and opportunities.

In discussing the subject of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, President Gompers has urged upon the officers of the labor movement of other countries that the spirit of the Zurich declaration should be observed and that when



the official congress shall be held after the close of the war, it should be held in the United States, and at some time approximately near the time of the holding of the convention of the A. F. of L.

### BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

There is not a country, and there is scarcely a relation in the common life, that does not show some effect of the terrible war that is now being waged in Europe. From our present viewpoint these effects are primarily destructive. Whatever of constructive value shall come out of it all, will depend upon the wisdom, the ability and the statesmanship, the real statesmanship of the nations. But at present we see customs, institutions, and relationships that are the result of years of struggle and persistent effort to realize ideals, swept away by the great tide of destruction and lost in the clash of arms, the smoke of the battlefield, and in the terrors of naval warfare.

It has been the custom of the American Federation of Labor since 1894 to exchange fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress. This practice has done much to establish a feeling of fraternity and to unify the labor movement of the English speaking peoples. Yearly these personal representatives of the labor organizations of the two countries have visited each other, and by word of mouth have brought greetings and messages of the struggle for freedom in their respective countries. Only through the exchange of personal representatives and through personal interviews and discussions can there be maintained that intimate knowledge of events and purposes that is necessary in order to plan most wisely the work of the labor movements of the various countries. It is evident even in the present war that has demonstrated the depth of national feeling and the imperishable quality of love of country that the workmen of one country feel that they have the greatest claim for sympathy, for understanding and for aid upon the working men and the labor movements of other countries. There is an intimate tie connecting those of one country who are engaged in a struggle for freedom, whether industrial or political, upon those of other countries who have like purposes and problems.

That the war last year interrupted this long established custom of exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress, was a matter of great concern and mutual regret. As was stated in the Executive Council report to the Philadelphia Convention, it was found impossible to have the annual meeting of the British Congress in September, 1914. But the Congress contemplated holding two sessions during the year. The Seattle Convention elected W. D. Mahon and Matthew Woll as fraternal delegates to the congress which was abandoned; the Philadelphia Convention, therefore, decided that these two delegates should represent the A. F. of L. at one of the meetings of the British Trades Union Congress.

When definite information came that that Congress was to hold its meeting at Bristol, September 6, 1915, Messrs. Mahon and Woll were communicated with, and authorized to represent the A. F. of L. As the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America convened in Rochester, N. Y., September 13, and the annual convention of the International Photo-Engravers of North America was held in San Francisco, Cal., August 16, 1915, it was impossible for Mr. Mahon and Mr. Woll, who are presidents of their respective international unions, to attend the Congress on September 6. These facts developed too late to be communicated to the members of the E. C. in time for the selection of other delegates. Therefore, it was found necessary, regrettable as this course was, to delay the exchange of fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress and to reestablish this channel for fraternal intercourse.

However, the Congress, during its sessions held at Bristol, September, 1915, elected two British fraternal delegates. They are Mr. C. G. Ammon and Mr. E. Bevin. This expression of good will is appreciated as an expression of genuine fraternal feeling, and we entertain the hope that cordial fraternal relations between the trade union movements of the whole world will be resumed at the earliest opportunity.



### PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS' RIGHTS

As a result of the developments during the months that the European war has been in progress, it is plain that under present conditions protection for the American citizens is inadequate, and not what any sovereign world power ought to give to its citizens. Native-born citizens of alien parentage and naturalized citizens have been forced by foreign countries into the military service for the present European war. In this way naturalized citizens have been forced to participate in war in defiance of their rights as citizens of the United States.

We therefore recommend that this convention in the name of the citizenship of our country urge upon the government of the United States to enter into negotiations with foreign countries for the formulation of treaties that shall guarantee protection of American citizens whether native born or naturalized, and specifically recognize the fact that no country on the face of the globe has any right to claim any act of allegiance of any native born or naturalized citizen; that no country or government ought to have, and can have any legal claim upon them for their service.

We hold that an American citizen whether native-born or naturalized is a citizen of the United States, owes no allegiance to any foreign country, yet as the result of the developments during the European war, now in progress, it is plain that the assertion of this principle has been questioned and controverted. In other words, native born citizens of the United States of alien parentage, and naturalized citizens of the United States have been forced into the military service of foreign countries against their will, and compelled to engage actively in the present European war. We hold that no country or government other than the United States is to be permitted to lay claim upon American citizens or for their services, military or otherwise.

### PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

Since the opening of the Panama Canal, there has been a growing realization that there ought to exist closer political, industrial and commercial relations between the peoples of the western hemisphere. The Panama Canal opened up new trade routes, new markets, and, therefore, new industrial and commercial opportunities, and with them the necessity for a closer political alliance. This has been augmented by the fact that the present European war has closed old trade routes and destroyed many of the markets to which the Pan-American Republics formerly carried the greater amount of their export merchandise.

During the past year the Congress of the United States authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to call a Pan-American Congress Conference for the purpose of considering better financial, industrial and commercial relations and the development of the natural resources of the countries of the western hemisphere. Accordingly the conference of representatives from the South American countries, Central America and Mexico, met with the representatives of the United States in Washington, May 24-29, 1915. These delegates represented all the great financial, industrial, and commercial interests of the Latin-American countries—the steamship companies, the mines, the banks, railroads, telephones, and all the great corporations. This conference was to deal with matters and policies that were to be of a far-reaching consequence, not only in international relations between various countries, but in the internal development of the countries.

All these industrial enterprises depend upon human agencies which ought to be most carefully protected and conserved. Those who participated in this conference are to decide policies and to outline plans that will affect the lives of millions of people for years to come.

It is conceded that the chiefs of industry, finance and commerce, have their own interests foremost in mind—in fact, some who are recognized as world powers have recently stated that they knew nothing of industrial relations with employees and that they considered labor conditions irrelevant to their concern.

If as a nation we have a true conception of the value of human life, we ought to make human relations of chief concern in all our plans. We ought to improve our conception by providing representation. There is but one organization that stands for human welfare and human rights and nothing else. It is an organization that has concern not only for its membership, but for all those who do the work of the nation—a strong, militant organization that fights the battles of the weak and clears the path for progress that all the toilers

may join the forward movement toward freedom and larger opportunity and welfare. This is the organization that ought to be represented in all of the councils of the nation—it expresses the burdens, the heartaches, the yearnings and the ideals of the masses of the nation.

Although these matters were of such tremendous significance, not only for the interests concerned, but ultimately an alliance of the peoples of these various nations, including our own, there was not a representative who stood either directly or indirectly for the cause of the toilers—for the cause of human rights, human liberty and ideals of democracy and greater freedom. Although it is recognized that material civilization, wealth, and all problems are to serve ultimately the needs of the people, yet the representatives to this Congress were of a type that would consider the development and the management of these interests purely from the standpoint of profits, with little or no regard for the human beings concerned, either as producers or consumers—as men, women or children. The tremendous matters that were to be considered by this Congress were not generally understood, nor the far-reaching consequence of its decision, yet these representatives of financial interests, of commerce and of industry, apparently were representatives of their national governments and were authorized to make provisions for the future.

It requires no great imagination or discernment to understand that these able representatives of the interests would so plan and manipulate conditions and events, that the great corporate interests of the various countries would be in a position to control, not only the industries and commerce within their own countries, but international regulations for commerce and industry. In other words, this conference plainly would enable the corporate interests to entrench themselves in a powerful position that would require years of struggle to enable the people of the nations, the masses of the wage-earners, to secure for themselves protection and a right to opportunities in accord with their importance. This conference would determine the tone of international relations, the standards and ideals that would dictate policies and would thus establish a whole line of intangible powerful influence that would make doubly difficult the age-long struggle for freedom that the workers everywhere have waged.

It was because he felt that it was necessary for the wage-earners to be represented in the first meetings where policies were to be formulated and standards were to be set, that President Gompers entered a protest with Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo against the policy that excluded from representation in this conference representatives of human rights and of the masses of the people.

The inauguration of these Pan-American conferences makes it evident that the employing interests of all the countries feel an identity of interest and that there is foreshadowed closer association, if not organization, of the employers of both the North and South American countries. If the employers of all these countries are to unite for the promotion of their common interests, it becomes all the more evident that the wage-earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment. With the Pan-American organization of employers it is clearly evident that organization on a national scale will not be adequate for the protection of the workers in international relations where it is probable that policies will be decided which will be the determining factors in all national policies. Therefore, we deem it wise to urge at this present time the inauguration of a special effort and policy to draw together more closely in fraternal relationship the workers of the North and South American continents. There have been made conditions that have hitherto hindered intercourse and close relationship, but now that the countries are to be bound closely together by industrial, commercial and financial ties, the workers must plan for the future. Of course conditions of life and standards of living, educational opportunities, language—all differ vitally as between the various American countries, but despite all of these differences, there is that tie of common economic, political and social interest that will make for closer relationship and unity of action. From time to time, we have had correspondence with the organized labor movements of some of the countries of South America and Mexico, but this has been intermittent and without permanent association for mutual advancement. But the time has come when it is necessary to plan for our mutual protection.

We recommend, therefore, that the Executive Council be authorized to consider this matter during the coming year, and to enter into correspondence with representatives of organized labor movements of these various countries for the purpose of promoting a better understanding and closer relationship, to the end that all the workers

of the various countries may be prepared to act concertedly for their mutual advancement and protection. We recommend also that some plan be devised for the exchange of fraternal representatives and delegates in some capacity, probably to visit the South American countries and Mexico, in order to carry personal greetings, and to bring back first-hand reports of conditions existing there. Of course, a representative for work of this character must have some knowledge of the Spanish language.

During the past year, a beginning has been made that ought to have an effect in promoting closer relationship and better understanding. The country just to the south of us has been passing through a period of terrible turmoil and distress. After many years of nominal freedom, yet actual despotic control, when the policies of the whole government were in the interests of employers and the exploiters, there came a rebellion for the purpose of securing greater freedom for the people, and the establishment of democratic policies and practices. Under the Madero government considerable progress was made, yet the effect of the past year's work plainly shows the lack of self-control and the failure to understand the workings of a government by the people and for the people. Madero was an idealist who had in mind the interests and welfare of the people. He gave them many rights that had been previously denied them. Among these was the right of free assembly and the right of free speech. The working people were given the right to organize into labor unions. Then there developed first of all the labor movement of Mexico. But the Madero government was not of long duration. Madero was succeeded by a despot who ruled without regard to constitutional rights. The people of Mexico who were struggling for liberty united in what was known as the "Constitutionalist" party, with Carranza as their leader. After a period of fighting they drove Huerta from power, and then there began a struggle between various leaders of the army for control and power. Gradually it became evident that Carranza represented the majority of the people of Mexico and that he stood for the purpose of constitutional rights, the principles of justice and equity to all citizens of the country. Many of his policies revealed a rare humanitarian spirit that is fully appreciative of the value of human lives, whether of humble position or of more influential. Carranza entered into a contract with the organized workers of Mexico known as the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial," which represented the trades and callings of Mexico's workers. This body is a federated body of unions, and its name has been translated by one of its adherents as "The Federation of Industrial Workers." The agreements which Carranza made with the people were circulated in the form of manifestos and posted on streets and dwellings of the Mexican cities. Their purpose was clearly that of the immediate advancement of the working people, their full right to organize, in order that they might be given opportunities to exercise normal activities for their protection. The Carranza government gave the labor organizations not only the right to hold meetings, but furnished them with buildings for that purpose.

He inaugurated the policy of either taking over land that had been secured by illegal or sharp practices, or buying up large estates and dividing these out into small farms for the people. This was a practical method of meeting one of the chief difficulties in Mexico, a difficulty arising out of the large estates in the hands of comparatively few people. The labor movement in Mexico has sprung up since the time of Madero. The federated movement consists of unions of stone masons, wood cutters, printers, carpenters, shoemakers, musicians, and the usual skilled artisans. Of course, the federated movement of Mexico found itself hampered by lack of funds, for not only are the workers of Mexico poorly paid in times of peace, but they had been under even worse conditions during the protracted civil war.

It had been the intention of the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial" to send two representatives to the American Federation of Labor, but lack of funds prevented the execution of this plan. However, the officers of that movement have communicated with the headquarters of the A. F. of L., from time to time, both through letters, telegrams and finally through a personal representative. This personal representative stated that the Mexican working people had chosen General Carranza as their leader in the struggle for freedom and that they were willing to support their choice with their lives. They felt that Mexico was working out her own problems in accord with her ideals and was in a position to establish the democratic government which they desired. The labor movement of Mexico protested vigorously against any action on the part of the United States which should interfere with the right of that nation to settle its own internal difficulties. The workers of Mexico felt that the people and the officials of the United States had been misinformed

by those who had their own personal interests to serve through deception and misinformation. Any action on the part of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico would be interpreted by them as in conflict with the ideals of free government, and in the interests of great corporations that had money invested in their country. They felt that they were entitled to the sympathy of the Americans who stood for an ideal of freedom and they urged that the Carranza army is made up of free men willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom and that the American nation bear with them yet a little while longer for they thought they saw in sight the goal for which they yearned.

The rank and file of the Carranza army is made up of the workmen of Mexico, industrial lodges and trades unions. Many of these labor organizations have joined the army as a body and serve in the regiments with the officers of their unions acting as the officers of the regiment. A representative of the wage-earners of Mexico was sent to this country with a request from them to President Gompers that he do everything within his power to see to it that the effort of the Mexicans to secure greater freedom was given a fair opportunity. President Gompers has written several times to President Wilson in regard to this matter. He urged upon the President the plea of the Mexicans for time to accomplish whatever they desired and for the patience and indulgence of the United States in their efforts. This matter was considered by us at our September meeting and we decided to authorize President Gompers to write to the President urging upon him the recognition of the Mexican government with General Carranza as its head, upon the ground that that government was the representation of democratic ideals in Mexico.

### THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EXHIBIT

The Philadelphia Convention decided that the American Federation of Labor be represented at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The Executive Council instructed President Gompers to make preparations for the exhibit, and in accord with this direction a booth was constructed in the Palace of Education and Social Economy.

The booth has been the subject of many favorable comments, particularly the frieze on the interior of the booth. This frieze represents the workers of the various trades. It is exquisite in conception and execution. The A. F. of L. booth is dignified and in harmony with the cause which the exhibit represents. The central idea of the exhibit itself is the labor movement as an agency for securing greater freedom and greater opportunities for the workers. This idea is expressed in a central text—"The Labor of a Human Being Is Not a Commodity or Article of Commerce," and in the charts showing the high standards that have been secured for America's workers and the better conditions of work.

The efforts for a shorter workday are made very prominent in the exhibit. There is a central illuminated text entitled, "Golden Hours and Opportunities," which reads: "A reduction of one hour per day in the labor of the workers of America afford twenty million golden opportunities for thought, for action, for human betterment every day."

Supplemental charts show the success of various organizations in securing a shorter or eight-hour workday for the wage-earners.

Other charts show the structure of the A. F. of L., its growth and membership from 1881 to 1914, a list of publications issued, and efforts for prevention of tuberculosis.

Charts furnished by different national and international organizations deal specifically with the activities of the respective organizations.

Pictures represent the progress of the worker from the time he was merely a human drudge until the present, when he is a free man.

Other pictures of historical interest are: a photograph of the first Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; a photograph of the E. C. of 1914; a picture of the first Secretary of Labor—William B. Wilson—a workman who represents the cause of Labor in the cabinet of the President. Grouped about the picture of Secretary Wilson are charts showing national legislation that has been secured through the organized political activity of the workers of the country.

A legislative enactment that ranks only second in significance to the labor sections of the Clayton Act is the Seamen's Act, which is represented in this exhibit by the following inscription: "The soil of the United States is sanctified by liberty; the seamen, the last of the bondmen, are free. The Seamen's Act became a law March 4, 1915."

In order that the A. F. of L. exhibit may be put to the greatest possible educational use,

labor literature in great abundance has been supplied for distribution. All the publications of the A. F. of L., and the official journals of the various internationals have been distributed. Many visitors have availed themselves of this opportunity for securing special and general information in regard to the labor movement. Men and women not only from all states of the union, but from various foreign countries, have sought the representative of the A. F. of L. in charge of the booth for the purpose of securing information. This exhibit has rendered a genuine educational service in arousing a greater sympathy and understanding of the aims and purposes of the A. F. of L., as well as a better and more comprehensive knowledge of its methods and ideals.

The exhibit in every detail constitutes a forceful demonstration of what the organized labor movement has done to promote the well-being of the workers and to co-operate in the general progress of the whole nation.

### **CITY CENTRAL BODIES—STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR**

At the Philadelphia Convention the committee on state organization made recommendations which were approved by the convention to bring about better support and relations of affiliated local unions to the different central bodies and state federation of labor. These recommendations were to the effect that each international convention should be visited by a representative of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that the convention take some action to bring about the affiliation of locals with state federations, city centrals, and building trades councils, that the Executive Council should secure for the information of this convention the names of local unions that are not affiliated to city central bodies and state federations, and that the E. C. shall recommend to this convention the appointment of a special committee whose duty it should be to inquire of the international officers the reason for the non-affiliation of their locals.

The provision of the convention that a representative of the A. F. of L. visit each international convention was carried into effect as far as possible.

In accordance with the action of the last convention we recommend that a special committee be appointed to confer with the international officers present at this convention upon the subject of the non-affiliation of their locals, with a view to giving the subject the consideration which its importance merits, looking to submitting such recommendations as the best judgment of the conferees may suggest to the end of bringing about the representation of all local unions in the central bodies and state branches.

A list of the local unions that are not affiliated with their central bodies and state branches has been compiled from reports furnished by these organizations. On account of its length it would be impracticable to incorporate the list in detail in this report; it will, however, be placed in the hands of the committee to which this subject will be referred.

The list indicates that there is a very large number of local unions that are not complying with their obligation of being represented in central bodies and state branches, thereby hampering the activities of these organizations and depriving the labor movement of a large measure of assistance which could otherwise be derived from the co-operation of these bodies.

In view of the fact that the Philadelphia Convention directed that special consideration be given to promoting the efficiency of state branches and central bodies, it is well to review briefly the power and resources which organized labor has within itself to further the cause of Labor and which can be utilized by a central body.

A central body brings the most active and interested members of organized labor in the same community in touch with each other. By mutual advice and assistance they are enabled to make the efforts in behalf of their respective trades more effective. Their combined interest and activity infuse life into the movement and open up avenues of activity through which the local members may co-operate for the furtherance of the cause of Labor. Organization committees of central bodies of various localities were performing splendid service and this could be generally the fact if all local unions maintained active and energetic representation in central bodies.

The cause of Labor will progress exactly in the same degree as we make headway in organizing the unorganized and educating the rank and file of the membership as to their duties and obligations as union members. Every member should realize that the labor movement needs workers, men and women who will extend every aid they can render in accordance with their opportunity. Because of the limited funds of the international

organizations and the A. F. of L., it is impossible to provide organizers to push the work of organization to the fullest extent. For this reason it is absolutely essential that local means should be established in order that the work of organization may make greater progress in each community. Many appeals for organizers received at headquarters depict the local movement as falling backward and in danger of complete extermination if an organizer is not sent to the rescue. What is needed in these cases is not so much the assistance of an organizer as that the local members should themselves exert greater effort to increase the strength and efficiency of their unions, and to assist the effort to organize the unorganized, and demonstrate their faith in the labor movement by doing more active work in its behalf.

The work of organization in the respective communities can be effectively advanced by local members. As a matter of fact every victory that has ever been won and every advance made has been because of the activity, zeal, loyalty and devotion of the rank and file of organized labor, and the earnest manner in which they have rallied to the defense of the labor movement in an emergency or to assist in some crisis. The influence of organized labor and the potency of its strength when thoroughly aroused have been demonstrated in the advances secured not only in material improvement upon the economic field, but also the successes in electing members and friends to legislative halls and our legislative victories. If the rank and file of organized labor would bring to the routine work of the union the active support in every matter in which they could be of assistance, the cause of Labor would make much greater progress. Members must realize that not only are they needed on the firing line when some crisis is at hand, but they must be vigilant at all times to develop every possible source of progress that is at Labor's command; their help is needed not only to resist and overcome the antagonism of our enemies, but to develop all resources within our own unions to make our movement more effective. A good live organization committee should be maintained in each district, in which all the members of the various local unions can give alternate service, thus not making the burden of the work too heavy for a limited number, which is too often the case, but giving all an opportunity to render aid and thus to carry on the work progressively and effectively.

The purchasing power of the members and friends of organized labor could be much more effective in advancing the interests of Labor than it is at present. It is to be regretted that members are often unmindful of their duty in this particular and of the large measure of assistance they could give the efforts of their fellow-workers to secure greater justice, by urging the friends of organized labor to demand the union label upon the commodities which they purchase. A central body can be the means of agitation and education along this line through active committees.

Another important influence which can be wielded by a central body, working under a charter and acting in conformity to the laws of the A. F. of L., is to discourage secession and dual movements among members of organized labor. The constitution of the A. F. of L. prohibits any chartered central body from recognizing a seceding, independent or dual organization, and if men of Labor are practical in their faith in the trade union movement, the censure and repudiation can be made so effective that members of organized labor will realize that in the interests of the members of a trade, and the cause of Labor generally, they must settle their differences as a united body. Secession movements have too frequently proved the worst enemy of our organizations of labor, and our movement can not condemn and frown down such tactics too severely.

Although our American continent is broad and expansive, our people numerous and widely scattered, there is not room enough for dual labor organizations. Our work and our progress make unity and solidarity essential.

Not only in the general interests of Labor should local unions be urged to join the central bodies of their districts, but in the interests of their own particular trades that they should fortify the local movement by an effective central body—one that will work in harmony with the laws of the A. F. of L., and thus defend our movement from every source of impairment. Without general co-operative thoroughness and vigilance on the part of all Labor as regards our own shortcomings, as well as the tactics of our enemies, our efforts will not be so effective either in holding the ground we have gained or in making further progress.

There have been instances where central bodies have acted in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L., by assuming powers that encroached upon the rights and jurisdiction of local unions. This policy has created dissatisfaction and caused the withdrawal of some local unions. While in some instances these unions have had just grievances, their duty



nevertheless in such circumstances is to remain within the central bodies and to endeavor to rectify whatever is mistaken in the policies of these organizations. Only by the freest and fullest discussion and agitation of such matters can central bodies come to realize all their opportunities and attain the best development of which they are capable.

Our state federations of labor, as we all know, serve as the sentinels of Labor at the state legislatures to advise organized labor of their respective states in regard to proposed legislation so that they may see to it that their representatives respect their rights and welfare by supporting legislation drafted in the interests of Labor, and opposing inimical legislation. We can not underestimate the tremendous importance of the work which these organizations are performing, and it is the duty of every member of organized labor to assist in making their efforts as effective as possible.

We realize the immense responsibilities with which international organizations are burdened and the difficult task presented in protecting and promoting the welfare of their trades and callings. For this reason the laws of the A. F. of L. protect these organizations from incurring any risks or complications in the affiliation of their local unions with central bodies, which will interfere with their control over their own members. The necessity of conserving the resources of our organizations and of preventing complications that might arise through enforcing compulsory representation of local unions in central bodies, has no doubt to some extent deterred these organizations from incorporating such clauses in their constitutions. In any event compulsory representation would not produce the results that come from voluntary activity and co-operation of members of organized labor. Nevertheless, the duty of local unions to support these organizations can not be too earnestly urged upon them, and the international organizations should undertake to have their local unions represented in central bodies.

We further urge that all delegates to this convention, as well as the executive officers of the national and international organizations, shall exert their best influence to enhance the effectiveness of the central bodies and state branches of their respective communities, and for the organization of such bodies where none now exist.

### HISTORY OF THE A. F. OF L. DEPARTMENTS

The Seattle Convention directed that the various Departments affiliated to the American Federation of Labor be asked to prepare historical data showing the causes which resulted in the formation of the Departments and to furnish the President of the A. F. of L. with a brief history of the Departments. These histories have been prepared and submitted by the secretaries of the various Departments. They are too long to be included in this report and we recommend that the convention authorize and direct the publication of these histories in the *American Federationist* during the coming year. The history constitutes very valuable documents necessary to an understanding of the work of the A. F. of L. and of infinite value to students and historians.

### ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS

Two years ago the American Federation of Labor directed that a special assessment of 1 cent should be levied to furnish funds for a special campaign for the organization of women wage-earners. It is now a recognized fact that the work of women is a part of the industries of our country. This does not mean that women are doing more work than formerly, or work of altogether a different nature; merely that they are working in different places and under different conditions. They have followed various industries as they have been taken from home workshops into the factories and made part of the factory system of the age. Women are now gainfully employed, whereas formerly their work was merely a part of the productions of the collective efforts of the family for which they received no compensation in the form of wages. The head of a family received and handled all of the wages in return for the work.

Under modern industrial conditions women are recognized as distinctive workers, and their labors are compensated individually. This new condition has contributed to developing a spirit of independence, self-assertion, and resourcefulness on their part. There are often many criticisms advanced that women do not understand the spirit, and the methods of collective action of organization in trade unions, and that therefore they can not protect themselves through economic organizations. Again and again this assertion



has been proved false. Women can be organized, they can and do understand the principles of trade unionism, and they are able and willing to fight for the cause. Of course there have been elements associated with the lives of women that make for dependence both personal and economic. But these conditions are being modified, and in many places replaced by economic independence of women and by granting them full equality with men—industrial, political and otherwise.

The whole tendency of the modern age is to break down old prejudices and old ideas based upon the concept that the lives of women are essentially different from those of men, and hence their development and progress must be worked out along different policies and upon different principles. Women now work side by side with men doing the same kind of work, and often an equal amount. Where women are not organized, too often it is found they do not receive equal pay for equal work.

Various expedients and palliatives have been tried to remedy the manifest wrongs and injustice that women encounter in the industrial world. Many of these efforts were in the nature of philanthropy, vacation clubs, welfare associations and organizations, uplift work and other kinds of efforts of those who wish to help women. However, the working women have found that their industrial problems are in nowise different from the industrial problems that confront men. Industrial welfare can not be worked out on a sex basis. Industrial welfare, or rather the welfare of wage-earners in industrial work, must be based upon fundamental principles which conserve human welfare and protect and develop all. These principles in nowise differ as between men and women. It is the consensus of opinion that the one unfailing agency for the protection of men wage-earners in industry is the trade union organization. What has been demonstrated to be necessary in the case of men is also necessary in the case of women.

Women wage-earners ask and demand only the opportunity to secure justice for themselves. They do not want charity; they do not want uplift work; they do not want social clubs and social centers as a substitute for trade union organization. They want an agency that will enable them to secure wages admitting of decent standards of life and a satisfaction of their many human wants.

In states that withhold from women the right of the ballot, women are still looked upon as wards of the state, although they are expected to do the work of intelligent, responsible persons. Though they are given equal opportunities for education in the common schools of the state, and in most states in the universities also, yet they are denied the right to express an intelligent opinion upon political questions which affect their rights and their future welfare.

The organized labor movement has long been on record as endorsing the right of the ballot for all intelligent members of society, regardless of sex. Wherever this idea and this regulation have been established by law, there is swept away one of the great distinctions between the problems of men and women. In those localities there can no longer be an industrial policy based upon the theory that women are wards of the state. No policy affecting their industrial welfare can be justly established which does not equally apply to men.

The trade union movement has opposed the regulation of working conditions, hours of work, and wages for men in private industry by law or by political agents. Where equality between men and women is established, the endorsement of this principle for women becomes also a very serious menace to the liberty of the men wage-earners. Any legislation that bestows upon political agents the right to control industrial relations in private industries becomes a serious menace and infringement upon the rights of free workers. There are only two theories advanced for securing industrial betterment. One is by securing for the wage-earners the right of organization and maintaining for those organizations the full right to such activities as are necessary in order to secure their legitimate objects. The other is to bestow upon the state the right to control and regulate industrial relations. It is plain that this latter policy would establish a sort of political paternalism that might secure sole advantages for the wage-earners, but would deprive them of their real freedom.

The first policy is the one that is in accord with trade union history and philosophy, and in line with the theory of our Republic. There can be no question, but that the policy tending towards paternalism is subversive to free ideals and democratic government. It could result only in bureaucracy with all the evils that are inseparable from that institution, and all of the weaknesses that it fosters and develops in those that it is supposed to benefit.

Since men and women now work on equality in industry, it is becoming daily more apparent that the paternalistic policy can not be adopted in the case of women without danger to men. The trade union movement, which has ever been foremost in the age-long struggle for freedom, was among the first to point out the danger of regulating industrial relations for women by law, and to formulate the policy that women workers, aided by men, must organize and work out their own salvation, develop their own ideas, and be responsible for their realization. Women must become equally resourceful and independent as men, or else progress is retarded. It is because they recognize the importance of these truths that American trade unionists have endorsed equal organization of wage-earning women and have levied special assessments to maintain a campaign for that purpose.

In connection with the discussion of a minimum wage by law, attention should be called to a proposition advanced by President Gompers by which the desired result could be achieved without doing violence to any inherent right of freedom. While a member of the New York Factory Investigation Commission, he proposed as a substitute for a minimum wage law for all women workers this suggestion. That minimum wage for all workers under 21 years of age shall be established by state agencies, and for the purpose of that law all wage-workers, male or female, under the age of 21 years, shall be regarded as coming under the operation of the minimum wage law. Thus equality before the law will be established, wage-workers who are minors under 21 years of age will have lost no right they now have, and each will be accorded the full status of equality and rights after reaching the age of 21 years with all other workers and citizens of the state.

We are in accord with the opinion as expressed by President Gompers, that if such a provision were enacted into law no fear need be apprehended that workers, both men and women, after they have reached the age of 21 years, would receive less than the minimum, but, on the contrary, they would work for the attainment of the general standards of wages, hours and conditions of labor as prevail in the trade or vocation in which they are engaged. The plan suggested makes no distinction in policies for securing industrial betterment based upon purely sex distinction.

It is submitted for your most careful consideration and action.

Like all the rest of the organizing work during the past year, our plans have been hampered by lack of funds. The workers of this country have felt the serious depression that followed the European war. During the last winter they suffered because of a very serious unemployment that generally prevailed. Since the period of readjustment and the increased activity, because of new needs and demands, many of the workers are now more generally employed and their organizations sharing in the advantages that have come. In many of these localities the workers have sought to profit by advantageous conditions to organize and to present and procure demands securing for them better conditions. Where these movements exist, the women who were employed in industries have also caught the spirit of organization and have, therefore, improved their conditions. In some of these localities great progress has been made in organizing women. During the past year two women organizers have been maintained in the field giving their services principally to this particular work.

The Philadelphia Convention authorized the levying of a 1 per cent assessment for the purpose of organizing women wage-earners. We did not deem it wise to levy that assessment during the past year and continue this work as best we could with the funds that remained from the assessment of the previous year, together with what was left from the funds of the Hatters' case. During the year there were seventeen organizers engaged in the special campaign to organize women and \$9,192.62 was expended for this work. Among the trades in which these organizers have endeavored to build up organizations are the garment workers, the textile workers, manufacturers of electrical supplies, silk workers, cotton mills, and others. Perhaps the textile workers have secured larger gains than any other trade.

### AFFILIATION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONS

We particularly urge upon all unaffiliated national and international unions the duty of affiliating with the American Federation of Labor. They now share in part the beneficent results of the efforts of the united trade union organizations, as do all of the workers of the country, organized or unorganized. Participation in the benefits carries with it an

obligation and duty to participate in the support and the activities of the trade union movement. The failure of any national or international organization to affiliate with the general labor movement not only limits the relative proportion of benefits that the workers of the unaffiliated organizations receive from the labor movement, but it limits the effectiveness and the influence of the general movement.

There are an infinite number of ways by which closer relations and better understanding can benefit all organizations united together. The greater the solidarity of the labor movement the more each and every individual has to gain from the association. There are many sympathies, interests, and purposes that all of the wage-earners have in common for support and co-operation in attaining their purposes. They can rely only upon their fellow-workers. All of the wage-earners ought to express and maintain this relation and mutual dependence in some organized form for the purpose of securing the best results and their ideals.

The national and international unions can only gain from affiliation to the A. F. of L. They lose nothing in the way of control over their organizations. It is one of the fundamentals that autonomy is assured to every national and international affiliated to the A. F. of L. The relation that exists between the trade union organizations is purely voluntary based upon mutual interests and purposes. The voluntary nature of the relation increases its strength and its flexibility. We recommend that the efforts to secure the affiliation of all unaffiliated organizations be continued during the coming year.

### LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT

The labor forward movement has become an established agency in the extension of the trade union movement and has grown increasingly in favor. Reports have come from many localities during the past year that labor forward movements have been inaugurated with gratifying results. Perhaps one of the most valuable characteristics of many of these movements is that the plans for carrying on activities begun by labor forward movements have become a permanent part of the work. This indicates the realization of the fact that some outlet must be provided for the enthusiasm and spirit aroused by the labor forward movement. This special kind of work affords an opportunity for activity on the part of all members of the labor movement.

Since it has the effect of developing the ability and the desire for work on the part of the individual members, it adds permanent strength and aggressiveness to the organizations. When these movements are carried on in the warmer weather, there are particularly good opportunities for informal meetings, street meetings and open air talks that enable the trade unionists to reach a group of workers that could not be reached by formal meetings within buildings. This particular kind of labor forward meeting provides for a greater amount of work, for a greater number of people, and hence develops those who already belong to the trade union movement and gives them the very necessary feeling that they are an important part of the labor movement, and that upon them will devolve responsibility for the success of this particular effort. The educational value can not be overlooked in estimating the labor forward movement.

As the members of the labor movement become speakers and orators for Labor, they also become defenders of the cause of trade unionism, and they feel a more intimate concern for the success of the cause. The experience equips them for larger and wider activities and greater usefulness in carrying on the work of the movement. Labor forward movements generate an enthusiasm and open up greater opportunities for future work. The nature of this kind of a campaign makes for closer association between members of the same and different trades and industries, and hence develops the feeling of fraternity and federation. During the past year many labor forward campaigns have been inaugurated, a few of which were at Alton, Ill.; Youngstown, Ohio; Fargo, N. Dak.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; Everett, Mass.; Canton, Ohio; New Orleans, La.; Tacoma, Wash.; Toledo, Ohio; Springfield, Mass.; Meriden, Conn.; and Jamestown, N. Y. The state labor movement of Arkansas planned to make Labor Day the beginning of a labor forward campaign on a state-wide scale in order to give a practical outlet to the support of Labor Day. Wherever it was possible organizers of the American Federation of Labor, or some representative, have participated in these labor forward campaigns. President Gompers delivered addresses at the inauguration of two of them—Springfield, Mass., and Meriden, Conn. We feel that the labor forward movements of the country are a means for renewing devotion to the cause of Labor, which is the

cause of humanity, and for arousing enthusiasm and creating new ideals for our age-long struggle for liberty and better life.

We make one suggestion in regard to these labor forward campaigns, which we think will be of value in conducting that sort of work. If every local organization that conducts a campaign of this character would send to the A. F. of L. an account of the results of the movement, together with a statement of how the campaign was conducted, information about any method that has proved itself valuable in one locality can be given to other workers who are attempting similar work, and hence the experience will become of service to others. In conducting these campaigns it is well to have in mind that anything which is vitally and intimately associated with the lives of the people must touch emotions very closely.

The labor movement can not afford to abandon sentiment and idealism. One of the most common and primitive means for the expression of sentiment is through music. It is regrettable that there are so few labor songs now in common use. However, if each organization throughout the country will do something to help to supply this deficiency, out of the whole effort there no doubt will come shortly a collection of labor songs and labor music that will be of assistance in developing and directing the sentiment of our movement.

While the effort of the trade union movement to secure better wages, shorter hours, and better conditions is the basis of this activity, yet it reaches its highest effectiveness when associated with that which is capable of stirring the very depths of human nature. Our labor movement must not be too busy to take time for sentiment with special labor forward campaigns, but in connection with the regular meetings of all organizations there should be at least a little time devoted to the idealism that gives the labor movement purpose and direction.

### ORGANIZERS

It was not so many years ago that an organizer for the labor movement was regarded as a dangerous man in a community. He was a marked man, blacklisted, denied opportunities for any kind of work, starved and persecuted, but since the labor movement has grown in power, and has been recognized as a movement for humanity, it now is regarded as a great constructive agency of the community. In industrial clashes and in periods of industrial unrest, labor organizers are recognized as representatives of a movement that stands for justice and for the general human welfare. In many cases during late years employers and the community have welcomed the appearance of an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, for they know that these representatives stand for constructive practical policies. Formerly one of the indispensable qualities of an organizer was ability for physical self-defense and protection. While the organizer of the present day does not lack physical power or courage, he must possess, he must have, sincerity and devotion to the rights and interests of the workers whom he represents and in addition power of leadership and ability to educate. This change marks the tremendous forward progress of the trade union movement since the organization of the A. F. of L.

To be sure, that progress is not uniform. There are still localities where the forces of property and private gain are so powerful that the workers are denied the right to organize, and where attempt to exercise that right is contested by violence and by warfare. But in those sections of the country where the greatest industrial progress has been made and where the broadest ideals of human liberty prevail, organization is recognized as an essential element of industry. Where industrial statesmanship has been developed to a degree that co-operation with the organized labor movement is sought, there the work of the organizers of the labor movement becomes largely administrative and educational. Recognition of this fact has led during the past year to increased efforts to render necessary assistance and information to the organizers of the A. F. of L. This has been referred to in another section of this report.

The labor movement can be no greater than the people that compose the labor movement. It can make progress no faster nor no more definitely than the wisdom and the experience of the members of the labor movement direct. This emphasizes the importance of educational ability among the organizers, because it emphasizes the necessity for giving to the rank and file of the labor movement information that will prevent them from making mistakes in directing their course, and enable them to decide upon the wisest plans.

The organizers of the A. F. of L. are in daily contact with the wage-earners. They

have, through conferences, conversations, public addresses, as well as in all of their activities of an official character, innumerable opportunities to disseminate information, and to make suggestions that will give form and direction to opinion in the labor movement, and will be of infinite power in determining its ultimate destiny. The success of all efforts depends in a large degree upon those to whom is entrusted administration. The duties of organizers and members of unions may often seem commonplace and unimportant, but this seemingly routine or obscure work that has been necessary, has brought the labor movement to its present high degree of power and effectiveness.

There are, in the labor movement of America, many organizers who serve without pay, who give to the labor movement whatever of time and of energy they have left when the day's work is done. The work of these faithful men and women has been one of the instrumentalities that has brought the trade union movement beyond the two million mark, and is steadily urging it up to the three million. Though their services may never receive full recognition, yet the value of their services will be felt throughout all of the ages as the labor movement brings greater freedom and greater opportunity to all.

Because many of these unpaid organizers contribute not only their time and energy, but often do so at an expense to themselves, during the past year a special offer has been made to reimburse them for their activities by paying a certain sum for every new organization added to the A. F. of L. through their efforts. A great measure of credit and appreciation is due to the organizers of national and international unions, to business agents of local unions, and organizing committees of central bodies for the growth and progress of the labor movement during the past year.

As a result of the financial depression of the past year, which affected the labor movement as well as all other organizations connected with industry, we have been hampered in our work of organization. It has been necessary to discontinue some paid organizers and thereby curtail many plans that have been made. This condition made the work of unpaid organizers of even greater importance in determining the growth of the A. F. of L.

It is our sincere hope that we shall soon be able to increase the number of paid workers in the field. There have been during the past year 1,754 organizers of the A. F. of L.

### THE SHORTER WORKDAY

Resolutions Nos. 30, 144, and 149 dealt with the problem of securing a shorter workday.

It is an accepted principle that the shorter workday is a fundamental step in the betterment of the workers. The shorter workday affects the length of life, the health, the standards of life, and, in fact, every phase of the lives of the workers. The wage-earner whose hours of labor are decreased goes to work and comes from work at a different time than before, and consequently comes in contact with people whose habits of living are different. From contact with these people of greater leisure, he establishes new ideals. He has a greater number of hours in which to rest, revive his energies and devote to recreation or the development of his mind. Thus the shorter workday makes of the worker a different person, a person of greater physical endurance, greater vitality, higher ideals, and consequently a person who will not be satisfied with the old standards of the long hours of work.

The improved methods of production which always follow a reduction in the hours of labor increase the productive power of the worker and consequently he is in a position to demand and receive higher wages. Invariably every decrease in the hours of work per day is accompanied or followed by an increase in wages. The shorter workday movement is to secure to the workers greater material advantages. It is an important movement in conserving national vigor and health and in guarding against those tendencies that undermine true national power. From this is evident the importance of the action of the Philadelphia Convention, in adopting the following:

The American Federation of Labor, as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by federal, state or municipal government.

During the year, President Gompers has repeatedly called attention, through the pages of the *American Federationist*, to the shorter workday, the principles involved in obtaining the shorter workday, and to the necessity for securing it as a fundamental step in every movement to improve the lives of the workers. In these articles he dealt with the position of the A. F. of L. upon this principle as it has continued since the organization of the federation, and has defended that position against the objections and arguments of those who would secure a change in the policy of the Federation. These articles have been given a very wide circulation and have been generally copied by the labor press and the official journals of many internationals and nationals. They have resulted in a healthy discussion and have been instrumental in arousing the workers of the country to the importance of persistent and continued efforts to decrease the length of the workday and to inaugurate a definite campaign for that purpose. They have directed the thought and policies of the various organizations.

When the period of depression following the beginning of the European war had given way to a period of industrial stimulation resulting from the adjustment of our industries to meet the changed demands arising through war conditions, the workers in many industries, affected particularly by war orders, found that an opportunity was presented for urging and securing recognition of many of their demands. Business, particularly in many factories, was in such a condition that employers were making big profits, and were under the necessity of filling their orders without delay.

The machinists led in the eight-hour movement that was inaugurated to take advantage of these peculiar opportunities. As they were generally successful their example was followed by other workers. From the towns where the munition factories were located the impetus and contagion were extended to the workers of other industries.

There followed an eight-hour movement that was characterized by tremendous enthusiasm and irresistible determination. Connecticut was the center of this movement. The women wage-earners in these towns joined in the movement and were able to gain as much as their fellow workers. They secured recognition for their unions, higher wages, and the eight-hour workday. Extension of organization accompanied the spread of the eight-hour movement. The A. F. of L., together with the internationals concerned, put themselves back of this eight-hour movement to give it assistance and guidance. The various local bodies, as well as the State Federation of Labor of Connecticut, rendered invaluable and kindly assistance. The movement spread from Connecticut to other states. Workers in industries which were not directly affected by war conditions, also found that the time was opportune for making demands for the shorter workday. It is safe to say that greater progress has been made for the eight-hour workday during the past few months than in any previous time of equal length.

Anthracite miners have also conducted during the past year a campaign for increased membership. This campaign was preparatory to the expiration of their present contract with the anthracite coal operators. The anthracite miners reasoned that they would be in a position to gain better terms when their organization approximates 100 per cent of the miners from the anthracite fields.

The economic strength of the organization determines the bargaining power of that organization. One of the objective points which the anthracite miners included in their demands for the new 1916 contract is the eight-hour workday. They have wisely planned their campaign in advance and have measured their forces, so that they will be in the best position possible to enforce their demands. It is very significant that the gains that have been made in shortening the workday in private industries throughout the country have been fundamentally due to the influence of the economic power in the trade organizations, and have been secured through economic action. Also significant in connection with this is the recommendation of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations: "The regulation by legal enactment of hours of work of adult workmen is not generally practicable or desirable except for public employees." It can not be over-emphasized that the wage-earners must depend upon their economic organizations for securing a shorter workday. This method is not only effective in securing for the workers this fundamental step in their betterment, but it enables them at the same time to maintain their independence and their resourcefulness, together with the right to determine those things which affect the conditions of work under which they must toil.

To secure the shorter workday by any other method makes it necessary for the wage-earners to delegate to other authorities other things which vitally affect them, and which



constitute a limitation upon their activities and their rights, and thus finally lessen their freedom.

The eight-hour workday prevails generally in the following trades:

Carpenters and Joiners.  
Miners, Coal.  
Printers, Typographical.  
Cigarmakers.  
Granite Cutters.  
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.  
Plasterers.  
Plumbers and Steamfitters.  
Lathers.  
Tile Layers.  
Roofers, Composition.  
Railroad Telegraphers.  
Stone Cutters.  
Marble Workers.  
Sheet Metal Workers.  
Elevator Constructors.  
Bookbinders.  
Hodcarriers and Building Laborers.  
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.  
Cement Workers.  
Compressed Air Workers.  
Steam Engineers (in Building Construction).  
Pavers, Rammermen, Flagg Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.  
Paving Cutters.  
Plate Printers.  
Printing Pressmen.  
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.  
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.  
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.  
Asbestos Workers.  
Quarry Workers.  
Miners, Metal.  
Flint Glass Workers.  
Roofers, Slate and Tile.  
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.  
Stationary Firemen.  
Papermakers.  
Photo-Engravers.  
Powder and High Explosive Workers.  
Bricklayers.

Because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter workday upon the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, we can not too strongly impress upon all wage-earners the necessity to concentrate their chief effort to secure the shorter workday—the general application of at least the eight-hour day.

We, therefore, recommend that all wage-earners—all the toilers of America, unite and make common cause for the attainment of this economic, social, political and moral boon at the earliest possible day. No proposition more sound economically, sociologically and humanely can be adopted than the enforcement of the general eight-hour workday for all the workers engaged upon any field of human endeavor.

### LABOR DAY

Labor Day, the one day of the year dedicated to the workers, has become our greatest national holiday. Since the custom was first inaugurated in 1882, Labor Day has grown increasingly in favor until now it is by law a legal holiday in thirty-two states, and by a



federal law. The spirit that characterizes the celebration of this day is one which will maintain it as one of the sacred days of the year. It is a spirit which recognizes the sacredness of life and the infinite value of any instrumentality that brings hope and cheer and opportunity into the lives of all the people. The labor movement of necessity is a movement of those who are not wealthy, of the working people, who, as individuals, have little power or influence in the community, but through organization these workers have been able to press home upon the minds of the community the value of the services they render to civilization and to the upholding of society, and have been able to secure an appreciation of their services manifested in general co-operation for the celebration of Labor Day.

During the past year, the celebration of the day was often more general than before, and was of the most gratifying character. Many of the local labor organizations made that day an opportunity to arouse the spirit of organization and to inaugurate a somewhat extended movement for organization, and in some cases for labor forward campaigns.

The trade union movement has never been willing to give over to other associations or organizations all of the sentiment and the emotions that lift life above the commonplace. The trade union movement, its purposes and its efforts are as broad and as deep and as wide as human life and hope itself. Labor Day has always been mindful of the necessity of stimulating and arousing the emotions that are necessary to the cause. There ought to be opportunity to give outlet to these emotions. Such an opportunity comes in connection with a labor parade, a physical demonstration that expresses the spirit of the workers. There is something deep and vital in that spirit that comes from the steady forward swing of the line of the parade as the workers march on shoulder to shoulder following the line that typifies the banner of humanity.

We sincerely hope and urge that the labor organizations of the country shall strive in every way to maintain the fineness and the strength of the feelings and emotions that are now associated with the labor movement. For this purpose it is necessary to maintain the character of Labor Day celebrations and each year to plan something that shall be even better than the year before.

In connection with this we urge that when Labor Day plans are under consideration, each year the committee shall turn again to the appeal issued by the Executive Council in 1914, that Labor Day celebrations shall never be allowed to deteriorate. There are many who know little about the labor movement except what they may see on Labor Day. It is indeed a wise policy that takes advantage of every opportunity to urge the value, the importance and the power of the organized labor movement.

Of late years the practice has grown to observe the day preceding Labor Day as Labor Sunday with appropriate exercises in the churches of the various communities. This custom affords another opportunity to present the cause of Labor to audiences that may not at other times have an opportunity to learn of the ideals and purposes of Labor.

### COLORADO MINE WORKERS

In the Executive Council report to the 1914 convention, the causes and conditions underlying the strike of the Mine Workers in Colorado were given very fully, and have been fully discussed in articles and editorials published in the *American Federationist*, a list of which is given below.\* The conditions that existed in Colorado were the same as those existing in other mining districts where miners, through their organization, have not succeeded in freeing themselves from the feudal con-

\*The following articles, published in the *American Federationist*, deal with the Colorado situation:

Human Rights Must Be Maintained, March, 1914, page 228.  
 Hail Rockefeller, Industrial Imperator, May, 1914, page 396.  
 Rockefeller, Industrial Dictator by Divine Right, June, 1914, page 477.  
 Organizing Despite the Grim Spectre, June, 1914, page 478.  
 Executive Council on Colorado Outrages, June, 1914, page 489.  
 Colorado—A Call to Duty, July, 1914, page 559.  
 A Protest Against Tyranny, August, 1914, page 636.  
 Again Imperator Rockefeller, November, 1914, page 987.  
 The Rockefellers Condemned and Doomed by Themselves, January, 1915, page 42.  
 Rockefeller Responsible, April, 1915, page 280.  
 Lawson a Convict—Rockefeller a Saint, June, 1915, page 413.  
 Lawson's Trial—The Infamy of It, July, 1915, page 507.  
 The Crime Against Lawson, August, 1915, page 603.  
 Rockefeller Organizes and Recognizes "A Union," November, 1915, page 975.

ditions that mine operators maintained through the power of immense contiguous tracts of land. The chief principle for which the Colorado miners contended was recognition of their organization. This demand was determinedly opposed by the mine operators. The principle which the chief and the most powerful of the mine operators enunciated as the position from which he would not recede, was refusal to meet with the representatives of the organized miners. That representative, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., stated his position in the form of his desire to protect the right of his employees to work as they desired and for whomever they desired. Mr. Rockefeller's idea for the welfare of his employees was the right of each man alone and unassociated to maintain and protect his interest in dealing with a mining corporation highly organized, and whose responsible officers are scattered throughout the United States.

Twice during the year of 1914, Mr. Rockefeller gave public testimony of his relations and his position in connection with the Colorado miners' strike; once before the congressional committee and the second time before the Commission on Industrial Relations. In both these hearings he steadfastly declared that his relations with the Colorado mines were purely impersonal; that the officers there had full charge of all policies and operations and merely reported to him finished results. He affirmed that he had implicit confidence in the men selected for these positions, and that in these officers were placed full responsibility and authority in connection with the operation of the mines.

After his hearing in New York before the Commission on Industrial Relations, the correspondence in his office with the Colorado mining officials was turned over to that Commission. This correspondence convinced some of the Commissioners that Mr. Rockefeller's relations to the operation of the Colorado mines had not been impersonal, but that he had been aware of every move made, had participated in the determination of all of the policies of the mine operators, and had kept in touch with all the developments in the mining district. In the correspondence and in the testimony given before the Commission, there was manifest an all prevailing air of fealty toward the chief. Mr. Rockefeller's attitude was that these men were absolutely free and independent to do what they deemed best under the circumstances, but everywhere it was evident that this freedom existed only so long as they were carrying out the purposes of the industrial chief.

At the Washington hearing, the officials of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and others who had direct and intimate knowledge of the situation in the mining regions of Colorado, gave their testimony. The facts produced were startling. The officials gave testimony that showed that the Colorado miners were living under conditions that denied them any genuine freedom and even the rights of American citizens. Perhaps no man in the employ of Mr. Rockefeller shocked sensibilities of justice so much as did Mackenzie King when he frankly stated that there was no force more potent for the establishment of justice in Colorado than the will and the conscience of young Mr. Rockefeller. This statement of a confidential employe cut through the fiction of impersonal relations which Mr. Rockefeller had so carefully attempted to establish. The testimony of the publicity agent of the Rockefellers was equally alarming to those who comprehended the importance of and control over informational agencies in the community. It was evident, as this publicity agent stated, that his work was to get the people to believe in the policies and purposes of the Rockefellers, and his methods revealed that he intended to secure this belief regardless of the truths in the case or the welfare of the people concerned.

The testimony of Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., was of a baffling nature, non-committal, evasive, like the replies of a skilful lawyer who seeks to turn attention from the real issues through consideration of technicalities and insisting upon nice distinctions in regard to trivial and unimportant details. Mr. Rockefeller absolutely refused to recognize the responsibility for personal relations with employes over whose lives he exercised control through the power of his great wealth.

Early in the year 1915 the Colorado miners were forced through hunger and necessity to return to work in the mines upon conditions granted them by the mine operators. The strike had already accomplished some of its purposes for the mine operators were careful not to violate the state laws openly. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company refused to recognize the organizations of the United Mine Workers, but it did agree to the formation of associations of its miners for the purpose of presenting grievances and other matters to the mine operators. This concession, however, was purely nominal and of little value because unions of this nature could not be independent and could not really serve the welfare of the miners. Isolated and denied affiliation with the national organization, they must

necessarily be under the control and domination of the local officials of the company. Until the miners of Colorado have organizations that have equal power with the organizations of their employers, they will not be able to maintain the rights of the miners and secure justice for these workers. Strikes will not cease in Colorado until the miners have recognition for their bona fide trade union organizations and are able to establish and maintain industrial justice.

But this strike of the Colorado miners has not been in vain. It has already put fear into the hearts of the mine operators. With or without the consent of the coal operators of Colorado, the miners will organize.

The unrelenting spirit of the operators and their determination to hold the miners subservient and helpless is manifested in the campaign of persecution that has been inaugurated against the miners who were leaders in the late strike in Colorado. Many of the miners who were prominent in the strike have been arrested on the charge of responsibility for violence and loss of life during the strike, yet not a mine operator has been indicted, although the mine operators assumed the initiative in all violence; although they invoked and controlled the organized force that is supposedly at the service of state authorities for the purpose of maintaining peace, justice, and the laws of the state; although they fortified their mines and brought into the state armed troops to use against the strikers; and they made war upon them.

The courts and the agencies of justice of Colorado have not once recognized or taken official action against violence on the part of the mine operators. On the other hand, more than fifty miners have been indicted because of charges of violence and responsibility for loss of life. That this course against the miners is of the nature of persecution rather than a desire to maintain justice is proven by the preparation of a special tribunal to try these miners.

The legislature of Colorado at its last session appointed an additional judge for the third judicial district, although it was common knowledge that there was not sufficient work in that district to require all of the time of the judge then appointed for the district. The man selected for this additional judgeship was a former employe of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and had been interested in preparing cases against striking miners. Several cases have been tried. The one which attracted the widest attention was the trial of John R. Lawson, who was very prominent during the strike. Judge Granby C. Hillyer refused Lawson a change of venue. The jury which tried Mr. Lawson was chosen according to the vicious system of open venire. Granby C. Hillyer was known to be hostile to organized labor, and it is charged that he openly denounced organized labor and the striking miners, and declared that the strikers were outlaws who should be held in jail incommunicado and denied the writ of habeas corpus.

The miners charged that he had been employed by prosecuting attorney Northcutt to help prepare strike cases which were afterwards brought into his court for trial. The witnesses against John R. Lawson included Lieut. K. E. Linderfeldt; the man who killed Louis Tikas, and was found guilty by a court-martial of unsoldierly conduct, and reprimanded, mine guards, one a Mexican boy, another a Wyoming cowboy and a fugitive from justice, and others who declared that they had been paid to act as bodyguards for the officers of the United Mine Workers.

The jury was under the charge and the supervision of Baliff Frank Gooden, also an ex-mine guard. It was before this "tribunal of justice" that Lawson was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in connection with the death of John Nimmo. No effort was made to show that Lawson was present when Nimmo was killed or had any personal connection with the death of that man. It was merely established that a strike existed and that Lawson was one of the leaders of the strike. The mine operators endeavored to establish the principle that a strike leader can be held responsible for all acts of violence arising in connection with the strike, whether committed in his presence or in his absence, with or without his knowledge or sanction.

A storm of protest has gone up from American workers and from all citizens who have regard for justice and for institutions of freedom. The maintenance of the principle affirmed in the trial of John R. Lawson would render many efforts of workers to resist industrial injustice and to protect themselves, a peril to their very existence and liberty. American citizens can not afford to allow this decision to stand as a precedent in American law. It is a principle subversive to industrial justice and freedom. Organized workers, under the leadership of the A. F. of L. and the United Mine Workers of America, have conducted a protest campaign against the Lawson decision.

Public protest meetings and various other demonstrations have been held in practically all of the large cities and the mining communities of the country. These meetings have adopted resolutions of protest, which have been forwarded to those officially responsible for the condition of affairs in Colorado and to those in a position to influence the situation there. There are similar charges against other miners of Colorado upon which they will be tried.

The trials of four miners have already taken place. These are Louis Zancanelli, David Robb, Ben Richardson, and John R. Lawson. After two trials Louis Zancanelli was convicted. An appeal was taken in his case, and a stay of execution of his sentence has been granted until the court acts upon a petition for a new trial. The attention of the Supreme Court of Colorado was called to the prejudice and manifest bias of Judge Granby Hillyer, and the court has summoned Judge Hillyer to appear before it, and to show why he should not be prohibited from hearing the cases against the Colorado miners. The court barred Judge Hillyer from sitting in any of these cases. When this matter was pending, when John R. Lawson asked for a new trial, Judge Hillyer, instead of referring the matter to a judge whose judicial attitude was not under consideration or else deferring decision upon Lawson's appeal until the Supreme Court of Colorado had acted, immediately denied Lawson another trial, although the reasons presented for Lawson's petition were numerous and of a very serious character. Pending the disposition of his appeal, Lawson is out on bail.

### HATTERS' CASE

On January 5, 1915, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its decision in the case of *Lawler vs. Loewe*, thereby terminating an action that had been pending in the federal courts for more than eleven years. The decision of the Supreme Court reaffirms the principle embodied in all of its other rulings upon this case, the principle that the labor power of employees is a commodity in which employers have a property right. By applying this principle to the Danbury Hatters' case, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust law included associations of human workers organized for their mutual benefit and protection. Since the Sherman Antitrust law was intended to deal only with restraints of commerce, that is, with the commodities in which trade and commerce deal, only by holding labor power to be a commodity, could organizations of workers be deemed in any way a restraint of commerce.

The only power which an organization of workers has, comes through their physical and mental powers—their creative ability. Since these powers are a part of the individual and inseparable from the living body, they can not constitute a commodity or articles of commerce. Yet, in its decision, the Supreme Court of the United States held that a combination or conspiracy existed within the meaning of the Sherman Antitrust law. As proof of this conspiracy of the United Hatters, the court briefly pointed out the efforts of the United Hatters' organization to secure union standards and conditions in the hat-making industry and asserted that the defendants and the other members of the United Hatters caused the American Federation of Labor to declare a boycott against Loewe and Company, and against all hats manufactured by this company wherever they might be for sale. This statement of the Supreme Court is directly contradictory to the facts and the testimony given by the officers of the A. F. of L. in this case. The A. F. of L. did not endorse and did not declare a boycott against D. E. Loewe and Company. That firm was never published in the "We Don't Patronize List" of the *American Federationist*.

The Supreme Court for the first time applied to associations of workers the rule of law set forth in the *Eastern States Retail Lumber Dealers' Association vs. United States*, 234 U. S., 600. It declared that—

"irrespective of compulsion or even agreements to observe its intimation, 'the circulation of a list of unfair dealers,' manifestly intended to put the ban upon those whose names appear therein, among an important body of possible customers combined with a view to joint action and in anticipation of such reports, is within the prohibitions of the Sherman Act if it is intended to restrain and restrains commerce among the states."

In this decision the Supreme Court again emphasizes the principle underlying its determination of this case, that the labor power of a human being is identical with the thing

that he produces, that it is a commodity or article of commerce. It is a principle that is revolting to and totally at variance with humanitarian ideals. However miserable or inefficient a worker may be, yet the creative force of his brain, muscles and nerves is something of a totally different character from the wood and coal and stone upon which he works. It is the difference between the inanimate thing, the dead thing, and the living human personality. However lowly, there is something sacred and infinitely wonderful about human life.

The Supreme Court cites as further evidence of conspiracy on the part of the United Hatters certain purposes avowed in their constitution, namely, "the directors are to use all the means in their power to bring shops not under our jurisdiction into the trade. The by-laws provide separate funds to be kept for strikes, lockouts and agitation for the union label. Members are forbidden to sell non-union hats." Here again, as in the ruling of 1908, the Supreme Court holds that the effectiveness of trade unions in establishing union standards and union conditions constitutes proof of a conspiracy in restraint of trade. In other words, the Supreme Court held that effective strong associations of workers successful in carrying out their purposes, constitute in themselves an illegal conspiracy and could be proceeded against under the Sherman Antitrust law.

In its decision, as stated above, the Supreme Court said, "members are forbidden to sell non-union hats." Just how the Supreme Court reached that determination is unknown, for there was not a particle of evidence in the testimony given in this case, or in any of the records of the organization, or elsewhere, to show that the members of the Hatters' Union were forbidden to sell non-union hats, or sell any other kind of hats. Members of the United Hatters' organization are engaged in the production of hats, and have absolutely nothing to do with the selling. This misstatement is of the same character as the assertion that the A. F. of L. had been using its organization for the purpose of conducting a campaign to boycott the Loewe hats. The suit against the Danbury Hatters gave such wide publicity to the refusal of D. E. Loewe and Company to establish union conditions in their factories, that the whole organized labor movement throughout the country was well aware of the attitude of D. E. Loewe and Company and naturally did not wish to expend their wages in such a way as to benefit the enemies of organized labor. The Loewe suit acted as a self-instituted boycott.

The Supreme Court held that those members of local unions who paid their dues and delegated authority to their officers were personally responsible for the actions of those officers, even though they might not be aware of the specific measures which they took. Even the members who were not in the habit of attending union meetings were held jointly liable for the damage resulting to D. E. Loewe and Company. The Supreme Court ruled that there was no error in the admission of evidence in the trial, and that it was proper to include in the award the losses accruing since the action had begun where such damages were the consequences of acts performed prior to the commencement of the suit. By this decision of the highest judicial tribunal of the land, the Danbury Hatters were to pay D. E. Loewe and Company \$252,000 in damages because Loewe had not been able to sell his hats. This sum, together with the interest accruing, amounted to something over \$300,000. When the case was instituted the bank deposits and the homes of the Danbury Hatters were attached.

After the decision of the Supreme Court, D. E. Loewe and Company instituted proceedings to take over the bank deposits and the little homes of the Danbury Hatters. Some of these men were too old to work. Several had died during the course of the trial; others had suffered loss and hardships because their property was tied up pending the decision of the court in the case. The attorneys for D. E. Loewe and Company at once took steps to press payment of award.

The matter was brought before the Executive Council at our January meeting. After discussing the matter very fully with the attorneys in the case and the officers of the United Hatters, we reached the following decision:

"The E. C., while feeling that a great injustice has been done the Hatters, finds that despite that feeling, the A. F. of L. has neither the means nor authority to pay the award of the damages in whole or in part. The suit was brought by the Loewe Company against the Hatters; later when the United Hatters of North America were financially unable to bear the expense of defending the case in the courts up to and including the appeals to the highest courts of our land, the A. F.

of L. pledged itself to aid financially in the legal procedure. This pledge, contained in the resolution adopted by the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L., has been fully performed. In addition to bearing the legal expenses of the trials and appeals in this case, amounting to \$98,756.02, the A. F. of L. by its activities growing out of the necessity as developed in the Hatters' case, has secured the enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Antitrust law October 15, 1914. This law precludes the possibility of any similar suit being maintained in the federal courts for the exercise of normal activities as performed by the Hatters when such activities have been performed since the enactment of the law, and thus the A. F. of L. has performed its full duties to the Hatters and to all Labor in the premises."

Inasmuch as it is common knowledge that the framers of the Sherman Antitrust Act never intended that that law should apply to organizations of workers, we felt that the last decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case was a most serious injustice. We felt that the Danbury Hatters were the innocent victims of the government; that this injustice was brought about because the members of the United States Congress had been unable to write a law that clearly expressed their purposes, or else because the federal judiciary had consciously or unconsciously interpreted a law of the United States to mean something different from what the lawmakers had intended. Whether the fault lay with Congress, or with the judiciary, the consequences of the mistake ought not to fall on the Danbury Hatters. This position was further strengthened by the action of Congress in enacting the labor sections of the Clayton Act, declaring that antitrust legislation does not apply to wage-earners. It was, therefore, deemed a serious injustice to impose upon the Danbury Hatters threefold damages because either Congress or the federal judiciary had erred. For this reason the Danbury Hatters presented a petition to Congress asking that the award against them should be met by a special appropriation by Congress, and thus the federal government should assume the consequence for the mistake made by either Congress or the judiciary. This petition was presented to the five congressmen from Connecticut who separately presented it to the House of Representatives.

The petition was referred to the House Committee on Appropriations. The petition recited the history of the proceedings against the Danbury Hatters and presented the reasons why the Danbury Hatters ought not to be made to pay the award against them, and further argued that since the Congress of the United States had, by legislative enactment, already endeavored to correct the injustice that had arisen in connection with the application of the Sherman Antitrust law to organizations of wage-earners, and had passed the Clayton Act which specifically repudiated the principle underlying the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case, and had enacted in a declaratory form the principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, that it was clearly the purpose of Congress to remedy such injustice, and to limit the application of trust legislation to combinations of persons in dealing in articles and commodities and to capitalistic monopolies.

On February 20, 1915, President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Judge Alton B. Parker, President Scully, and Secretary Lawlor of the United Hatters, and some of the oldest members of the Danbury Union had a hearing before the House Appropriation Committee in which they argued in behalf of the petition they had presented to Congress. However, either because they were too pressed with work to consider the petition, or for some other reason, the House Appropriation Committee failed to report the appropriation. When this effort failed, the interests that had been foremost in prosecuting the Danbury Hatters' case began a campaign of publicity for the purpose of discrediting the position of the A. F. of L. in order to create the impression that the trade union movement had repudiated its pledges and failed to stand back of the union membership. Its real purpose was to accomplish, through creating a public sentiment, something that it could not accomplish legally; that is, to get at the union treasury.

Since the trade unions are not incorporated, the Antiboycott Association could not legally levy upon the union funds. Then too the impression was general that by seizing the bank deposits of the Danbury Hatters, and by selling their little homes, D. E. Loewe would not be able to realize the full amount of damages awarded. However, this campaign of misrepresentation of the Antiboycott Association was not successful. D. E. Loewe and Company, although bankrupt, was not anxious to claim the Shylock award. After



several weeks, the bank deposits of the Hatters were taken over and their houses advertised for sale.

This last decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case was additional confirmation of the necessity for securing Labor's demands for the repeal or the amendment of the Sherman Antitrust Act. It completely justified Labor's contentions and its political campaign for a remedial legislation. It proved again that, according to the interpretation of the United States Supreme Court as placed upon the Sherman Antitrust Act, the very existence of organizations of workers was in danger. However, in the meanwhile, the workers had been successful in their efforts to secure a change in trust legislation by the enactment of the Clayton Antitrust law.

The organizations of workers are exempt from the application of trust legislation and the principle is specifically recognized that the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. This principle forbids the classification of association of workers organized for their mutual welfare and controlling nothing but their labor power under the same category as organizations organized for the purpose of controlling and manipulating products and commodities. Under other sections of the Clayton Act, activities necessary to perform the work of trade unions are recognized as lawful, and courts are forbidden to hold them to be violations of any law of the United States. In the opinion of former Attorney General George W. Wickersham, had the Clayton Act been then in force, it seems clear that the acts of the Hatters would not have been illegal. Although some workers have suffered great injustice through the Danbury Hatters' case, that case has resulted in the enactment of a law that contains the most far-reaching principle that has ever been endorsed by any law-making body of the world.

At the September meeting of the E. C., President John W. Scully and Secretary Martin Lawlor appeared before us and stated that they had received an order from the District court of the United States to appear on or before the 20th day of October, 1915, in regard to the payment of the award against the United Hatters or the homes of the Hatters would be taken over. They further stated that their attorneys advised them that the time could possibly be extended until the last of January or the first of February of next year. The officers of the Hatters stated that the following action had been adopted at their last convention:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States did enact certain legislation, commonly known as the Sherman Antitrust law, which was intended to apply to combinations of capital, and not to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, It was not known until the question had been submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States whether or not said law did apply to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, Said Supreme Court has held said law applicable to labor unions, and in consequence thereof certain of the members of this organization have been held legally liable under said law, and a judgment has been recovered against them by D. E. Loewe and Co., which will probably result in the loss of the savings of years, and in many cases, in the loss of homes; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of this organization, said members, though held legally wrong, were guilty of no moral wrong, and it is reasonable and proper that this organization should relieve in as far as possible, the distress of the members affected by said judgment, and make comfortable their declining years; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That this organization denies the statement oft repeated by D. E. Loewe and Co., and the attorney for the Antiboycott Society, that this organization has agreed with any one to pay the judgment in this case, and hereby declares it to be our purpose not to apply any of the funds of this organization, or any funds we may receive for the relief of our members, to the payment or satisfaction of this judgment; but that this organization pledges its assistance to the members affected by said judgment, and

*Resolved*, Further, that an assessment of 1 per centum on the dollar of the weekly earnings of the members of this organization be, and the same is hereby, assessed and levied, and 25 cents per month be levied on members working outside of the hatting industry, to be collected, as other assessments are collected on and after the first day in July, and that the money realized therefrom shall constitute a fund to be used and employed by the officers of this organization in such



manner as they may deem best for the relief and benefit of said members affected by said judgment; and

*Resolved*, further, that the officers and directors of this organization be, and they are hereby, authorized, empowered and directed to appeal to the A. F. of L., and to labor and other organizations, for assistance and contributions to said fund for the purpose aforesaid.

It is not within our power to say what action of a voluntary character the American labor movement may take, but we affirm that the A. F. of L. has performed its full duty to the Hatters in this case, and performed a most important service to the workers of our time and for all time, in obtaining the enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Antitrust law.

### DETECTIVE AGENCIES AND PSEUDO EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Patience is a virtue. But wrongs, injustice and denial of rights deserve neither patience nor tolerance.

The working people of the United States—organized and unorganized—are wonderfully patient; they have been blacklisted, jailed, robbed, and killed. Unscrupulous employers have mistreated them in every way ingenuity can devise. The lust for more profit and power has ruined mentally, physically, and morally many men, who unfortunately for themselves and others are known as employers of labor. Large employers of labor and many small employers have during recent years delegated part of their own legitimate functions to other concerns. They have surrendered the actual management of their affairs to outside parties. They have been deceived and robbed through impositions upon their credulity by scheming agencies labeled "information bureaus," "secret service companies," "detective agencies," "auditors and inspection companies," and other concerns representing themselves as employment agencies.

At the thirty-fourth annual convention delegate Griffin of the International Seamen's Union introduced Resolution No. 7; Delegate McPherson of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union introduced Resolution No. 68. The purpose of both those resolutions was to secure the enactment of state and national legislation, limiting the activities of detective agencies to the tracing of crime and criminals and preventing them from furnishing strike-breakers and armed guards to employers during labor disputes. The Committee on Resolutions in its report offered the following as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 7 and 68, which was adopted:

*"Resolved*, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, instructed to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to prepare and submit to the Executive Council a report upon the activities of private detective agencies whose services are secured by employers to prevent trade union organization, destroy it where it exists, if possible, and serve as mercenaries during industrial disputes, and that upon receipt of this report the Executive Council shall cause to be prepared a measure or measures to be introduced in Congress and in state legislatures, which will prevent the granting of federal or state licenses to any private detective agency whose employers can be secured in any effort to disrupt or prevent trade union growth, or serve in any capacity as strike-breaking agencies.

The committee appointed by President Gompers submits this report.

Through the *American Federationist*, publicity has been given to the machinations of several detective associations, including the close relations of the National Manufacturers' Association and other employers' organizations with such detective concerns. The following are some of the articles which have appeared:

*"Pinkertonism and Organized Labor"—"Bergoff Detective Bureau" (Pages 673 to 675 American Federationist, September, 1907).*

In the *American Federationist* for January, 1909, under the caption "Labor Secrets Exposed," page 49, I showed the close alliance between the "Manufacturers' Information Bureau" of Cleveland, Ohio, with the late President of the

National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. J. W. Van Cleave. This same subject was continued in the March, 1909, issue of the *American Federationist*, page 230, entitled "Turner, Van Cleave's Detective, Exposed;" and again, on page 429 of the May, 1909, issue, I furnished replicas of President Van Cleave's correspondence with the Manufacturers' Information Bureau. (This concern being more generally known as the Turner Detective Agency.)

During numerous hearings before the House and Senate Committees on the Judiciary, the President of the A. F. of L. has several times offered as evidence material which showed the character of the private detective agencies fostered and supported by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Founders' Association, the National Metal Trades Association, The National Erectors' Association, and other similar organizations of employers. The President of the International Molders' Union, the editor of the *Iron Molders' Journal*, and the President of the A. F. of L. on August 13, 1912, before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, offered incriminating evidence, compiled from court records, showing the lawless methods of employers connected with the Founders' Association. On January 6 and 10, 1913, at another hearing before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, the President of the A. F. of L. introduced official evidence from the United States Department of Justice, showing the close alliance between the Burns Detective Agency and the employers, and incorporated in his statement copies of the original letters from the Bergoff Detective Agency to railroad officials, and the personal correspondence which passed between J. K. Turner of the Manufacturers' Information Bureau, Cleveland, Ohio, and Mr. James W. Van Cleave, late president of the National Association of Manufacturers. Similar material also had been placed in the hands of Senators and Representatives for use when making speeches on labor measures in which this material would be appropriate.

On January 22, 1915, before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations in New York City, President Gompers submitted detailed testimony concerning activities of the employment and detective agencies. Particular attention was called to the R. J. Coach Secret Service Company of Cleveland, Ohio, and many passages were read into the record from an advance copy of the booklet issued by that secret service concern.

A survey in brief of some of the momentous struggles of Labor in which the notorious strike-breaking detective agencies have taxed the patience of the workers to the most extreme limits is now presented.

Chicago, Ill.—Packing house and Harvester Company employees, eight-hour strike, 1886.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Waterbury, Conn.

St. Louis, Mo.

Detroit, Mich.

Chicago, Ill.

Philadelphia, Pa.

New York City.

San Francisco, Cal.

Indianapolis, Ind., and many others.

} Various street car strikes, dating from 1890 to 1914.

Chicago, Ill.—Building trades strike and lockout, 1890 and 1892.

Homestead, Penn.—Iron and Steel Workers' strike, 1892.

Chicago, Ill., and many other western cities—Pullman and A. R. U. strikes, 1894.

West Virginia.—Coal miners' strike, 1897.

Coeur D'Alene, Idaho.—Metal miners' strike, 1899.

Pennsylvania Anthracite coal miners' strikes, 1900 and 1902.

New York City.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Rochester, N. Y.

Baltimore, Md.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Chicago, Ill.

} Garment Workers' efforts to improve conditions, dating from 1900 to 1914.

Machinists' general strike, 1901, to secure nine-hour day.

Leadville and Cripple Creek Metal Miners' strikes, 1880, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1901.

- Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad.  
 Santa Fe Railroad.  
 Great Northern Railroad.  
 Northern Pacific Railroad and others.  
 Union Pacific Railroad.  
 Santa Fe Railroad.  
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.  
 Illinois Central Railroad.  
 The Harriman Railroad Lines.  
 Pennsylvania Railroad and others.  
 Colorado metal miners' strike to enforce state eight-hour law, 1903 and 1904.  
 Los Angeles, Cal.—Continued obstacles by detective agencies to work of organizers sent to that city, dating from 1903 to 1914.  
 Colorado coal miners' strike, 1904.  
 Colorado coal miners' strike for right to organize, 1914.  
 Chicago.—Packing houses and teamsters' strikes, 1905.  
 Printers' general strike, 1906, to secure eight-hour day.  
 Molders' general strike, 1906, to secure nine-hour day.  
 Alabama coal miners' strike, 1907-8.  
 Chicago and other lake ports; difficulties of seamen to maintain their organization, 1908.  
 Ellwood, Ind.  
 New Castle, Pa.  
 New Kensington, Pa.  
 Monessen, Pa.  
 Morgantown, W. Va.  
 Wheeling, W. Va.  
 Bridgeport, Ohio, and other localities.  
 Muscatine, Iowa.—Button Workers' strike for the right to organize, 1911 and 1912.  
 Hopedale, Mass.—Jute Workers' strike, 1911.  
 Kalamazoo, Mich.—Corset Workers' strike for right to organize, 1912.  
 Black Hills, S. Dak., lockout of Metal Miners to disrupt organization, 1912.  
 Lawrence, Mass.—Textile Workers' strike, 1912.  
 Akron, Ohio.—Rubber Workers' strike for right to organize, 1913.  
 Paterson, N. J.—Silk Workers' strike against increased work without increased pay, 1913.  
 Michigan.—Copper Miners' strikes for better working conditions, 1913.  
 West Virginia.—Coal Miners' strike for better conditions, 1913.  
 Stockton, Cal.—General strike to resist aggressions of employers, 1914.  
 De Pew, N. Y.—Strike of employes in Gould's Coupler Works in 1914.  
 Roosevelt, N. J.—Strike of Chemical Works employes against reduction of wages 1915.

} Efforts of Order of Railway Telegraphers to improve conditions for telegraphers, dating from 1902 to 1911.

} Various strikes and lockouts of railroad shop employes, dating from 1902 to 1914.

} Sheet and Tin Millmen's strike to retain organization in the United States steel companies plants, 1909.

The above survey is by no means a complete list of the struggles of the workers to obtain better working conditions, but will serve in this report to concentrate thought upon some of the most stirring epochs of Labor's struggles, in which the workers had to face the treachery, cruelty of spies, informers, sluggers and gunmen in the employ of the following so-called detective agencies, but which should be more properly termed "organized strike-breaking organizations." These organizations were mischiefmakers who aroused hostility and incited to violence.

#### *Strike-Breaking Detective Agencies*

- Waddell-Mahon, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City.  
 Bergoff Brothers, 1451 Broadway, New York City.  
 The Ascher Detective Agency, No. 1345 Broadway, New York City.  
 The Lawrence Secret Service Agency, No. 1232 Twenty-third Street, New York City.  
 The Universal Secret Service Bureau, 80 Wall Street, New York City.  
 The Drummond's Detective Agency, New York City and Chicago, Ill.  
 The Burns Detective Agency, New York and Chicago.  
 Pinkerton Detective Agency, New York and Chicago.

The Standard Secret Service Agency, No. 697 Canton Avenue, Detroit, Mich.  
 The B. and N. Secret Service Company, Manager W. J. McMichael, 403 Chamber of Commerce Building, Detroit, Mich.  
 The National Detective Agency, No. 54 LaFayette Building, Detroit, Mich.  
 The Toronto Detective Agency, No. 62 McGraw Building, Detroit, Mich.  
 The Murphy-McDonnell Secret Service Company, 320 Free Press Building, Detroit, Mich.  
 Western Construction Company, Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill.  
 Seagrove Christianson Company, Chicago, Ill.  
 The International Secret Service Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.  
 The Thiele Detective Service Company, Chicago, Ill.  
 Mooney & Boland, D. A., Chicago, Ill.  
 Burton Detective Agency, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 The R. J. Coach Agency, of Cleveland, Ohio. (This is sometimes printed as "Coats," and sometimes as "Koch.")  
 The Secret Service Company, Columbia Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Consolidated Manufacturing Company, Geo. Schoenbach, Manager, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 The Manufacturers Information Bureau Company, J. K. Turner, President, Cleveland, Ohio, known as the Turner Agency.  
 The Sherman Detective Agency, 16 State Street, Boston, Mass.  
 The Bradford Detective Service, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.  
 The Railroad Auditors and Inspection Company of Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Hamilton Detective Agency, Pittsburg, Pa.  
 Baldwin-Feltz, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 National Founders' Association.  
 National Metal Trades Association.  
 National Erectors' Association.  
 National Association of Manufacturers.

At the Norfolk, Va., Convention of 1907, the President of the A. F. of L. made a special report concerning the efforts made by the agents of former President James Van Cleave, of the National Association of Manufacturers, to corrupt or destroy him personally. That statement was afterwards corroborated during the Mulhall investigation by committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, in 1913.

Men have been sent by these agencies to watch every movement of the President of the A. F. of L. at conventions, and while attending to other special duties of the Federation, in the same way in which they have harassed the activities of officers and other representatives of affiliated organizations.

Subtle efforts have been made by men who have represented that they were discharged employees of certain detective agencies and certain manufacturers' associations, hoping that by exposing the machinations of such organizations to be able to secure employment with the A. F. of L. or some of its affiliated organizations.

#### *Methods Employed by Agencies*

Organized strike-breaking aggregations are quite resourceful, but most of them follow similar methods. Appealing letters and craftily worded circulars are addressed to employers. The fear of employers is touched in an effort to convince them that they are being cheated and robbed by all their employees, including even their most trusted foremen, superintendents and general managers. These detective agencies prey upon the weakness inherent to human nature. They play especially upon the "terrors of the unknown" latent suspicions, trade jealousies, and personal envy. They endeavor to persuade employers that their "expert detective agencies" can discover leaks in business—waste of material—inefficient management—irregular personal conduct and habits of trusted employees. They vouch for the infallibility of the eagle-eyed agents they persuade employers to engage—for a price. They adroitly phrase appeals to engage their service so as to arouse the fear that awful possibilities will follow the alliance of their employees with the labor organizations. They undertake to ferret out the active spirits in the shops and factories who show an independent trend of mind, or who in an unguarded moment, might talk too freely concerning the rights of a citizen. Of course, such men are instantly spotted for discharge. Employers on many occasions have been

credulous and thoughtless in discharging some of the most expert help in their employ after receiving reports from the spies and spotters placed in their establishments by the detective agencies. Of course, in very few of these instances of discharge is there any opportunity for the outraged employee to obtain a hearing. It is useless for him to appeal. The spotter's word is taken for granted without question.

In their circulars they always picture the organizations of labor in the vilest language, and attribute to them the most outrageous lawless conduct. If the employer would use the common sense with which the ordinary human being is endowed, he would know that the employees whom he had in his service would not instantly change from decent civil citizens to become property destroyers after they had shown a disposition to organize.

The detective agencies play a double game. They work upon the sensibilities of many innocent, honest workmen whose services they secure. They keep constant but ambiguous advertisements in the cosmopolitan newspapers. When they are in need of men for service in special trades they specify the occupation. Frequently they will boldly advertise for men and include "none but union men need apply." When applicants answer they are given the address of an office where they are met, ushered into a private office before a superintendent or a general manager, who questions them in various ways, almost always to impress upon such applicants the idea of taking advantage of the "exceptional opportunity" to advance their position in life, or, a great honor it is for them to be selected to be entrusted with such responsible duties, and how prospective employers will give the applicant special personal attention. Every flattering appeal is made to the weakness or necessity of the person seeking the advertised job.

These agencies have by this means secured the services of many innocent men and, not infrequently, men who have records of faithfulness and honor among their associates. After they secured control over these poor fellows, they made their lives miserable by insisting upon daily reports from the shop in which they are sent to work among fellow workers and, of course, all such reports must contain statements showing the alertness of the now victim agent in his ability to see errors of management, of conduct, of workers, and other supposed "irregularities" in the place where he is employed.

The members of unions they succeed in engaging are urged to become boisterous and radical in expression; they urge them to hold office in the local unions, so as to be able to get access to the complete records, and the financial accounts of the unions, as well as to the finances themselves. They instill into them a fault-finding spirit so that they can harass and annoy the honest, earnest worker in the union who is trying to make progress steadily and rationally. They exert their agents to provoke and incite strikes. During such strikes they play the part of *agents provocateurs*, that is, to advocate loudly that the men on strike use force and resort to unlawful conduct; and secretly offer to lead in any such efforts. The mere fact that such a course has been "talked" at strikers' meetings, though it be by the detective agent alone, is enough for his secret report to the agency and the employers. By such means they open up another opportunity to have "more detectives" employed as slugs and gunmen in case a strike ensues. It is, therefore, patent to any ordinary observer, that these mischief-making, strike-breaking agencies take the meanest advantages of employers and workers. They arouse fears and incite unnecessary troubles—all for the purpose of obtaining money from the employers themselves, as well as to create confusion among, and hardships for, the workers.

#### *Political Activities of Strike-Breaking Agencies*

In many cities where industrial troubles have arisen these detective agencies have apparently made in advance some satisfactory arrangements with mayors, sheriffs, chiefs of police, and city attorneys. It has been the experience of Labor's representatives and members that they could not secure fair, impartial treatment or protection from the city officials.

Slugs and gunmen have freely carried their weapons of assault without let or hindrance by city and sometimes by state officials; whereas, striking employees or associates and sympathetic neighbors are immediately hauled into court and subjected to penalties if they carried any instrument for self-protection. These matters are well known. Everybody seems to know that these conditions prevail, but it has been impossible to have any proper exposure through the public press, unless, perchance, some poor union man should

in a moment of extreme provocation defend himself, and then the newspapers teem with appeals for "law and order," which in their vernacular mean nothing but brutal suppression of a strike no matter how lawfully it may be conducted. Well known resident labor men have been frequently arrested in many cities without warrants, but thugs and sluggers may go to cities as absolute strangers and are permitted to roam at will, armed to the teeth, and when residents of the cities insist upon such men being disarmed or arrested the officers often refuse even to search such disreputable characters.

#### *Remedies*

The time has arrived when this wrong to working people can no longer be endured. We must secure remedies to abate, abolish or regulate the detective nuisance by effective state and national legislation.

Before presenting any propositions, attention should be called to the fact that nine states and one territory have enacted laws restraining the hiring of armed guards by employers. Those states are: Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Washington, Wisconsin, and the Territory of Alaska. These laws are generally similar in character.

The first state to enact such a law was Illinois. The whole law is herewith reproduced, the section relating to armed guards being section 51:

#### *Labor Laws of Illinois—Hurd's Revised Statutes—1906*

##### *Chapter 48.—Employment of Labor—False representations, etc.*

##### *False Statements by Employers, etc.*

Section 49. It shall be unlawful for any person, persons, company, corporation, society, association, or organization of any kind doing business in this state, by himself, themselves, his, its or their agents or attorneys, to induce, influence, persuade or engage workmen to change from one place to another in this state, or to bring workmen of any class or calling into this state to work in any of the departments of labor in this state, through or by means of false or deceptive representations, false advertising or false pretenses concerning the kind and character of the work to be done, or amount and character of the compensation to be paid for such work, or the sanitary or other conditions of the employment or as to the existence or nonexistence of a strike, or other trouble, pending between employer and employees, at the time of or prior to such engagement.

##### *Notice of Strike*

Failure to state in any advertisement, proposal or contract for the employment of workmen that there is a strike, lockout or other labor troubles at the place of the proposed employment, when in fact such strike, lockout or other labor trouble then actually exists at such place, shall be deemed as false advertisement and misrepresentation for the purposes of this act.

##### *Penalty*

Section 50. Any person or persons, company, corporation, society, association or organization of any kind doing business in this state, as well as his, their or its agents, attorneys, servants or associates found guilty of violating section 1 (49) of this act, or any part thereof, shall be fined not exceeding \$2,000 or confined in the county jail not exceeding one year, or both where the defendant or defendants is or are a natural person or persons

##### *Hiring Armed Guards*

Section 51. Any person or persons who shall, in this or another state, hire, aid, abet or assist in hiring, through agencies or otherwise, persons to guard with arms or deadly weapons of any kind other persons or property in this state, or

any person or persons who shall come into this state armed with deadly weapons of any kind for any such purpose, without a permit in writing from the governor of this state, shall be guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than one year nor more than five years: Provided, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to interfere with the right of any person, persons or company, corporation, society, association or organization in guarding or protecting their private property or private interests as is now provided by law; but this act shall be construed only to apply in cases where workmen are brought into this state or induced to go from one place to another in this state, by any false pretenses, false advertising or deceptive representations, or brought into this state under arms or removed from one place to another in this state under arms.

#### *Recovery of Damages*

Section 52. Any workman of this state, or any workman of another state, who has, or shall be influenced, induced or persuaded to engage with any persons mentioned in section 1 (49) of this act, through or by means of any of the things therein prohibited, each of such workmen shall have a right of action for recovery of all damages that each (of) such workmen has sustained in consequence of the false or deceptive representations, false advertising and false pretenses used to induce him to change his place of employment, against any person or persons, corporations, companies or associations, directly or indirectly, causing such damages; and, in addition to all actual damages such workmen may have sustained, shall be entitled to recover such reasonable attorney's fees as the court shall fix to be taxed as costs in any judgment recovered.

#### *Court Decision*

*The provision requiring notice of strike and providing penalty and damages in case of failure is unconstitutional. 94 N. E., 945.*

Representative Baltz of Illinois introduced bill H. R. 13002 in the House of Representatives on February 5, 1914. It was referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, but no action was taken by that Committee on the proposed measure. The bill follows:

"A bill to prevent the transportation by interstate carriers of certain persons and articles for the alleged prevention of so-called labor troubles."

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That on and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any railway, steamship company, or any other common carrier engaged in interstate business to carry or transport into any state or territory any men hired or engaged, or seeking to be so hired or engaged, as strike-breakers, so called, for the purpose of assisting in or interfering with any labor trouble or strikes.

"Sec. 2 That it shall also be unlawful for any railroad, steamship or other company engaged in interstate business to transport, handle, or carry any arms or ammunition into any state or territory for the purpose of arming or assisting in arming or equipping such so-called strike-breakers.

"Sec. 3. That a violation of this act by any railroad, steamship, or other company engaged in interstate business as a common carrier shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$1,000 and imprisonment not to exceed one year. Said fine and imprisonment to be imposed on the president, manager, and other officers of the said interstate carrier, individually, who may be found guilty of a violation hereof.

"Sec. 4. That this act shall not apply to the organized militia of any state or territory, the officers or men of the United States Army, or to any duly organized and uniformed police force having jurisdiction of the territory embraced within such labor strike or trouble.

"Sec. 5. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed."



Senator Martine of New Jersey, July 14, 1913, introduced in the Senate bill S. 2741 which was shorter than the Baltz measure, and is as follows:

"A bill making it, unlawful for individuals, corporations, or associations to employ armed men or bodies of armed men on their premises for any purpose.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any individual, corporation, or association of any kind or character whatsoever to employ, or cause to be employed, armed men or bodies of armed men on their premises for any purposes whatsoever: Provided, That for every violation of the provisions of this act the party or parties responsible for such violation shall be liable to a fine of not less than \$5,000 or imprisonment for one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court."

During the consideration of the Alaska Coal Land bill in the United States Senate, Senator Martine of New Jersey, offered the following amendment to that act:

"No lessee of any coal or other lands in Alaska shall employ, hire or permit on their premises or lands so leased, armed bodies of men commonly known as 'mine guards,' under penalty of \$5,000 and two years imprisonment in jail."

Senator Martine defended his proposition with great vigor, but the Senate rejected it.

During the 52nd Congress (after the Homestead strike in which the Pinkertons were notoriously active) a select committee of seven Senators was appointed on August 3, 1892, to investigate and report upon "what legislation, if any, is necessary to prevent further unlawful use or employment of such armed bodies of men or other similar armed bodies for private purposes." That committee consisting of Senators Gallinger, Peffer, Hansbrough, Felton, Sanders, White, and Hill, reported to the Senate on February 10, 1893. Among other things, it stated that "there were at that time in the city of Chicago at least fifteen different detective agencies and firms. Some of them confine their operations to detective business, others furnish patrolmen to protect private property during the night while a few of them add to that kind of work the business of supplying armed men on occasions of strikes on railroads, in mines and in manufacturing establishments."

Detective Robert A. Pinkerton testified that his agency did not ask the right to send armed men from their offices in New York or Chicago to the scene of a strike, because it "would be illegal at common law to send armed bodies of men through any particular state, or from one state to another because of the tendency of such armed bodies to terrorize the community." Further, during his testimony he contended that it was, however, entirely legal and proper to send arms and ammunition ahead, as was done at Homestead, arm the men at their destination, put them in control of the property which they are to guard, subject to the orders of the men in command.

By this method openly admitted by Pinkerton in 1892, the detective agencies have taken their cue. The Senate Committee making this investigation stated that "it becomes a nice question whether they (the detective agencies) can legally accomplish by indirection what they can not directly do; whether the transportation of arms in one car and the men in another is less violative of the spirit of the law than the transportation of the men with the arms at their side."

The committee reached conclusions on nine points upon the general subject of their investigation. The conclusions dealing with the questions of private armed bodies were as follows:

"Whether assumedly legal or not, the employment of armed bodies of men for private purposes, either by employers or employees, is to be deprecated and should not be resorted to. Such use of private armed men is an assumption of the state's authority by private citizens. If the state is incapable of protecting its citizens in their rights of person and property then anarchy is the result, and the original law of force should neither be approved, encouraged, nor tolerated until all known legal processes have failed.

"As to the matter of legislation. The states have undoubted authority to legislate against the employment of armed bodies of men for private purposes, as many of them are doing. As to the power of Congress to legislate, that is not so clear,

*though it would seem that Congress ought not to be powerless to prevent the movement of bodies of private citizens from one state to another state for the purpose of taking part, with arms in their hands, in the settlement of disputes between employers and their workmen. The probabilities are that all of the states will soon enact statutes on the subject, in which event action by Congress, even if constitutional, will be unnecessary."*

It will be noted that the committee said:

*"It would seem that Congress ought not to be powerless to prevent the movement of bodies of private citizens from one state to another state for the purpose of taking part, with arms in their hands, in the settlement of disputes between employers and their workmen."*

Then it added, that, "the probabilities are that all of the states will soon enact statutes on the subject, in which event, action by Congress, even if constitutional, will be unnecessary."

Twenty-two years have passed since that report was made. Congress has given no serious attention to the Homestead committee's investigation and report. Nine of the states, as has been already reported, have made some efforts to correct the evils connected with the dual service of detective agencies. We have no desire or intent to interfere with the legitimate occupation of detective agencies, namely, that of searching for criminals and detecting crime, but, the later and more disreputable method of using detective agencies for the purpose of breaking strikes and interfering with legitimate industrial activities of employer and employe must be stopped.

The Illinois law could be used as a general model for state legislation of this character after some appropriate changes had been made in it to suit the present industrial conditions, and by the addition of suitable amendments governing the granting of state licenses to all detective agencies and all private employment offices, with centralized state authority to see that such laws are properly enforced.

The best features of the Baltz bill above referred to can be incorporated into law by Congress if our organizations make it an issue.

Last, but not least, it is the duty of organized labor to commence a determined and vigorous campaign in municipalities and in the states for the purpose of electing tried and true trade unionists to positions of authority, requiring proper enforcement of law and order. We should go further and see to it that sheriffs of counties, chiefs of police of cities and all other officials of counties and municipalities should be carefully selected for the prime and righteous purpose of having the laws rigidly and impartially enforced. The wage-earners have been wronged by the misdeeds of strike-breaking agencies. If they undertake to grapple seriously with this problem and its attendant evils, many good citizens in other walks of life will undoubtedly co-operate with us in behalf of a proper, wholesome regime of law and order, equally and impartially administered and enforced.

#### *Administrative Power and Responsibility*

Attention is called to one of the necessary functions of democratic forms of government that is frequently either ignored or misapplied. Americans with their free and easy going way of doing things through political officeholders, have frequently fallen into grave errors of sometimes dividing responsibility and sometimes permitting political schemers to usurp power not vouchsafed to them by any legal tenet. We recommend that now, through the A. F. of L., a fundamental principle should be urged and established which is essential for good management and good government. Responsibility and power should always go together. Responsibility without power can never be justly enforced. Power without responsibility can never be properly controlled. Every public officer and every public agent should have clear, definite authority to do the acts required of him; a clear and definite limitation should also be put upon the extent of his authority. Finally, the people themselves must hold responsible the highest elected officers for the work of their offices and insist that they perform their full duty to the people, and nothing but their duty. State alliances of executive officials with strike-breaking, gun-toting detective agencies must cease, if these United States are to be free in spirit as well as in letter.

If the above line of reasoning is correct—and we believe it is—it is imperative that we suit the action to the word. We believe that police power and responsibility for the maintenance of peace within the borders of a state should be properly and specifically granted to the governor of the state. He should be vested with authority necessary to preserve life and property. No other power (industrial or political) in the state or beyond its borders should be permitted to interfere with his full responsibility. He should be clothed with full authority, answerable only to the legislature—to the people. The governor must be made in fact as well as fiction the chief peace officer of the state. We propose therefore that the following easily understood law be urged for enactment in all states by our members, friends and sympathizers:

*Employment Offices and Detective Agencies*

Be it enacted, etc.

No person or persons, company or corporation shall conduct temporarily or otherwise, any employment or detective agency in this state without procuring a license from the governor who shall be vested with full authority to grant such licenses during his term of office under such rules, regulations, fees and penalties as may be prescribed by the legislature to safeguard the rights and welfare of the people: Provided, That no license shall be granted to any person or persons, agency, company or corporation to conduct the business of an employment office or detective agency within this state unless bonds are furnished in the penal sum of not less than ten thousand (\$10,000) dollars to be approved by the governor and specifically stipulating that such bonds shall be forfeited to the state if such person, persons, agency, company or corporation furnishes supplies or attempts to furnish or supply arms, ammunition, or armed guards to any person or persons, employer, firm, company, or corporation under any circumstances whatsoever. It is further provided, that the governor is hereby vested with full authority and the duty to judge in times of disturbance, whether armed forces are required to maintain the peace, and when in his judgment such an emergency exists he and he alone shall personally order any part or parts of state militia to the scene of the disturbance, and he shall personally direct the operation of such state troops.

All acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

**REPORT ON THE DICK MILITARY LAW**

Among the several resolutions introduced at the Philadelphia Convention, was one by the delegate from the Trades and Labor Council of Hamilton, Ohio, calling for the repeal of the Dick Military law by the United States Congress. The Committee on International Relations, to which this resolution was referred, reported in part as follows:

"We declare in emphatic terms against militarism, yet we believe that the A. F. of L. should have fuller information than is now available before declaring for the repeal of the law alleged to be of such far-reaching consequence.

"We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be authorized and instructed to make an investigation of the so-called Dick Military Law, being 'An Act to promote the efficiency of the militia and for other purposes,' approved January 21, 1903, and make a report and recommendation thereon to the next convention of the A. F. of L."

Investigation reveals that a variety of opinions exist in the public mind relative to the Dick Military Law. Some of these opinions are grounded upon fears and suspicions. Some of our people are impressed with the idea that the law in question was enacted for the main purpose of fostering militarism in the United States, with all its baneful consequences. Others have seen the spectre of a military force created by the United States, aided and abetted by the several states, wholly and solely as a weapon to be placed in the hands of employers on call, to coerce and intimidate the lawful aspirations of the workers. Others profess to see hidden within the lines of this law a huge profit-making scheme for manufacturers, dealers and speculators in ordnance and ammunition supplies. It may be possible that all or more of such undesirable consequences lurk somewhere within the purview of this statute. The law has been in existence since January 21, 1903; it was

amended in 1908, and again in 1910. During that time, covering a period of twelve years, it has not been apparent to us from our investigation of the subject, that the law has been wrongly applied.

We find, after careful inquiry, that the enactment of the Dick Military law was deemed necessary as a result of the experiences growing out of the Spanish War. When the people of the United States by practically unanimous vote, demanded intervention in behalf of liberty and justice for the oppressed Cubans, it was speedily discovered that the military provisions of the United States were not adequate for either defensive or offensive service. As a nation, we possessed little or no military skill, practically no ammunition, inadequate equipment, and the hospital and commissary service of the United States Army was inefficient and incapable of performing their functions. Some measure of reform was manifestly imperative.

Our American traditions are wholesomely positive against the maintenance of a large standing army. We think it can be safely and emphatically stated that only a very small percentage of the American people favor the maintenance of a large standing army. It is our opinion that this small percentage will never be able to have their schemes adopted in the United States. The Dick Military law was therefore offered, considered and finally enacted, to render our nation better prepared to do exactly what the title of the act describes, namely, "to promote the efficiency of the militia." This means, in short, the practical application of the theory underlying the traditional military policy of the United States; the intention being that the army, such as we have, shall be adequately and properly equipped and its personnel shall be of the highest possible efficiency—our American concept being the maintenance of a skeleton army to which men, properly developed, mentally and physically, may be quickly added when the country may be endangered. For the maintenance of such an army for conquest we would not pay one penny, but for defense we would gladly give our all.

We again express our belief in the need of a small standing army to be supplemented by a citizen soldiery, democratically organized and controlled, so as to prevent either the small standing army or the larger supplements and its units to be used for or by any special privileged class, either at home or abroad.

The American labor movement is thoroughly justified in feeling proud of its efforts; in the past, in its proclamations for peace and against autocratically controlled military forces. We think we would be short-sighted did we agree with that part of the resolution (No. 89) which recommended the repeal of the Dick Military law.

The second "whereas" of the preamble contains the kernel of the whole resolution, and may be a well merited and justifiable warning. It reads:

"Whereas, the existence of the Dick Military law is . . . a weapon that can be used at any time against the interest of the toiling masses."

This expression voices the fear, suspicion and opposition to the Dick Military law, and upon this feature we make the following observations:

Up to the present we have received no complaint nor have we learned of any act in which the military arm of the government has misused the Dick Military law to offset or curb the efforts and aspirations of the working people of our land. Long before the Dick Military law was enacted, United States troops were used through direction of Presidents Cleveland and McKinley in 1894—first during the Great Northern Railroad strike; again in 1894 against the railroad strikers who sympathized with the oppressed Pullman employees; and again in 1899, during the industrial troubles in the Coeur D'Alene metalliferous fields and mines of Idaho. On all of those occasions the charges were openly made that the United States troops took sides in favor of employers as against the workers.

Last year (in 1914) United States troops were again sent into regions where industrial conflicts were under way. We refer particularly to the situation in Colorado. We believe that on this occasion the presence of the United States troops as differentiated from the Colorado militia, was instrumental in stopping strife and bloodshed and establishing peace. We do not make this statement with any degree of satisfaction; we regret that such a step should ever have been taken in the use of the military, but law and order in the state of Colorado were seemingly beyond the power of the state officials to maintain and enforce. Private armed forces in the pay of wealthy private corporations were used to subdue the workers and to control industry. The corporations had practically coerced and intimidated

the officials of the state and had over-ridden the laws of the state. As a consequence, the President was called to intervene.

We, the workers, have never succeeded in obtaining any redress from strongly entrenched wealthy employers by assuming a submissive attitude. We can see the evil results that come to the workers whose spirit of protest is dormant. We who have participated in the struggles of the labor movement during the last third of a century, know that only the strong, well disciplined, well financed organization has success accrued. Employers soon learn to know whether a man or a number of men are willing to contend and make sacrifices for their rights. When once they learn that the workers will fight, at least one-half the fight is won for those disposed to struggle for better working conditions and higher standards of life.

Our organization throughout the length and breadth of our land must realize their responsibility for taking a more active interest in public affairs. By asserting our civic rights we can prevent the Dick Military law from being manipulated so as to menace the rights and liberties of the struggling workers. Neither should the Dick Military law be permitted, under any circumstances, to become a pawn in the hands of the large trusts, corporations and railroads to use the military strength of the state and nation against the interests of the workers. There is not nearly so grave a danger in the Dick Military law as there is in the menace threatening our institutions through the private detective agencies and the private army of gunmen.

We feel, therefore, that the Dick Military law up to the present has not been a menace to the interest of the workers, and we recommend and urge that our organizations become active in their several communities and use all of their local and state influence to let the administrators of the law in such communities thoroughly understand that they will not brook at any time unwarrantable interference of the citizen soldiery in their efforts to procure better and more profitable conditions of work.

#### NEW LEGAL OPINION ON EIGHT-HOUR LAW

The Philadelphia Convention discussed at considerable length the matter of securing the eight-hour workday for workers in government employment. After reviewing the legislative gains of the year, the convention took up consideration of the present federal eight-hour law of 1912. Decisions and interpretations of attorneys general had limited and restricted the scope of that law so that it did not afford the protection intended. The convention instructed the Executive Council to request Attorney General Gregory to give an opinion of the law supplementary to the opinions rendered by former Attorneys General Wickersham and McReynolds.

The convention also expressed its profound regret that the work of erecting the monument to Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, was being performed under conditions prejudicial to the best interests of the workers and in direct violation of the terms of the federal eight-hour law. Therefore, the convention authorized and directed the E. C. to interview the proper officers of the federal government and the representatives of the Yule Marble Company of Yule, Colorado, which had the contract for furnishing the marble for this monument. At our January meeting, this matter was referred to President Gompers, President Williams of the Building Trades Department, and President Griggs of the Journeymen Stonecutters' Association. This committee took the matter up with the resident commissioner of the Lincoln Memorial Commission. Commissioner Blackburn expressed himself as extremely sympathetic toward the purpose of our request, but he was powerless to act.

The matter was taken up with Secretary of War Garrison. In a written communication, Secretary Garrison was informed that the marble for the Lincoln Memorial was prepared in Yule, Colorado, chiefly by foreigners under conditions of long hours and low wages, which were subversive to American standards and ideals, and that the marble workers were exploited through company stores and were afforded no opportunities to learn or to adopt American standards of living. It was pointed out that if this memorial to a man who stood for human freedom and human rights was constructed by workers with un-American standards and low ideals, it could not become the great national monument that it should be. Secretary Garrison was urged to request from Attorney General Gregory an opinion supplementing that rendered by his predecessors and to select a representative from his department to make an investigation of conditions prevailing in Yule together

with a representative selected by the A. F. of L. At first Secretary Garrison considered that the legal department of the government had interpreted the eight-hour law so frequently and so uniformly that an effort to secure an additional interpretation would be futile. He furthermore decided that it was outside his jurisdiction to have an investigation made of the conditions prevailing in the marble quarry at Yule, Colorado. Finally Secretary Garrison determined to accede to our requests to ask Attorney General Gregory for an opinion upon the federal Eight-Hour law.

Meanwhile the Journeymen Stonecutters' organization took up the matter of securing evidence showing conditions of work in Colorado and showing the violations in letter and spirit of the Eight-Hour law. After inquiring into the contract for the Lincoln Memorial it was found that the contract had been made prior to the enactment of the present Eight-Hour law and hence that law did not apply. Later Attorney General Gregory, in an opinion, held that the act of June 19, 1912, had not been applied to this contract, and he entered into consideration of some of the general provisions of the law that had not been under dispute. His opinion reverses the opinion of former Attorneys General Wickersham and McReynolds. The opinion rendered by Attorney General Gregory places a broader interpretation on the Federal Eight-Hour law and in keeping with the spirit and purpose of the law, and as has been contended by organized labor since its enactment. Secretary Garrison sent President Gompers a copy of Attorney General Gregory's letter upon this subject together with an opinion that Attorney General Gregory rendered on May 12, 1915. Both of these opinions are published in full in the August, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*. Attorney General Gregory held that the act of February 9, 1911, creating the Lincoln Memorial Commission, appropriating money for the preliminary expenses and authorizing a contract in the total sum of \$2,000,000 was an appropriation act and hence came under the following section of the Eight-Hour Act of June, 1912:

"Nothing in this act shall be construed . . . to apply to contracts which have been or may be entered into under the provisions of appropriation acts approved prior to the passage of this act."

The second question was whether the shaping of the marble for the Lincoln Memorial was done in the contract as prescribed in the appropriation bill. The appropriation bill stated that the construction of the memorial "shall be entered upon . . . and prosecuted to completion . . . under a contract or contracts hereby authorized to be entered into by said Secretary in a sum total not exceeding \$2,000,000."

The material facts as stated by Attorney General Gregory were that the Secretary of War entered into a contract with the George A. Fuller Construction Company and by the terms of that contract the latter was obligated to use Colorado marble of specified quality and dimensions. However, the Fuller Company, instead of buying rough marble and shaping the marble, sublet the contract to the Yule Colorado Marble Company, which company furnished the marble already shaped. Attorney General Gregory held that the provision of the Eight-Hour law of 1912 governed all work done under construction of the acts specified: "If the Fuller Company had bought rough marble and chiseled it to the dimensions specified in its contract of the Secretary by use of the labor of its own employ, the work would have been literally within the exception. Is there any distinction because the shaping was done by the subcontractor? I think not. In any similar cases, however, whereby construction is being accomplished under contracts authorized by appropriation acts, passed under the enactment of the eight-hour law of June, 1912, the rule declared in my opinion to you of May the 12th, ultimo, above referred to, must be applied."

In his opinion of May 12, Attorney General Gregory states: "The Eight-Hour Act applies generally to all contracts on behalf of the government requiring the employment of laborers or mechanics, either those contracting with the government or by subcontractors."

The Attorney General furthermore states that the act was intended to extend the policy of the eight-hour day on government work—the policy which for years has been in force as to work of construction carried on by the government. Therefore he holds that the federal eight-hour day shall obtain under every contract made for or on behalf of the United States, with due regard, of course, for the exceptions provided in the law. Exceptions provided for are contracts for such materials or articles as may usually be bought in the open market. This he holds divides contracts for articles and materials into two classes—



one class subject to the act, and the other excepted from its operation, and the basis for classification is whether or not materials or articles contracted for are the kind usually to be bought in the open market. The Attorney General held that the test for this classification should not be the nature of the contract and held that the words, whether or not to conform to particular specifications, were added in his opinion for the purpose of emphasizing this principle.

"In the light of the foregoing, it is my opinion that the exception must be held to embrace materials or articles of the kind which are usually manufactured in standard forms and which producers or dealers usually offer for sale in the course of their business, as distinguished from materials and articles of the kind which are usually made to order, or manufactured in a particular manner, shape or conditions according to the specifications of the person for whom they are made.

"The application of this construction—that is, the determination in particular cases of whether the articles are of a kind which are usually manufactured and offered for sale in standard forms, etc., or are of a kind which are usually made to order—obviously involves a consideration of trade conditions and of other questions of fact, and, therefore, is primarily an administrative function to be discharged by the several departments in which the cases arise."

In addition, Attorney General Gregory made this comment on the 1913 opinion of former Attorney General McReynolds. It is as follows:

"As regards the opinion of August 1, 1913 (30 Ops., 211), to which you refer, I think that, instead of himself deciding that the specific article there in question was within the exception, the Attorney General should have defined the meaning of the exception and then left it to the Treasury Department to apply the definition to that particular case."

This opinion broadens the interpretation of the law as compared to the opinions rendered by former Attorneys General Wickersham and McReynolds.

According to this opinion, the present law is adequate, if it is properly enforced. He makes plain that the enforcement of the law depends upon the administrative officers. He furthermore makes it plain that it is necessary for the members of organized labor to see to it that the administrative officers observe the provisions of the federal Eight-Hour law. We therefore report that the problem for securing the eight-hour day for government employees and for workers employed by contractors and subcontractors for government work is an administrative function and should be considered from the standpoint of planning for its proper enforcement by administrative officials.

### PANAMA CANAL RULES AND REGULATIONS

Resolutions introduced in the Philadelphia Convention stated that those in charge of the Panama Canal construction work were replacing skilled American workers by aliens whose standards of living permitted them to work for lower wages and proposed to charge the canal workers rent and thus reduce their wages or salaries by indirect means. The convention instructed the Executive Council to use every means at its command for maintaining standards of employment for all employees on the Canal Zone, existing prior to April 1, 1914.

At our January meeting, we directed that a conference be held with Governor Goethals of the Canal Zone for the purpose of discussing with him the complaints of the workers of the Panama Canal Zone, and securing his co-operation in maintaining high standards and protecting American workers in the Canal Zone. On January 30, 1915, President Wilson issued an executive order applying to conditions of employment in the Panama Canal Zone. This order contained a provision that employees would be charged for rent, fuel and electric current on and after March 1, 1915. The rental charge was equivalent to reduction in wages.

Through communication with Governor Goethals and the Secretary of Labor a conference was arranged between the Secretary of War Garrison, Secretary of Labor Wilson, and Governor Goethals of the Panama Canal Zone, Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades



Department, and Secretary Berres of the Metal Trades Department. At this conference, the charges made by employes that aliens were being brought in to replace American workers were considered, together with the executive order of President Wilson of January 30, 1915. The conference lasted for three hours. In regard to the matter of employing aliens in the two specific cases presented, Governor Goethals announced that he had given instructions for the discharge of the two mentioned. Governor Goethals asserted that he would do all in his power to see that injustices were remedied.

The other matter considered in the conference was the executive order of the President. This was very thoroughly discussed in order to establish the fact that where appropriations were made for the construction of the Panama Canal, it was the general understanding that there should be no change in terms of employment during the period of construction. The discussion and the facts adduced evidently convinced the Secretary of War that this was the correct interpretation. As a result of this conference the representatives of the government sent this statement to the President:

"May 14, 1915.

"The two Secretaries will recommend to the President that the executive order in question be modified by suspending the operations thereof relating to rent, fuel and lights during the period of actual construction of the Panama Canal but not later than June 30, 1916."

The suspension of this executive order meant to the workers employed in the Panama Canal Zone a saving of approximately \$259,000. Through the prompt action of the representatives of the Departments at Washington, the workers in Panama were protected from what would have been a very serious loss if there had been no one present authorized to present their side of the case to governmental authorities.

### REPORT ON LEGISLATIVE PROGRESS

In view of the remarkable progress in behalf of labor legislation during the last Congress, the detailed reports for the past year are preceded by a complete summary of the legislative accomplishments secured during the Sixty-third Congress, and in order that our friends, as well as our critics, may have the information at hand, we herewith present in summarized form the record of our legislative accomplishments in each Congress from the close of the Sixty-third Congress back to March 21, 1906, the period of the Fifty-ninth Congress, when we submitted our historic Bill of Grievances to the executive and legislative officials of the United States.

*Summary of the Record of the Sixty-Third Congress (Convened April 7, 1913; Final Adjournment March 4, 1915)—Measures of Interest to Labor Enacted.*

1. Organizations of labor and farmers taken from the purview of the Antitrust Act.
2. Limitation of the use, and prevention of the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes.
3. Legislation defining and restricting punishment for alleged contempt of injunction writs.
4. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. First session.
5. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. Second session.
6. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. Third session.
7. Passage of Seamen's law, abolishing involuntary servitude; providing better treatment of seamen and improving life saving provisions on vessels at sea.
8. Old conciliation, mediation and arbitration act repealed. New law enacted with permanent officials appointed to administer it in behalf of railroad employes engaged in operating service.
9. Eight-hour law enacted for women and child workers of the District of Columbia. (Decided constitutional March 13, 1915, by Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.)
10. Eight-hour law passed for employes under the Alaska Coal Land Act.
11. Public construction of Alaska railroad.

12. Industrial Education provided with appropriations, for farmers and rural residents under the Agricultural Extension Act.

13. Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in United States arsenals prohibited.

14. Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in the United States Navy Yards, gun factories and torpedo stations prohibited.

15. Piecework prohibited in Post-office Department, Washington, D. C.

16. Public construction of battleships, transports and other vessels in U. S. navy yards, extended. Repairs to vessels of the Navy to be made in governmental instead of private yards. Steadier work assured to employes of government navy yards.

17. Licensed officers, such as masters, mates, and pilots, guaranteed right to quit, and protected when reporting defects of their vessels to government inspectors.

18. Bureau of Mines Act extended and strengthened. Ten new experiment stations and seven new safety stations provided.

19. Senatorial investigation of industrial dispute in coal fields of West Virginia, whereby peace was restored; the eight-hour day secured; check weighmen provided, and ten per cent increase in wages gained—right of organization guaranteed and other improved working conditions included.

20. Compensation for Injuries Act extended to Post-office Employees.

21. Post-office employes—annual promotion maintained, notwithstanding the Postmaster General's efforts to substitute biennial for annual promotions.

22. Eight-hour law for Post-office Clerks and Carriers retained, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to change radically.

23. Letter carriers' salaries restored, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to reduce the pay of letter carriers, known as collectors, from \$1,200 to \$1,000 per year.

24. Locomotive boiler inspection act extended to cover locomotive engines and tenders.

25. Leave of absence with pay to employes of Government Printing Office extended from 26 to 30 days per year.

26. Impeachment proceedings of Judge Wright responsible for his resignation.

27. Special congressional investigation of industrial disputes in the Colorado coal fields and the Michigan copper region, wherein all of the complaints and charges made by the men of labor against the mining companies, and their alliance with the political and military powers of the states were officially verified and substantiated.

28. An additional annual appropriation of \$240,000 for the years 1914-15 was provided for the pay-roll of the metal trades mechanics employed at the Washington, D. C., Navy Yard. This was equivalent to a 7.81 per cent increase in wages.

29. The statutory enactment of an income tax in conformity with the recent United States constitutional amendment.

30. An additional appropriation of \$139,000 for the work of the Children's Bureau.

31. More adequate appropriations for the Department of Labor to carry on its work.

32. Senate resolution demanding information from cabinet officials as to what uses, if any, were made of Rockefeller or Carnegie funds in their Departments.

33. Prevented a reduction in wages and installation and collection of rents for employes on the Panama Canal Zone.

### ANTITRUST AND INJUNCTION LIMITATION LEGISLATION

The delegates to the convention and our membership generally will readily recall how difficult it was for us to secure the enactment of a proviso in the antitrust section of former Sundry Civil Appropriation Acts, prohibiting the U. S. Attorney General from using federal funds to prosecute organizations of wage-earners under the antitrust laws.

Former President Taft prevented the passage of the Hughes' proviso in 1910; in 1912 he vetoed a similar proviso introduced by Representatives Hamill and Roddenberry, thereby preventing the passage of the largest appropriation bills for general purposes, thus jeopardizing the interests of numerous departments of government besides interfering with the successful construction of public buildings and extension of improvements of rivers and harbors.

One of the first acts during the first session of the Sixty-third Congress was to pass the bill which President Taft had vetoed. This act contained the provisions favored

by Labor and was signed by President Wilson. During the second session of the last Congress, the Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate inserted the proviso demanded by the wage-earners as committee recommendations. It passed both bodies with but little opposition in the House and where the vote was 103 "ayes" to "6 nays." In the Senate there was no division and no discussion. The proviso again included by the appropriation committees was unanimously passed without comment in the third session of the last Congress. These incidents are mentioned so that we may record the fact that legislation of this character for which Labor had so vigorously contended in previous congresses was passed three times during the Sixty-third Congress.

In order that this record of our accomplishments may be properly preserved these Hamill-Roddenberry provisos are herewith reproduced:

*"Provided, however, that no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, the shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof, not in itself unlawful: "*

*"Provided further, that no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of producers of farm products and associations of farmers who co-operate and organize in an effort to and for the purpose to obtain and maintain a fair and reasonable price for their products."*

### SEAMEN'S LEGISLATION

We made extended reports upon this subject to the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions, consequently we do not deem it necessary to go into details again, other than to report accurately specific data relative to the periods when positive legislative action was taken.

On October 23, 1913, the La Follette bill, S. No. 4, favored by the Seamen's union and urged for enactment by the A. F. of L., was substituted for S. 136, and passed the United States Senate with only the lone vote of Senator Burton of Ohio dissenting. After many arduous efforts before the House Committee on Merchant Marine, we succeeded in having the bill reported to the House in amended form, June 19, 1914. It was bitterly opposed in the House by Representatives Humphries of Washington, and J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania, but finally passed on August 27, 1914. It was then referred back to the Senate Committee on Commerce.

Because of the concentrated influence of the ship owners, chambers of commerce and other business and financial interests for a while it seemed that no further action would be taken in that committee, but in response to our continued urging and due largely to the splendid support rendered us by Senators Fletcher of Florida, Chamberlain, Shepard, and Vardaman, members of the Senate Committee on Commerce, working in co-operation with Senator La Follette, the bill as passed by the Senate and amended by the House was sent finally to conference on January 4, 1915. On February 27, 1915, following a short debate, the Senate agreed to the conference report without a dissenting vote. Almost immediately after the Senate had agreed to the conference report, Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, made objections and moved to reconsider the action of the Senate in agreeing to the conference report. He made a vigorous speech against the Seamen's bill, and in behalf of reconsideration. Senator La Follette replied effectively. He commended the action of the Senate in passing the bill, and concluded by moving to lay the motion of Senator Smith upon the table. The motion to table was adopted by a vote of thirty-nine "ayes" to thirty-three "nays." The House accepted the conferees' report, the only opposition being that of Representatives Humphries and Moore. President Wilson approved the bill on March 4, 1915.

This measure marks a great forward step in the march of human freedom and progress. It removes the last vestige of involuntary servitude from the laws of the United States. It is one of the first measures that the A. F. of L. urged Congress to enact into law. It will improve the working conditions of seamen. Opportunities for organization will be extended, seamen in other countries will enjoy its beneficent influence, the general public who travel on the high seas will be afforded a larger measure of safety provisions. We feel confident in asserting that the passage of this wise and necessary legislation by the Sixty-third Congress was one of its distinctions.

Nevertheless we find it to be a painful duty to call attention to the fact that a great danger still confronts this valuable piece of legislation. The cupidity and greed of not only the shipping interests of the United States, but the shipping interests of the whole maritime world are so aroused that they will leave no stone unturned nor hesitate to stoop to any subterfuge to defeat the law and the wise, humanitarian and safety provisions which it contains. A continuous, persistent campaign has been made against the measure by the great financial interests of the nation under the management of the Chamber of Commerce.

Under the guise of antagonizing the shipping bill favored by the present national administration, and which was withdrawn during the closing days of last Congress, the National Chamber of Commerce submitted for a referendum vote to its 600 affiliated local chambers of commerce, and other trade bodies representing some 300,000 business men, several propositions including the following:

Subsidies from the government sufficient to off-set difference in the cost between operation of vessels under the American flag, and operation in the same deep sea trades under foreign flags.

The vote upon these propositions was overwhelmingly in favor of the one quoted.

It is, therefore, necessary that our membership be alert to the dangers confronting the people of the United States, because there is no question but what the vested interests will exert themselves to the fullest extent to defeat the meritorious principles contained in the La Follette Seamen's Act.

We should, therefore, lose no time in registering our emphatic protests with members of the Sixty-fourth Congress in favor of the maintenance and the proper enforcement of the Seamen's Act.

#### *Licensed Officers*

We are pleased to report additionally that the Licensed Officers bill, H. R. 16392, by Representative Hardy of Texas, introduced by him for the purpose of improving the regulations of the service of licensed officers in the merchant marine, and for promoting greater safety at sea, was passed in the House July 7, 1914, was taken up in the Senate on March 1, 1915, and passed by that body without change. The President approved it March 3, 1915. This law affords greater protection to officers in the merchant marine when complying with their necessary public duty in reporting defects in their vessels to the proper federal inspection officials. The act also more clearly defines and extends the right of licensed officers in the merchant marine to quit the service of a shipowner at the expiration of their contracts without intimidation or risk of imprisonment. It is believed that all of the former elements of compulsion on the part of shipowners against the licensed officers have been removed by the passage of the Hardy measure. This act is a valuable addition to the legislation contained in the La Follette Act protecting the rights of sea-faring men and extending greater safety measures for those who go down to the sea in ships.

#### **PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAL AND OTHER VESSELS**

Several of our conventions in the past have given instructions to encourage legislation in behalf of public *versus* private construction of vessels for the United States government and for all repairs to government vessels to be made at government navy yards. In co-operation with the Metal Trades unionists we have continued our efforts along the lines of those instructions and report that the proportion of repairs to government vessels is much greater in government navy yards than in private ship yards. The Naval Appropriation Acts for 1914 and 1915 provided for the construction of a naval supply ship in the Charleston Navy Yard at Boston and a transport vessel for the government at the League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa. The 1915 appropriations carried with them a sum of \$148,000 for better equipment of new construction work for the Charlestown Navy Yard, and \$200,000 for the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Through our united efforts we also secured a valuable clause in the interests of the metal and ship building trades in this year's Naval Appropriations Act, which states that:

"No part of the sums appropriated by this act shall be used to procure through purchase or contract any vessels, armament, articles or materials which the navy

yards, gun factories or other industrial plants operated by the Navy Department are equipped to supply, unless such government plants are operated approximately at their full capacity for not less than one regular shift each working day."

Several bills introduced in Congress provided for governmental construction and ownership of a merchant marine.

### BUREAU OF LABOR SAFETY

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention that the Bureau of Labor Safety Bill, H. R. 10735, by Representative Lewis of Maryland, Chairman of the House Committee on Labor, passed the House on March 11, 1914, without an opposing vote, and that Senator Shively of Indiana for the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, reported it favorably to the Senate on August 1, 1914, without in any way changing the bill as passed by the House. Several unsuccessful efforts were made by Senator Shively and Senator Martine of New Jersey, to obtain consideration of it by the Senate. Finally, while the Senate was working under the unanimous consent rule on March 1, 1915, Senator Martine made a most strenuous effort to secure its consideration and passage, but we regret to report that it was defeated by Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire and Senator Overman of North Carolina, whose objections defeated one of the best labor safety measures ever presented for the consideration of Congress.

However, in connection with this subject we deem it advisable to call the attention of the convention to the splendid work of the United States Department of Labor in its effort to enlighten the people as to the awful slaughter which is continually taking place among the workers in the industries of our nation. Undoubtedly in response to our declaration last year, the Department, through its Bureau of Labor Statistics, issued in March, 1915, Bulletin No. 157, which contains an estimate of the number of fatal and non-fatal industrial accidents occurring among American wage-earners each year. From the estimates made it was concluded that the number of fatal industrial accidents among American wage-earners is conservatively placed at 25,000 annually and the number of injuries involving a disability of more than four weeks is approximately 700,000 per year.

The greatest number of fatal accidents occurs in railroad employments and agricultural pursuits, each of these groups being responsible for approximately 4,200 fatalities each year. Coal mining contributes more than 2,600 fatalities; building and construction work in the neighborhood of 1,900 fatalities. In general manufacturing it is estimated that 1,800 fatal accidents occur annually. In metal mining the hazard is so great that four out of each 1,000 employees lose their lives each year by accident. In coal mining the rate is 3.5 per 1,000 employed; in fisheries and navigation, the rate is 3 to each 1,000 employed.

The bulletin states that these estimates are derived from the best sources available. The greatest credit to those responsible for the data contained in this bulletin must be given for their courage in saying to the world in a government document that "there are no entirely complete and trustworthy industrial accident statistics for even a single important industry in the United States." With this official declaration by federal officials and the appalling revelation of the terrible distress occasioned to the workers of our land when following their peaceful occupations should be sufficient to arouse the indignation of all properly disposed citizens so that there will be an insistent demand by them and on the part of all organizations, private or public, instituted for the purpose of relieving distress, for sufficient appropriations by the federal government to enable the Department of Labor to collect and publish annually the facts concerning accidents occurring to men and women who are engaged in the production of wealth.

Senator Sheppard of Texas made diligent efforts to have included in one of the deficiency appropriations measures, legislative authority empowering the Department of Labor to collect and publish facts relating to accidents and occupational diseases in industries. We regret to report that the same Senator (Gallinger of New Hampshire, who is a doctor), who offered such scathing objections to the Bureau of Labor Safety bill was also the primary cause of preventing the adoption of the Sheppard resolution.

The time has now come in the opinion of the members of the Executive Council when we should give these two measures a prominent place in our demands. There is no doubt in our minds but what the general inclination, among members of Congress, is favorable to both propositions, viz: (1) the early establishment of a Bureau of Labor Safety in

the United States Department of Labor, or if the institution of a new bureau is objectionable, the Department should be authorized to install methods to do the work without a bureau; and (2) ample appropriations afforded the United States Department of Labor to report annually to the people exactly what accidents occur in our complex system of industry.

All other nations that profess even a semblance of civilization, make some provision of this character, England, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and others have long since devised and worked out plans for securing definite, positive information concerning accidents in industry. Their plans work almost automatically because of the heavy penalties employers are subjected to on any pretext or effort to prevent the truth being disclosed. Surely, the United States can and should do equally as well for its toilers as is done for the workers by any nation in Europe.

It is useless to temporize with this matter longer and equally useless to wait or depend upon the states to do this work. We have no accurate knowledge concerning one of the most vital features connected with the social and economic facts of industry. We can not be longer satisfied with mere estimate or guesses. We recommend to the convention that active steps be immediately inaugurated not only to learn the truth concerning the industrial slaughter of our fellow beings but to insist upon responsible departments of government to provide means and methods by which the lives of the workers of the nation shall be henceforth more sacredly regarded and better conserved.

### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES

The debate upon Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation for Injuries legislation at the Philadelphia Convention was exceptionally instructive and comprehensive, in that it dealt with the recommendations made by the Executive Council and the several features contained in Resolution No. 50.

The convention adopted the report of the Committee on Education which contained the following specific recommendations in connection with the subject of compensation legislation coming before the several state legislatures.

1. Endeavor to bring the basis of compensation rates to a minimum of 66 2-3 per cent of the wages of the injured.
2. Endeavor to obtain an extension of time during which benefits should be paid for accidents resulting in amputations.
3. Widows whose husbands are killed in industries to receive compensation during widowhood.
4. Increase of benefits on the basis of the number of children under eighteen years of age.
5. Administration of compensation laws in future to be under the supervision of state commissions appointed for that duty alone.
6. The elimination of employers' liability insurance companies and the establishment of state insurance companies, the funds of same to be administered by the state compensation commission.

We recommend that the following additional provision be added:

7. Compensation to be paid for death or illness from occupational diseases.

During the legislative period since our last convention eight more states and the territory of Alaska were added to the states enumerated in our report at Philadelphia, the additional states enacting compensation laws during the session of the legislature in 1915 being Colorado, Indiana, Maine, Montana, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Wyoming. Favorable action toward the enactment of a compensation law was taken by the legislature of Utah which created a commission to investigate the question and report a bill for the consideration of the next legislature. In New Mexico a workmen's compensation bill was passed by the House but it was defeated in the Senate. In Idaho the bill was vetoed by the governor because it was claimed that the measure passed by the legislature was weak in many particulars and generally ineffective. The Alaska compensation law is elective and applies only to mine and related hazardous occupations.

Several state legislatures, among them being Connecticut, Michigan, New York and Rhode Island, revised their former compensation laws in response to the demand of our membership in order to issue more efficient and liberal operation. Efforts, without success, were made by our members to make compensation laws in other states more liberal. We co-operated with our membership in Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Mon-



tana, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Wyoming and other states in their efforts either so secure initial legislation on the subject, or to improve such legislation already in existence.

The Missouri legislature refused to act upon the report of the third compensation commission appointed in that state. We regret to report that the Kentucky law was declared unconstitutional on the pretense that "the state constitution prohibits any limitation of awards" by the Supreme Court of the state. The constitutionality of the compensation law of California and other states has been upheld by their state Supreme Courts.

A constitutional amendment will be submitted in Pennsylvania so as to make it possible to secure a compulsory compensation act instead of an elective act.

More uniform and definite standards as to the manner in which compensation shall be awarded and the method of administering the law have been adopted in the measures enacted this year. Lack of uniformity is a feature of the several laws previously enacted in other states and which is clearly outlined in Senate Document No. 419, 63rd Congress, 2d session, which contains the report of the special committee appointed by us to investigate and report on the subject-matter of workmen's compensation.

There are seventeen states still without compensation legislation or effective employers' liability laws, viz., Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah and Virginia.

We feel greatly encouraged however, with the progress we have made in thirty-one states, the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands where we have secured compensation laws in some form since our original effort before Congress in behalf of federal employes in 1908, and we feel sure that as time goes on and new experiences are obtained, the compensation laws of the states now possessing them will be materially expanded and improved so that the backward states above mentioned will have the benefit of established, uniform standards upon which to shape their compensation laws, whenever our membership in those states shall become sufficiently aggressive to insist upon their enactment by the state legislature.

Efforts will be renewed during the next Congress to secure the passage of the best principles contained in the McGillicuddy bill, which is practically a reconstruction of the Federal Employes' Compensation Act. Notwithstanding our most earnest endeavors it was impossible to get consideration of the McGillicuddy bill in the House after it was reported by the Committee on Judiciary.

Every effort will be made during the next Congress to secure the enactment of a model workmen's compensation law for the working people of the District of Columbia in response to the provisions of Resolution No. 62, endorsed by the Philadelphia Convention with additional provision requiring the payment of benefit for illness or death from occupational diseases.

### POLITICAL LIBERTY OF CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES

The Philadelphia Convention adopted Resolutions 135, 139, 145, introduced by delegates from the Tri-City Federation of Rock Island, Ill., and the California State Federation of Labor, in which many grievances of federal civil service employes were enumerated. The committee to which these resolutions were referred made the following recommendation which the convention adopted:

Since Congress has recently adopted legislation to protect and safeguard the political rights of all citizens employed under civil service examinations, your committee recommends that the resolutions be referred to the E. C., with instructions to further additional legislation of this character if it should be found necessary.

We gave the subject-matter of the resolutions and the recommendation earnest consideration and ultimately decided to hold the matter of securing new legislation in abeyance, because of the fact that the closing days of the Sixty-third Congress were close at hand, and the remaining period for which the session would last was crowded to the extreme with many weighty measures in which the interests of Labor were concerned, as well as several important measures of public interest. We therefore decided that it would be impracticable to open



up the questions covered in the resolutions and recommendation until a more favorable opportunity would be afforded during the approaching sessions of the Sixty-fourth Congress, when we think it will be advisable, if not imperative, to have bills introduced in Congress containing clear-cut, definite expressions as to what constitutes "pernicious, political activity" by employees of the federal civil service, together with a properly worked out and easily comprehended compilation of civil, social, economic and political rights which federal civil service employees can exercise without jeopardizing their positions and without being subjected to the spleen and ill-will of political partisans who are acting as departmental chiefs. We also believe such a bill should contain restrictions and limitations of power to be exercised by the Civil Service Commissioners in their dealings with government employees. From the many anonymous and individual complaints and reports which have reached us, we are compelled to believe that our present civil service system needs an entire overhauling, reconstruction and renovation.

Civil Service Commissioners and departmental officials have exaggerated their own personal importance and the amount of authority delegated to them while temporarily clothed with official power. There are many evidences that a bureaucracy of a very distasteful character is being engrafted upon public and civil service employees. Many onerous industrial conditions are being introduced in the departments, which make the lot of civil service employees most unenviable and practically unbearable for free citizens.

The great fundamentals originally claimed when the civil service system was first advocated, such as, securing freedom from appointments by political partisans, abolition of the "spoils system," and equitable allotment of federal positions according to genuine merit, and proper practical qualifications with an approximate just state apportionment, are now almost entirely lost sight of, and in place of such high ideals being the chief factors in the selection and maintenance of government employees, there has been insidiously foisted upon the system, impractical schemes of selection, requirements falsely termed "educational" tests for applicants during examination and disposition to ignore arbitrarily or give but small credit to real, genuine, practical qualifications for service which candidates for positions ought to possess.

It appears that in many of the positions, outside of the most menial or necessarily mechanical, the Civil Service Commission has made the field of employment in the government service a practically closed shop for college graduates. This practice is being steadily extended, and while we would not show the slightest inclination to discredit or reflect upon the advantages of a college education, yet we believe the time is here when we should protest to the Congress of the United States against academic degrees being the only standard as against the valuable practical experience which many men and women have gained in industrial activities without the advantage of a college education. To continue to ignore applicants with such valuable, practical knowledge and virtually to blacklist them from government employ, constitutes a serious impediment to the best interests of the people because the actual efficiency and the valuable services of many men and women whom it would be a distinct advantage to employ in government service, but who are now barred from employment, under the present regulations and theoretical vagaries which impress the present selectors of government employees, consequently the government is deprived of the services of some of the best workers and most valuable citizens our country possesses.

However, the worst feature now prevailing is the fact that there is a constant inclination to deprive civil service employees of every attribute of freedom and incorporate a system of dependency, subserviency and sycophancy that is repugnant to Americans who are prone to boast that this is "the home of the brave and the land of the free."

We regret to state that we find in many of the departments (particularly the Post-office) a disposition to ignore and at times to resent the spirit and letter of the new law we secured in behalf of greater freedom for federal employees in August, 1912. It appears that government officials, especially those occupying powerful but in reality only secondary positions, became inoculated with arrogance by the extended authority granted to them under the Roosevelt and Taft "gag" orders, plainly evidenced by their arbitrary acts and their harsh treatment of subordinate employees for slight offenses or infractions of the departmental iron-bound rules for inferiors.

We believe that we should make these grievances an issue at the coming session of Congress and bring the matter forcibly to the attention of representatives and senators, so that they may curb the unwarranted arrogance of officials in the departments and the Civil

Service Commission who have much to do with the welfare of the humbler citizens who attend to the interests of the people in the government service.

Many cases could be cited to justify the foregoing complaints and criticism. We can not include them all in this report by reason of the fact that the disclosure of names contained in the correspondence might result in discrimination, demotion or perhaps victimization and discharge. But the correspondence should receive the attention of the proper committee of this convention and report thereon for such action as this convention may deem necessary in the interest and for the rights of the civil service employees. However, we deem it advisable to cite particularly the navy yard case at Vallejo, California, and furnish herewith copy of the orders given to Mr. Frank M. Bennett, the Commandant of the Mare Island Navy Yard, Vallejo, California, by C. L. Snyder, Secretary of the Twelfth District of the Civil Service Commission, on June 8, 1915:

"THE COMMANDANT, Mare Island Navy Yard, Vallejo, California.

SIR: Referring to the investigation of alleged political activities on the part of O. S. Cooper, Forbes Brown, E. C. Berry, William J. Maney, Lorenzo B. Leavitt and others which was conducted by the District Secretary in November and December of last year, I beg leave to invite your attention to the fact that the Civil Service Commission has expressed the following views concerning these cases:

The executive order of May 14, 1909, which authorizes the Commission in its discretion to permit navy yard employees to engage in political activity in local municipal elections, is limited in its application to occasions when a strict enforcement of the provisions of Section 1, Rule 1, of the Civil Service Rules would influence the result of a local election and seems to presuppose action upon the merits of each separate case which may be presented. It is believed that many of the vexatious causes which have arisen at Vallejo since the general permission was granted are directly attributable to a misunderstanding of its purposes and limitations.

In view of these considerations, and for the further reason that the general permission heretofore granted has been repeatedly abused, this general permission for employees to take an active part in local elections in Vallejo upon the saloon and vice issues has been revoked.

If permission to become a candidate is desired in any specific case, request therefor may be transmitted through official channels to the Secretary of the Navy, who will forward it with his recommendation to the Commission.

With reference to the doubt expressed by certain employees regarding the application of the rule forbidding political activity to them in the capacity of members and officers of labor organizations, the Commission states that the liability of competitive employees for violation of this rule is personal and individual and entirely apart from membership in any labor union. The rule applies to all competitive employees, irrespective of their membership in any labor union, and any act which constitutes a violation of the rule is to be judged by the rule alone. Employees are not excused in any degree from obedience to the Civil Service Rules by their membership in labor unions. They may not as an officer of a union or in any other capacity take an active part in politics, and may not serve as officers of an organization of any sort which takes an active part in politics. While their service as a delegate to a labor council is inadvisable and likely to involve them in political activity, they will not be prevented from serving as such delegate; but they will not be permitted to serve as officers of the council, or to take any part whatever in its work of gathering or disseminating information regarding candidates for office and matters of proposed legislation or other political information or in formulating or giving advice in these or other political matters to affiliated unions or their members, or in any other political activity of such a council.

The underlying principle of the rule is that an employee who is the servant of all the people, shall not publicly and actively array himself with one group against another group upon any question of public policy concerning which public opinion is divided.

In order to prevent any further possible misunderstanding or misconstruction of the application of the Civil Service Rule relating to political activity, I

beg leave to request that you give the information herein furnished as wide publicity as practicable among the employes of the navy yard. Information of similar character will also be communicated to local newspapers in Vallejo.

Very respectfully,

(Signed)

C. L. SNYDER,  
*District Secretary.*"

Complaints were immediately filed with us by the officials of our several organizations in California and which we promptly took up with the Civil Service Commission in Washington. Copy of the reply from Mr. John A. McIlhenny, President of the Commission follows:

*"June 28, 1915.*

"Mr. FRANK MORRISON, Secretary, American Federation of Labor, 801 G Street, City.

"SIR: This Commission is in receipt of your letter of June 24, referring to press reports that the Commission has revoked permission granted several years ago to Mare Island employes to engage in municipal elections, and requesting a copy of the order of the Commission if the report is correct.

"In reply you are advised that some years ago permission was granted to employes of the Mare Island Navy Yard to participate in municipal campaigns upon the saloon and vice issues alone. In the campaign ending in the election of November, 1914, a number of competitive employes engaged actively in an organized effort to further the acceptance by the voters of a proposed amendment to the constitution of California for a universal eight-hour day, and certain other legislation. It appeared that the employes believed in good faith that such activity as that in which they engaged was not within the prohibition of the rule prohibiting political activity, as it was with regard to legislation and not individual candidates of any of the great political parties, and that much of the misunderstanding as to the scope of the rule had arisen from the general permission theretofore granted to employes at this yard to participate in local elections upon the saloon and vice issues, which permission had been repeatedly abused. In accordance with a minute of the Commission of May 6, 1915, the Navy Department was advised that the general permission above mentioned was revoked because of its abuse, and that if any permission to engage in political activity was desired in a specific case, request therefor should be forwarded to the Commission, as is the practice in other navy yards. The following is an extract from the minute mentioned:

"The district secretary will be advised, for his guidance and that of the employes, that the liability of employes for violation of the rule is personal and individual and entirely apart from membership in any labor union. The rule applies to all competitive employes, irrespective of their membership in any labor union, and any act which constitutes a violation of the rule is to be judged by the rule alone. Employes are not excused in any degree from obedience to the civil service rules by their membership in labor unions. They may not as an officer of a union or in any other capacity take an active part in politics, and may not serve as an officer of an organization, of any sort, which takes an active part in politics. While their service as delegate to a labor council is inadvisable and likely to involve them in political activity, they will not be prevented from serving as such delegate; but they will not be permitted to serve as officers of the council, to take any part whatever in its work of gathering or disseminating information regarding candidates for office and matters of proposed legislation or other political information, or in formulating or giving advice in these or other political matters to affiliated unions or their members, or in any other political activity of such a council.

"The underlying principle of the rule is that an employe, who is the servant of all the people, shall not publicly and actively array himself with one group against another group upon any question of public policy concerning which public opinion is divided. The question in the discussion and solution of which these and other competitive employes took active and prominent parts was one of

public policy, submitted to the voters at an election, upon which voters were divided into opposing factions or groups, and were urged by advocates and opponents of the measure to vote one way or another. It was therefore a political issue, and activity in connection therewith was forbidden by the rule.'

"By direction of the Commission.

"Very respectfully,

(Signed)

J. A. McILHENNY,  
President."

A careful reading of the above communications gives evidence of the fact that the Civil Service Commission has entirely ignored the law of August 24, 1912, which we secured from the 62nd Congress as a protest against the "gag" orders of former Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. It is apparent that special endeavors were not only made by the officials of the Civil Service Commission but by the officials of other departments who carried out their instructions to base their harsh rulings in the Vallejo case entirely upon the so-called "Anti-Political Activity Rule" of the Commission which reads:

"1. No person in the executive civil service shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. Persons who by the provisions of these rules are in the competitive classified service, while retaining the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns."

The illustration cited by us shows how this rule is being misapplied so as practically to prohibit civil service employes from holding membership in a labor organization, providing such labor organization, as such, interests itself in public affairs for the general welfare of the community.

This can best be illustrated by a copy of a letter sent by Commandant F. M. Bennett, to one of the employes at the Mare Island Navy Yard:

*"Subject: Reprimand for violation of Civil Service rules prohibiting political activity.*

1. The commandant is directed by the Secretary of the Navy to reprimand you in writing for the above offense and to admonish you that further violation on your part of the civil service rule prohibiting political activity on the part of employes in the competitive classified service 'will result in more drastic action by the Department.'

2. It appears from an investigation conducted by the Secretary of the Twelfth Civil Service District that you, in the capacity of Secretary of the Vallejo trades and labor council, addressed letters to a number of candidates for elective office requesting information as to their attitude with regard to certain questions pending measures affecting the so-called interests of organized labor. Furthermore that you gave the answers obtained to such inquiries to the labor council, which made the information public for the guidance of members of affiliated unions in voting and in following the public acts of successful candidates. You were thus attempting to coerce candidates to express certain views or to make pre-election promises, a form of political activity of the most pernicious and unfair character. This during the campaign that terminated in the election early in November, 1914.

3. This activity is peculiarly inexcusable on your part because, in addition to the printed civil service rules accessible to all employes and with which you are familiar, there was during the political campaign referred to, posted in all shops and offices at this station a large placard from the Civil Service Commission calling particular attention to the prohibited forms of political activity. Notwithstanding this unusual publicity given to the rules governing your conduct, you assumed that your allegiance to a labor union was superior to that owed by you to the federal government that employs you, and took upon yourself to deliberately disobey and treat with contempt the orders of the Civil Service Commission.

4. In so doing you have shown yourself unfit for the trust that the government has a right to repose in its servants, and you have made yourself a marked man for the future. Your conduct will be especially observed hereafter and nothing but the strictest loyalty to your employer and faithful performance of duty will be acceptable. A copy of this letter will be filed with your record.

5. Acknowledge in writing without delay the receipt of this communication.

(Signed) F. M. BENNETT."

#### *Anti-Gag Law*

For the sake of the records of this convention, we incorporate herewith copy of the Anti-Gag Order law, approved August 24, 1912, which we believe, if properly interpreted, protects all employes in the classified civil service from attacks which may be made upon them because of their membership in labor organizations or because of their activity in behalf of better government:

"Section 6. That no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of said service, and for reasons given in writing, and the person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charges preferred against him, and be furnished with a copy thereof, and also be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing; and affidavits in support thereof; but no examination of witnesses nor any trial or hearing shall be required except in the discretion of the officer making the removal; and copies of charges, notice of hearing, answer, reasons for removal, and of the order of removal shall be made a part of the records of the proper department or office, as shall also the reasons for reduction in rank or compensation; and copies of the same shall be furnished to the person affected upon request, and the Civil Service Commission also shall upon request be furnished copies of the same:

*Provided*, However, that membership in any society, association, club, or other form of organization of postal employes not affiliated with any outside organization imposing an obligation or duty upon them to engage in any strike, or proposing to assist them in any strike, against the United States, having for its objects, among other things, improvements in the condition of labor of its members, including hours of labor and compensation therefor and leave of absence, by any person or groups of persons of any grievance or grievances to the Congress or any member thereof shall not constitute or be cause for reduction in rank or compensation or removal of such person or groups of persons from said service. The right of persons employed in the civil service of the United States, either individually or collectively, to petition Congress, or any member thereof, or to furnish information to either House of Congress, or to any committee or member thereof, shall not be denied or interfered with."

We firmly believe that it is impossible for the Civil Service Commissioners or for any other department of the government to require honorable and respectable American citizens to refrain from making their home city a fit place in which to live, but on the other hand to be compelled to sit idly by and allow social and political evils to fasten themselves upon the community in which they live, and where their children are to be reared. We do not believe that such conduct is in harmony with the ideals of a free government or that such undemocratic regulations should be enforced upon any portion of its citizens, especially those working for the United States government.

The disposition to extend the scope of the anti-political activity rule of the Civil Service Commission has been to deprive government employes of practically every political right that this nation has bestowed upon all other citizens. It is the tendency to make of every government employe a political nonentity, much the same as though he were a serf or a subject of an absolute monarchy. We earnestly protest against this unwarranted extension and false interpretation of the civil service rules, and we believe this convention should urge upon Congress to authorize and direct the Civil Service Commission to obey the spirit and letter of the law of August 24, 1912, and not continue to interfere with a federal employe's rights as a citizen or as a member of an organization.

No laws can do for civil service employes what they do for themselves through organization. They must assert themselves, demand their rights as free citizens, and command respect. There is no way that they can accomplish this except through organization influential enough to demand and receive recognition. A separate organization of these workers without outside affiliations and assistance would be more or less under the domination of the Department. These employes need the backing of the organization that is recognized as the most powerful force for human rights and for liberty within the country. Therefore, we recommend to the convention that every effort be made during the coming year to secure a law which shall insure for civil service employes the right of organization. That law should contain the following assertion:

The right of the Civil Service employes of the United States to form any lawful organization, or association, shall not be denied, interfered with or restricted by any officer of the Government of the United States.

Legislation containing such a provision would furnish these employes the opportunity that they need for the only movement that can insure their welfare.

### EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Resolution No. 27 of the Philadelphia Convention protested against the opinion of the United States Attorney General James C. McReynolds on August 1, 1913, in which he interpreted the exception clause of the Eight-hour Act of June 19, 1912, to be more extensive than was intended by Congress when it passed the act.

The resolution also reaffirmed the main contention of Resolution No. 19 of the Seattle Convention insofar that the Executive Council was directed to secure an amendment to the federal Eight-hour law so as to protect union shops and mills manufacturing materials for use by the government as supplies and furnishings of "Public Works."

As is stated in another section the Philadelphia Convention directed the E. C. to request the present United States Attorney General, Honorable T. W. Gregory, to place a construction upon the Eight-hour law, supplementing the decision by the previous Attorney General McReynolds, which had, in a large measure rendered the Eight-hour law ineffective, and if the Council found that an amendment was necessary to make the law establish the object sought, that an amendment be introduced which should provide that all work to be done for the government should be performed on an eight-hour basis.

We deemed it advisable to hold the matter of securing an amendment to the law in abeyance, owing to the fact that the last session of Congress was the short session and that it would be more practical to urge such an amendment during the first session of the 64th Congress which will convene in December of this year.

We did, however, carry out the directions in full relative to opening up the question again with the new Attorney General. The whole subject was made a matter of record in the *American Federationist* for August, 1915, and is discussed in the section entitled the New Eight-hour Decision.

Since the opinion rendered by Attorney General Gregory we have prosecuted our endeavors in behalf of the printing trades, papermakers, sheet metal workers, leather workers on horse goods, patternmakers, painters, steam shovel and dredgemen and others.

Through the good offices of the Honorable William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, we called to the attention of other members of the cabinet, the effective plan of enforcing the Eight-hour law by former President Roosevelt, through the United States Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics which was one of the immediate results following our "Labor's Bill of Grievances," submitted to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives on March 21, 1906. We urged the Secretary of Labor to interest other members of the Cabinet in whose departments government contracts are let. If all the other secretaries of the departments would make it a matter of personal interest they could very readily and properly direct the inspectors of their departments who are commissioned to oversee productions of material for such departments and enforce all the stipulations and specifications contained in the contracts, also to give strict observance to the hours of labor permitted or required of the employes of such contractors on government work, and report same to the head official of the department responsible for such contracts. If this suggestion is followed, the most



practical means will be adopted and the most accurate official evidence will be available to the several departments as to conditions prevailing and hours worked in such private establishments where government contracts are let. The moral effect of such personal interest on the part of the secretaries of the several departments upon subordinate officials would be most effective. It would stimulate them to enforce a strict observance of the Eight-hour law thereby removing many unnecessary causes for complaint in future. Such a method of procedure would carry out the spirit and intent of Congress in the enactment of the Eight-hour law.

#### MODEL ANTITRUST INJUNCTION LIMITATION LAW FOR STATE USE

The Philadelphia Convention directed that a model law on this subject be sent to the various State Federations of Labor and city central bodies, urging them to endeavor to secure its enactment by their several state legislatures, and the Massachusetts antitrust, injunction limitations measure, amended to distinguish more clearly between personal rights and rights growing out of ownership of property, be recommended as a model act. On March 15, 1915, a circular letter was addressed to the officers of the state federations of labor and city central bodies, including copy of the proposed Antitrust Injunction Limitation law for state use.

The legislation recommended follows:

*Be it Enacted, Etc.:*

SECTION 1. It shall not be unlawful for working men and women to organize themselves into, or carry on labor unions for the purpose of lessening the hours of labor or increasing the wages or bettering the condition of the members of such organizations; or carrying out their legitimate purposes as freely as they could do if acting singly.

SECTION 2. No restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of this state, or any judge or judges thereof in any case involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

SECTION 3. No restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment or from ceasing to perform any work or labor; or from recommending, advising or persuading others so to do; or from attending at any place where any person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information, or from persuading any such person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize any party to such dispute; or from recommending, advising, or persuading others so to do; or from paying or giving to or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by a single individual; nor shall any of the acts specified in this section be considered or held to be illegal or unlawful in any court of this state.

SECTION 4. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and the right to enter into the relation of employer and employe or to change that relation; or to assume and create a new relation for employer and employe; or to perform and carry on business with any person in any place; or to do work and labor as an employe, shall be held and construed to be a personal, and not a property right. In all cases involving the violation of the contract of employment, either by the employe or employer, where no irreparable damage is about to be committed upon the property or property right of either, no injunction shall be granted, but the parties shall be left to their remedy at law.

SECTION 5. No persons shall be indicted, prosecuted, or tried in any court of this state for entering into or carrying on any arrangement, agreement, or com-



bination between themselves made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or increasing wages or bettering the condition of workmen, or for any act done in pursuance thereof, unless such act is in itself forbidden by law if done by a single individual.

Our friends and associates in the several state federations worked earnestly and efficiently in behalf of this legislation and although we can not at this time report tangible success in any state, yet we know that the work done has been preliminary and helpful to its final accomplishment at an early period.

We again urge state federations, city central bodies, the officers of the rank and file of our general movement within the various states to vigorously insist upon the enactment of such a law as herein quoted and recommended.

### CONVICT LABOR

Two important convict labor bills were before the Sixty-third Congress, the most important being H. R. 1933, introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Booher of Missouri and in the Senate by Senator Hughes of New Jersey. It passed the House of Representatives on March 4, 1914, by practically a unanimous vote. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which committee held extensive hearings upon it. On August 29, 1914, it was reported favorably to the Senate by that committee with some amendments. Many efforts were made by Senator Hughes and other friends of the measure to get it before the Senate, but on every occasion met with the strenuous opposition of Senator Nelson of Minnesota. Finally, on March 1, 1915, it was called up in the Senate under the unanimous consent rule when Senator Nelson again objected to its consideration and prevented its being called up again during the Sixty-third Congress.

During the several years we have endeavored to obtain federal legislation on the convict labor question, this was the first time we ever succeeded in getting the bill properly considered by a Senate committee and the first time it was ever reported by a Senate committee. Senator Nelson had always heretofore successfully killed it in committee. Similar bills have passed the House of Representatives on several occasions, and it is our opinion that the principles of the bill are favored by a large majority of the Senators. It therefore remains for us to renew our efforts and urge Senators and Representatives to dispose of the measure earlier during the next legislative session, so that it will not be left to run the hazard of chance consideration under the unanimous consent rule during congestion of public business, in the closing days of a Congress.

The other convict labor measures were the companion bills H. R. 14330 by Representative Hensley of Missouri and S. 4161 by Senator Stone of Missouri, introduced by them to prohibit the importation of convict-made goods. The Hensley bill passed the House of Representatives on March 25, 1914, by a practically unanimous vote. The Senate referred it to the Committee on Manufactures. Both bills were favorably reported to the Senate by that committee and on March 1, 1915, both the Senate bill and the House bill were called up for consideration on two separate occasions under the unanimous consent rule of the Senate, and both times they were promptly defeated by the single objection of Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia. The Stone-Hensley bills contained necessary and valuable provisions to prevent the importation into the United States of all goods made by convicts in foreign countries and would undoubtedly have met the approval of an overwhelming majority of the Senate as well as the House if the measure could have been brought up, debated and disposed of under normal parliamentary conditions.

It is unfortunate that legislation fraught with so much potentiality for good to both fair employers and honest wage-earners should be allowed to linger upon the calendars of the Senate, so that a single objection from an opposing Senator under the unanimous consent rule prevents such measures from receiving the legislative consideration to which they are entitled.

### CHILD LABOR

During last congress many bills were introduced for the purpose of improving the child labor laws of the District of Columbia, and many were introduced for the further purpose of regulating the labor of children or prohibiting their labor under certain ages when engaged

in the manufacture or preparation of goods for interstate commerce. Some of the latter bills introduced contained penalties making the common carrier liable for the transportation, from one city to another, of goods manufactured in whole or in part by children under certain ages and other bills made the manufacturer or shipper of such goods liable.

The Owen-Palmer bill was undoubtedly the best prepared measure. It received the greatest consideration and undoubtedly it would have been the most effective, if it had been enacted into law. After extended hearings by the House Committee on Labor, the Palmer bill was redrafted and favorably reported to the House on August 13, 1914, by Representative Lewis, chairman of the House Committee on Labor. It passed the House after a most interesting and vigorous debate, on February 15, 1915, by a vote of 233 "ayes" to 43 "nays." The bill was then referred by the Senate to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and on March 1, 1915, and was favorably reported to the Senate with certain amendments. Several efforts were made by Senators Robinson of Arkansas, and Norris of Nebraska, to obtain consideration of the bill by the Senate, but the congested condition of business before the Senate at that late day prevented action being taken. It was called to the attention of the Senate that the Owen-Palmer bill would prevent any factory selling its product in any other state if such a product was produced by child labor. It is our opinion that if the bill could have been properly brought before the Senate at that session it would have become law.

We are confident that this measure or one similar to it will become a law in the near future, because we believe that the Congress of the United States is not inclined to set itself against the enlightened public sentiment of the people in behalf of better opportunities for the children.

We recommend that this issue be made one of the chief features in our forthcoming legislative program.

#### PIECEWORK—TAYLOR SYSTEM—IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Resolutions Nos. 20, 139 and 156, adopted by the Philadelphia Convention, reiterated protests against the Taylor system, piecework, premium, bonus and stop-watch schemes of shop management in government departments. Resolution No. 139 made particular reference to the intimidation of railway mail clerks by Alexander H. Stephens, General Superintendent of the Postal Railway mail service, who had been tyrannical in his efforts to prevent railway mail clerks from signing petitions and sending them to Senator Borah in behalf of the bill, S. 5826, which he had introduced and championed in Congress. An overwhelming number of protests against Superintendent Stephens were sent to Senator Borah and other members of Congress. The Post-office Department and particularly its chief administrative officials were severely criticized and fearlessly denounced by Senator Borah in two speeches which he made in the Senate. Stephens afterwards denied that he had attempted to coerce or intimidate the railway mail clerks, and that he had not discharged any of the clerks because they had signed the petitions for the abolition of the stop-watch, Taylor scheme foisted upon the service by him. Not long after Senator Borah had excoriated Stephens and our combined protests had been reviewed Stephens was removed from the superintendency of the railway mail service. Since that time, the complaints against the speeding-up system of railway mail clerks have not been so numerous.

During the consideration of the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill in the second session of the Sixty-third Congress, Representatives Buchanan, Nolan, and others succeeded in having a system of piecework abolished in one division of the Post-office Department at Washington, D. C. The piecework system which had been in existence there for sometime had become intolerable to the men and women employees.

We continued our efforts in co-operation with the Metal Trades to abolish the Taylor system which had become partially established in some government navy yards and arsenals. Finding it impossible to secure direct legislation upon the subject by the enactment of the Deitrick bill, H. R. 17800, we had recourse to other methods of securing congressional action upon the bill, and in response to our continued efforts Mr. Deitrick offered his bill as an amendment to the Army Appropriation bill on January 22, 1915. The Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee which had the bill in charge, promptly made a point of order against it, using the old subterfuge "that it was new legislation." Ample congressional precedents proved to the satisfaction of the members of the House that

contractual relations and industrial working conditions can be legitimately defined and included in an appropriation bill. Representatives Buchanan, Nolan, Keating, and others of the labor group vigorously supported Mr. Deitrick's amendment. The chairman of the committee withdrew his point of order and the House, by a unanimous vote, in Committee of the Whole adopted the Deitrick anti-stop-watch, anti-speeding up, anti-premium system proviso in the bill.

It is worthy of special note in this record that Brigadier General William Crozier, Chief of the Ordnance Bureau in the War Department, a most insistent advocate and promoter of the Taylor system in the government arsenals, immediately after above recorded action of the House, wired to his subordinate officials at Watertown, Mass.; Watervliet, N. Y.; Frankford, Pa.; and Rock Island, Ill., for them immediately to stop the stop-watch Taylor system in their several departments, but this did not deter him from exercising every possible resource with the members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs to defeat the Deitrick amendment. When the Senate Committee on Military Affairs reported the Army Appropriation bill to the Senate they had stricken out the Deitrick amendment. On February 23, 1915, when the army bill was brought up in the Senate a vigorous debate ensued. Senators Lippitt of Rhode Island, Thomas of Colorado, Warren of Wyoming, Weeks of Massachusetts, Oliver of Pennsylvania, and Root of New York, vigorously supported the Taylor system and complimented the committee for striking the amendment from the bill. Senators Hughes and Martine of New Jersey, were emphatic in their protests against the committee for striking it out. They urged the retention of the Deitrick proviso in the bill. After extended debate, three ballots were taken and the Senate struck out of the bill the anti-Taylor system proviso. Nevertheless we did not allow this apparent set-back to stop our efforts. We succeeded on February 8, 1915, in securing the addition of the Deitrick bill to the Naval Appropriation bill when it was before the House of Representatives. The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs being better informed on industrial questions and more sympathetic towards the interests of Labor than the Committee on Military Affairs kept it in the naval bill, and so reported it to the Senate. On February 25, 1915, when the naval bill came up in the Senate, Senators Warren of Wyoming and Oliver of Pennsylvania, members of the Committee on Military Affairs, who had shown opposition two days before in the Senate to the Deitrick bill in the army appropriation bill, raised points of order against the anti-Taylor system proviso in the naval bill. The point of order was sustained by the Vice-President, and again it looked as though we were out-generalled. The army and naval appropriation bills were then sent to conference and on March 2, 1915, when the conferees reported to the Senate that the House would not recede, the Senate agreed to permit the anti-Taylor system proviso to remain in the naval bill. The only protesting votes against it were those of Senator Oliver of Pennsylvania, Lippitt of Rhode Island, and Weeks of Massachusetts. At a later hour, on the same day, the Senate conferees on the army bill reported that they had agreed with the House conferees to retain the anti-Taylor system Deitrick amendment in the army bill, and it was agreed to with the exception of Senators Oliver of Pennsylvania, and Bristow of Kansas, who registered their bitter opposition to the last moment.

We are pleased to report in detail this successful outcome of our united endeavors and believe that now we have succeeded in adding these meritorious provisos to the naval and army appropriation bills it will be less difficult to obtain positive clear-cut legislation, which will permanently prohibit the objectionable stop-watch, speeding-up, premium bonus, Taylor system, of driving and intimidating employees in federal departments.

### IMMIGRATION

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention that the Immigration bill, which contained the literacy test and certain administrative provisions favored by the American Federation of Labor, passed the House of Representatives on February 5, 1914, by a vote of 252 "ayes," to 126 "nays," a three-fourths vote in favor. We then expressed the opinion that the bill would be brought before the Senate early during the third session of the Sixty-third Congress for action in that body. Our judgment proved to be correct and in response to exceptional efforts made by our organizations and other organizations sympathetic with the best principles of the bill, approved by us, Senator Ellison D. Smith, of South Carolina, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, took advantage of the earliest opportunity afforded in the Senate, thereby securing a special order of business

for consideration of the Immigration bill. It was before the Senate for almost continuous debate from December 9 to December 30, 1914. Extended speeches were made by Senators opposing the literacy test, but notwithstanding their dilatory tactics and after practically exhausting all of their resources to delay a vote upon the measure, the literacy test was adopted by the Senate in Committee of the Whole on December 31, 1914, when Senator Martine of New Jersey had moved to strike the literacy test from the bill. His motion was lost by a vote of 47 to 12. On January 2, 1915, the Immigration bill passed the Senate with the literacy test intact by a vote of 50 "ayes" to 7 "nays." Some changes had been made by the Senate in other parts of the bill but practically none in the provision covering the administrative features favored by us and including the literacy test.

During the time that we were in session arrangements were made so that the entire E. C., together with Hon. W. B. Wilson, Secretary Department of Labor, had a conference with President Wilson with the view of prevailing upon him to sign the Immigration bill then passed by Congress.

The measure was then sent to conference and after several reports were made by the conferees, the final conference report was agreed to in the Senate without division on January 14, 1915, and on January 15, 1915, the House agreed by a vote of 227 "ayes" to 94 "nays." The bill was then sent to President Wilson. Opponents of the literacy test besieged the White House in their endeavor to secure a veto of the bill by President Wilson, but before taking final action on the bill, he called a public hearing on January 22, 1915, at which advocates and opponents of the literacy test were present and expressed their opinions concerning it. Secretary Morrison had charge of the time for the advocates of the literacy test and Representative Gallivan of Massachusetts, Sabath of Illinois, and Goldfogle of New York, had charge of the time for the opponents. On January 28, 1915, President Wilson vetoed the Immigration bill because it contained the literacy test. In the meantime exceptionally valuable copies of correspondence and expense accounts were secured by President Gompers which clearly proved the close alliance of the shipping, financial, coal, steel, and other industrial interests which demanded an open door to the United States for immigrants from all over the world regardless of their qualifications or shortcomings. They stood in behalf of the importation of wholesale ignorance.

A special edition of our *Weekly News Letter* was issued containing copies of the letters, expense accounts and other damaging evidence which proved the collusion of special interests so closely allied against the workers of the United States. The exposure in the *Weekly News Letter* had a tremendous influence in holding the vote of congressmen who had previously voted for the literacy test but who had some hesitancy of again voting for it, thereby apparently setting themselves against the President by overriding his veto.

On February 4, 1915, the House debated the President's veto of the literacy test and one of the greatest contests that has ever been witnessed in the House of Representatives took place on that occasion. The vote was exceptionally close, 261 in favor of passing the bill over the President's veto and 136 against, thus lacking only four votes of passing the Immigration bill over the President's veto. Consequently no important immigration legislation was passed during last Congress.

This was the third occasion when the hopes of Labor were dashed by the action of a President of the United States setting his judgment against the overwhelming majority in both the House and Senate. President Cleveland vetoed the Immigration bill in 1897, President Taft in 1913 and President Wilson in 1915.

We immediately took steps to ascertain the attitude of the newly elected members to the Sixty-fourth Congress, urging our fellow workers to keep in direct touch with their Representatives and Senators on this most important issue. The bill will be reintroduced early during next Congress and we should exert ourselves in every honorable way to secure its enactment into law.

This is one of the most vital issues to the interest of the workers of the United States and it must be disposed of and settled as speedily as possible.

In addition to the dangers under normal conditions from practically unlimited immigration the present European conflict makes the problem more pressing and important, for when the time shall come, when the fratricidal struggle of European workers shall come to an end, there may be expected an influx of immigration that will practically be overwhelming in numbers and of character that will menace the conditions and ideals established by American workers.

It is therefore our opinion that this convention shall consider the regulation and

limitation of immigration and shall declare the position which we, as the representatives of the toiling masses of the United States, must take to prevent the dangers which must confront all unless effective legislation is enacted as speedily as the situation demands.

Many endeavors were made in the House Committee on Immigration to secure satisfactory reports on the bill favored by the A. F. of L. amending the Asiatic exclusion regulations. Owing to the Government's objection to any changes being made in the Asiatic immigration regulations because of certain fears concerning interruption or interference with Japanese treaty rights, it was found absolutely impossible to obtain any progress on these restrictions in our Asiatic immigration laws, which the Seattle Resolution No. 28 included, and which was reaffirmed in Resolution No. 137 at Philadelphia.

### AMENDMENT TO THE HOURS OF SERVICE LAW

H. R. 17893, introduced by Representative Stevens of New Hampshire, for the purpose of amending the present railroad men's maximum sixteen-hour law, known as the "Hours of Service Law" was reported to the Philadelphia Convention as having passed the House on September 8, 1914, and when reported to the Senate was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and that committee favorably reported it to the Senate on February 26, 1915, without amendment.

The bill contained a minimum penalty of not less than \$100 to be imposed upon railroads for violation of the Hours of Service law. This minimum penalty has been urged because of the peculiar way in which many of the courts have trifled with the important safety law of March, 1907. Many cases are on record in which courts set penalties for violation of that law of only one cent. Such court rulings made the act appear ridiculous and rendered it ineffective upon railroad officials and destroyed the spirit of the law and intent of Congress when the original act was passed. When the Stevens bill was called up in the Senate under the unanimous consent rule on February 26, 1915, Senator Oliver of Pennsylvania objected to the minimum penalty of \$100, but afterward offered to withdraw his objection to the bill if the penalty was reduced to \$50. After consultation with all the labor interests advocating this measure, the suggestion by Senator Oliver was agreed to and additional efforts were made to have the bill called up again and passed with the \$50 minimum penalty.

On March 4, 1915, the measure was called up in the Senate again by Senator Robinson of Arkansas, but Senator Lippitt of Rhode Island objected to the consideration of the bill. Consequently, because of Lippitt's objection this meritorious safety measure to railroad employees died on the Senate calendar.

The Philadelphia Convention directed the Executive Council to continue its effort until the measure shall be enacted into law and in harmony with those directions we propose to continue our efforts in the next Congress in behalf of an amendment to the Hours of Service law, similar to the Stevens bill, which will include a proper penalty upon railroads for violation of the act.

### MINIMUM WAGES FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

At the instance of delegates from the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders who introduced Resolution No. 99, the Philadelphia Convention endorsed bill H. R. 16541 by Representative Gorman of Illinois, introduced by him for the purpose of establishing a minimum salary of \$780 per year for unskilled laborers employed by the federal government and a minimum salary of \$1,080 per year for federal employees who are required to use tools or other machinery and who are otherwise classified as skilled laborers. The bill by Mr. Gorman was referred to the House Committee on the District of Columbia. Hearings were held upon the bill and Mr. Gorman made reference to it in speeches on the floor of the House. Unfortunately, however, many disputes, political and otherwise, occurred in the Committee on the District of Columbia. Many personal and local questions disturbed the work of the committee, so that long before Congress adjourned it was found to be impossible to secure any action on Mr. Gorman's bill or similar bills which had been referred to that committee during the last Congress.

It is our opinion that the best principles of Mr. Gorman's bill may be incorporated in a similar measure to be introduced and urged for enactment by the incoming Congress.

### INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION—VOCATIONAL TRAINING

It is impossible for us to give any substantial report at this time concerning the progress of federal legislation in behalf of industrial education—vocational training. The short session of Congress last year was too crowded with other matters for consideration of this subject.

The Philadelphia Convention recommended that the matter be left with us to take such further action as will cause the greatest benefit to Labor in the development of industrial education, vocational and trade training. We hope to be able to give further attention to this very important subject during next Congress.

We have, however, co-operated to the fullest extent of our ability in localities such as Richmond, Va.; New York City, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, Minn.; Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio, and other cities where local efforts have been undertaken to study or install improved systems of industrial education. Other local surveys have been made at Albany, N. Y.; Pittsburg, Pa.; New Orleans, La.; Peoria, Chicago, and other cities in Illinois, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Buffalo, N. Y.; various localities in Wisconsin under the jurisdiction of the university of that state. In Indiana also some activity has been noted. Taking it all in all the past year has been an important one in the sphere of local activities to obtain professional technical instructors and in stimulating interest and action to promote vocational education.

The Department of Labor and the Bureau of Education in the United States Department of the Interior must be credited with giving a measure of assistance and encouragement to local efforts in behalf of improved systems of vocational and trade education.

During the second session of the Sixty-third Congress an increase in the appropriations for the Bureau of Education was obtained, and from those funds the position of a specialist in vocational education was established. Mr. William T. Bowden was appointed to fill the duties.

In connection with the subject of industrial education and vocational training, we submit that the federal government should afford generous financial aid to this matter fraught with so much value to the workers, to the people generally, and to the stability of our country. In our judgment, there can be no better preparation of the United States than intelligent understanding and effective work in industry. Our movement has already established the system of educating the men and women engaged in agriculture and horticulture, and affording the best opportunity for the sons and daughters of the farmers of our country so that they may become more intelligent and efficient workers in agriculture. We submit that an introduction of that system, so that it will apply to the mechanic, artisan and laborers of the United States is the opportunity of wisdom, foresight, economy and broad-minded self-interest and betterment to extend the federal plan of operation to industrial education, vocational training, civic rights, duties and responsibilities.

### PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS AMONG LONGSHOREMEN

Resolutions 109 and 114 adopted by the Philadelphia Convention directed us to use every effort to have the federal, state and provincial authorities enact legislation in the interests of the longshoremen, so that the risks of accidents will be minimized and greater safety provided for men loading and unloading vessels.

We communicated with our central bodies and state branches on the coasts and lakes to enlist their co-operation in securing safety legislation for longshoremen. We anticipated that the Bureau of Labor Safety bill which we hoped would have been enacted during last Congress would have enabled us to extend greater safety provisions for men engaged in the hazardous occupations of loading and unloading vessels.

We will continue our efforts in behalf of that measure so that greater safety will be insured to all workers. We will also take this question up with commissioners of labor and factory inspectors of the several states where maritime commerce is carried on and urge them to do all within their power to make working conditions safer for longshoremen and others engaged on wharves, docks and quays.

### PROHIBIT NEW YORK BOAT OWNERS FROM COMPELLING CAPTAINS' FAMILIES TO LIVE ON BOATS AND BARGES

Resolution No. 107 recommended that the American Federation of Labor should do all in its power to have laws enacted which will stop boat owners in the Port of New York and vicinity from compelling the families of the captains hired by them to live on the boats.



We took this matter up with Commissioner Mahanny of the Port of New York, with Secretary of Labor, Honorable William B. Wilson, and with the officials of the New York State Federation of Labor, besides encouraging officials of the International Longshoremen's Association to have this grievance reported to and investigated by the Industrial Relations Commission. The New York State Federation of Labor acted favorably upon our requests and efforts will be made in the near future to secure legislation by the New York General Assembly which will remedy or prohibit this unhealthy, dangerous and obnoxious practice.

#### **GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF MOUNT VERNON AND MONTICELLO**

It was found impossible to obtain action by Congress during last session on the proposals to purchase the former home and burial place of George Washington at Mount Vernon, or the former home of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello, but we can report that the proposal to purchase these historic places by the government on behalf of the people is growing in favor among senators and representatives. We will continue our efforts during next Congress in behalf of these worthy projects in response to the instructions given us at the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions.

#### **OLD AGE PENSIONS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

We reported to the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions that many bills had been introduced in Congress providing for old age pensions and retirement allowances for civil service employees of the federal government. The House Committee on Civil Service conducted some hearings upon the subject, but largely because of the peculiar stand of the several associations connected with government employees and their antagonism towards each other, it was found absolutely impossible to make headway upon the subject, either before the committee or with individual members of Congress.

Several conferences were held in Washington by representative employees and organizations of employees of the United States Government on the general subject of old age pensions, retirement allowances and superannuations. At practically all of these conferences a wide difference of opinion was evident. Some delegates favored straight pensions by the government without contributions by employees. Others favored a contributory plan by employees provided an increase in salary would be allowed by Congress. Several Congressmen have expressed themselves as being favorable to a system of pensioning all old or incapacitated federal employees, but practically all avail themselves of the excuse that so long as the employees themselves differ as to plans and methods that it will be impossible to secure any legislation of this character.

#### **POPULAR GOVERNMENT**

The Philadelphia Convention reaffirmed its attitude in behalf of Popular Government through the principles of the initiative and referendum, and directed us to continue our efforts in the interest of effective initiative and referendum legislation and for co-operation with the National Popular Government League. In connection with this subject we report that Secretary Morrison attended the second convention of the Popular Government League and participated in the general discussion. We have in addition urged and encouraged our affiliated organizations to co-operate with the National Popular Government League and in every particular where it has been possible for us to render aid in states where the subject was under discussion, we have urged the officers of our state federations of labor, our city central labor unions and our local organizations to carry out to the full limits of their ability, general instructions laid down in the program adopted by the Seattle Convention and again endorsed at the Philadelphia Convention.

We note a disposition by corporation interests and political partisans in some states, notably Washington, to undo and offset the progress previously accomplished. They see in it an agency hostile to their privileges, their schemes and the strangle-hold they have heretofore held.

#### **AMENDMENT TO POSTAL SAVINGS BANK LAW**

The Seattle Convention urged the amendment of the Postal Savings law to enable school district trustees to take their school district bonds to the federal trustees of the postal



savings fund and borrow money direct thereon without the intervention of any third party. It was not possible to obtain legislation of this character during the second session of the Sixty-third Congress but in accord with the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention. We continued efforts to secure such an amendment to the Postal Savings law during the third session of the Sixty-third Congress, but owing to the fact that the Post-office committees of both houses were completely absorbed with other matters concerning the general government of the Post-office, particularly necessary reforms in weighing and transportation of mail and other difficult problems, it was found impossible during the last Congress to secure any further amendment to the Postal Savings law in harmony with Resolution No. 91 of the Seattle Convention.

### CITIZENSHIP FOR PORTO RICANS

We reported to the Philadelphia Convention that Representative Jones of Virginia, Chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, made a favorable report to the House on bill H. R. 14866 on March 26, 1914, and which bill contained provisions for collective citizenship for the Porto Ricans. It was placed upon the House calendar and occupied a favorable position but unfortunately the congestion of other business in the House prevented this bill being called up. Consequently it will be necessary to renew our efforts in the Sixty-fourth Congress in behalf of that bill relative to the granting of citizenship rights to the Porto Ricans.

### UNEMPLOYMENT AND VAGRANCY LAWS

Many bills dealing with the proposition to establish a federal employment bureau were introduced toward the end of Congress. This was partly because of the great amount of unemployment prevailing at that time, and partly because it was an inexpensive method to obtain temporary popularity among constituents. There was a current impression that unemployment bureaus were the only things necessary to secure employment for the unemployed.

The House Committee on Labor gave the subject exhaustive and thoughtful consideration. Extended hearings were held and arguments were made by those who advocated federal legislation that would have at least a tendency to mitigate the suffering of "a fellow out of a job." On February 20, 1915, the House Committee favorably reported the bill, H. R. 19015, by Representative MacDonald of Michigan, when it was too late in the session to obtain consideration of it on the floor of the House.

The Department of Labor has made efforts to bring together the "workless man to the manless job" (as the department officials express it), and within the limited means of the department it has accomplished what was within its power under the circumstances.

We recommend that a special committee be appointed by this convention to study the subject, report their conclusions and recommendations. Eventually it will fall to the lot of our A. F. of L. to prevent the results which we, as part of the people, have to suffer during panic periods or industrial depressions. Therefore, in our opinion, it is our duty to advocate a constructive program.

### PROPOSED WELFARE AMENDMENTS TO STATE CONSTITUTIONS

We have duly carried out the instructions of the several conventions in calling to the attention of our officials and members of state federations of labor and city central bodies the advisability to take every possible advantage to amend their state constitutions on the substantial lines laid down by the Philadelphia Convention on the several subjects enumerated, viz.: free speech and free press; regulating contempt procedure; eight-hour day for public employees and contractors doing public work; convict labor; abrogation of the so-called common law defenses, "fellow servant" doctrine, "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," "waiving of rights," and general labor welfare legislation, etc.

### MUNICIPAL HOUSING

Resolution No. 61 declared in favor of better housing facilities in the several cities of the country for the express purpose of conserving the health and lives of the working people through more sanitary living environments, and it was recommended that federal laws

should be passed which would bring about a system of government loans of money for the construction of both municipal and private ownership of sanitary homes, so that such legislation which might be enacted by the federal Congress would serve as a model to the various cities and states in the nation. Bills were introduced for this purpose by Representative Borland of Missouri and Senator Pomerene of Ohio. They were each referred to the respective committees on the District of Columbia. Hearings were held and general discussion indulged in, but the subject being a new one in the United States, no definite progress can be reported. This is one of the subjects that will require considerable discussion and agitation before legislators in Congress, state assemblies, or municipal councils will pay serious heed to the need of the reformation or the plans suggested to solve the evils which everybody recognizes, and which few undertake to remedy.

### DENATURED ALCOHOL

The Philadelphia Convention approved the bill, H. R. 17855, introduced by Representative John J. Casey of Pennsylvania for the purpose of encouraging the development and demonstrating the practical utility of farm denatured alcohol distilling. The bill was referred to the House Committee on Agriculture.

The committee held hearings upon Mr. Casey's bill on February 16, 1915, at which arguments in favor of the general principles contained in the bill were heard. The Department of Agriculture was duly represented by its officials, and in a communication the Department submitted to the committee that it substantially favored the development of an industrial alcohol industry in this country at an early period and that such proposed developments in aid of the agriculture industry should be directly undertaken by the Department of Agriculture rather than by any other agency. The committee, however, took no further action upon the Casey bill.

### MANUFACTURE OF STAMPED ENVELOPES

Resolution No. 130 directed us to lend our assistance to the International Typographical Union in securing the passage of an amendment to the printing law that will prevent the building up of a private monopoly of the printing of corner cards on stamped envelopes. It was expected that this legislation would be included in the printing bill, which had been under consideration by Congress for several sessions and which was substantially a general revision of the printing laws. Such a measure passed the House of Representatives and was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Printing. It also contained increases of salaries for certain classes of government employees in the printing trades.

It was impossible to secure careful consideration of it by the Senate, and when it was called up under the unanimous consent rule on March 1, 1915, Senator Owen of Oklahoma objected to it, because of certain limitations and restrictions contained therein which very materially affected the franking privilege of Congressmen. As a consequence the measure failed to pass.

One substantial success, however, was obtained for the employees in the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C., through a decision by the former Comptroller of the Treasury, George E. Downey. He decided that the employees of the Government Printing Office should enjoy a full thirty day's leave of absence per year with pay, instead of the former twenty-six days which had been a maximum amount of time allowed. A sufficient appropriation was obtained in the General Deficiency bill during the closing hours of Congress to enable the Public Printer to meet the additional expenses incurred.

In these endeavors on behalf of the printing trades we gave our best assistance and co-operated to the extent of our ability.

### SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The residents of the District of Columbia are still disfranchised. Some discussion was indulged in during last Congress among the people of the District and among Congressmen, relative to the restoration of full citizenship rights to the residents of the District of Columbia. The financial and corporate interests of the District in combination with their associates in other sections of the country are, as a whole, bitterly opposed to

granting the franchise or allowing a local form of self-government to be established in the District of Columbia. There is more profit assured to them by letting matters stand as they are and unfortunately the people of the District of Columbia, taking them as a whole, are too luke-warm and too indifferent concerning their civic rights to assert themselves as they should. So long as this apathy continues on the part of the masses and diligence is maintained on the part of the few privileged investors, we need not expect Congress to grant the ballot to the disfranchised people of the District of Columbia. "What is worth having is worth struggling for" has always been the axiom among trade unionists. The same principle holds good in regard to the rights and privileges of general citizenship.

We have encouraged public discussion to persuade the people of the District of Columbia to assert themselves to secure the voting privilege. We shall continue to do this whenever the opportunity is afforded and hope that ultimately our ideals may be achieved.

### TEAMSTERS IN POST-OFFICE EMPLOY

The Philadelphia Convention directed us to continue our efforts to secure legislation instructing the Post-office Department to employ men to handle the local transfer of mails directly, thereby abolishing the present system of contracting with private team owners.

Due to the difficulties confronting the Post-office Committees referred to in other sections of this report dealing with the post-office, it was found impossible to secure legislation of this character, but the Post-office Department has made diligent efforts to correct the errors in the system complained of, and from the most recent reports at hand, we learned that the Post-office Department has found it to be much more satisfactory to handle the local transfer of mails by its own employees than by private contractors and in addition they have found that it is much more economical. We are of the opinion that the evils complained of in Resolution No. 54 of the Seattle Convention will eventually adjust themselves without the need of specific legislation.

### LOCOMOTIVE INSPECTORS

The Locomotive Inspection bill, H. R. 17894, by Representative Goeke of Ohio, which passed the House January 4, 1915, extended the inspection service formerly restricted to locomotive boilers to the engines and tenders of locomotives used in interstate commerce.

In accordance with the requirements of Resolution No. 141 passed by the Philadelphia Convention, we urged Congress to embody the legislation proposed, requiring inspectors of locomotive boilers and locomotive engines to possess practical shop experience, and submitted a draft of a substitute bill for the proposed Goeke measure. The officers of the Railroad Employees Department, the Boilermakers, the Machinists, and the Metal Trades Department co-operated with us in these endeavors, particularly before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which had the bill in charge. Nevertheless, the Senate disregarded the suggestions made, and on March 4, 1915, the House bill was passed without material change.

In the month of August a conference was held at Washington in the office of the chief locomotive inspector, at which the officials of the Railroad Employees Department, the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, together with superintendents of motive power of the largest railroad systems agreed in part to certain rules to govern the inspection of locomotive engines and tenders, same to be later submitted (September 28, 29) for approval to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

### BUREAU OF MINES

The Bureau of Mines bill, H. R. 15869, by Representative Foster of Illinois, extends the safety provisions of the Bureau of Mines Act, including the establishment of ten new mining experiment stations and seven new mine safety stations. It authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to carry out the purposes of the act. It passed the House on February 1, 1915, and the Senate on March 1, 1915, and was approved by the President on March 3.

This is an exceptionally valuable safety measure and it is gratifying to note that during its passage through Congress there was little opposition to it.

### SAFETY APPLIANCES AND REGULATIONS

Several safety appliance bills were introduced; some applicable to railroads, such as standard headlights on locomotives and standard block systems. No definite action on any was taken in either of the Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Representative Buchanan of Illinois spared no effort to advance legislation of this character. He particularly distinguished himself in the House in his advocacy of bill H. R. 8593, introduced by him for the purpose of improving and increasing safety regulations for men engaged in the construction of buildings, and applicable to the building regulations of the District of Columbia. The bill finally passed the House on June 20, 1914. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on District of Columbia. Many efforts were made to obtain favorable action by that committee on this bill but without avail.

### IMPEACHMENTS

Impeachment charges were made by Representative Neely of West Virginia against Judge Alston D. Dayton, United States District Judge for the Northern District of West Virginia. The charges were referred to a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, consisting of Representatives McGillicuddy of Maine, Gard of Ohio, and Danforth of New York. Investigations were made by this committee of the impeachment charges and on March 3, 1915, the subcommittee reported to the Judiciary Committee. After consideration of same, that committee reported that it had reached the conclusion that no further proceedings should be had with reference to said impeachment resolution. The subcommittee's report was signed by Representatives Gard and Danforth. Representative McGillicuddy submitted a minority report in which he said: "I do not concur with the recommendation that no further proceedings be had, as it is my opinion that the evidence taken by the subcommittee, and findings of fact above made, warrant further proceedings looking forward to impeachment."

When a judge wilfully perverts the instrumentality of the law and usurps power to deny citizens their constitutional, legal, and normal rights, his usefulness on the bench has been destroyed and tends to bring the judiciary into contempt. The fact that the perversion of law and the usurpation of power are exercised against working people as working people makes the offense all the more flagrant, for we hold that the working people are entitled to every protection of their rights and to exact equality before the law, with all other citizens of our country.

### AGRICULTURAL CREDIT LEGISLATION

The Philadelphia Convention endorsed certain resolutions recommended by the Farmers' National Congress relative to specific beneficial features to be incorporated in such Farm Credit legislation as may be enacted by Congress. We were directed to continue efforts to secure the enactment of such remedial legislation in behalf of the farmers. Strenuous efforts were made by Senator Fletcher of Florida and by several Senators and Representatives to secure the passage of Farm Credit legislation during the last session of Congress, but on account of the divergent views entertained by Representatives and Senators on this subject it was impossible to reach any conclusion, but a joint committee on rural credits composed of the following Senators and Representatives was appointed to examine into the question and report to the next session of Congress not later than January 1, 1916:

Representative Carter Glass, Virginia, Chairman.  
 Senator R. L. Owen, Oklahoma.  
 Senator Henry F. Hollis, New Hampshire.  
 Senator Thomas P. Gore, Oklahoma.  
 Senator Hoke Smith, Georgia.  
 Senator Knute Nelson, Minnesota.  
 Senator James H. Brady, Idaho.  
 Representative Michael Phelan, Massachusetts.  
 Representative Asbury F. Lever, South Carolina.  
 Representative Ralph W. Moss, Indiana.  
 Representative Everis A. Hayes, California.  
 Representative Willis C. Hawley, Oregon.

As soon as practical, after the above action had been taken by Congress, a letter was addressed to each member of the Joint Rural Credits' Committee, in harmony with the instructions of the last convention, asking the members of the committee to give consideration to the following:

*"Resolved, That any farm credit plan which does not include a direct reduction of the 'prevailing rates' of interest, as well as a long term of small annual payments upon farm mortgages, will not meet agricultural credit requirements."*

*"Resolved, That the government of the United States should borrow money at a rate of interest not to exceed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and lend the money at a rate not to exceed  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to the farmers upon long time farm land mortgages with such restrictions as may be necessary to make the government perfectly secure and the profit to the government to be expended in road improvement or for some other object that will benefit the whole people."*

Replies have been received from Chairman Carter Glass; Representatives, E. A. Hayes, A. F. Lever, Michael F. Phelan, W. C. Hawley; Senators, T. P. Gore, Hoke Smith and Knute Nelson to the effect that the measure will be given careful consideration.

In addition to the views expressed in the resolution communicated to the committee, we submit for your careful consideration as to whether another system of farm credit should be inaugurated—a system based upon individual ownership with community credit and community guarantee. Elsewhere than in the United States such a system is in vogue and where it prevails no securities are held with greater confidence. This proposition, with such other improvements as time and experience have demonstrated might well be considered is suggested to our fellow workers in agriculture.

#### POST-OFFICE CLERKS—NIGHT WORK—SALARIES, ETC.

Every reasonable effort was made during last Congress to secure favorable action on the bills introduced by former Representative A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, and Senator J. Hamilton Lewis of Illinois, for the purpose of reducing the hours of duty for Post-office clerks doing necessary night work in the postal service. Considerable opposition was registered by officials of the Post-office Department against these measures, and two post-office clerks, who possessed excellent records for efficiency and faithful service were discharged by Postmaster General Burleson, because of their endeavors to secure support for these measures. Many efforts have been made to secure the reinstatement of these clerks, Messrs. Thos. F. Flaherty of the San Francisco Post-office and Frank Raduenz of the Chicago Post-office. Up to the present time of writing this report, however, neither of the aforementioned clerks have been reinstated.

Neither of the Post-office Committees to which the bills were referred took any action upon them during last Congress. It would be well, however, to have them re-introduced, and urged during the incoming Congress.

In reference to Resolution No. 59, instructing us to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Post-office Clerks to secure the wage increase and reclassification of salaries contained in the bill, H. R. 4836, introduced by Representative Lewis of Maryland, we are compelled to report that it was impossible to make any progress on this measure. In fact, we had to exert ourselves to every possible endeavor to prevent a reduction in salary of post-office clerks and letter carriers, because of the fact that in the estimates for post-office appropriations for this year, Postmaster General Burleson, together with the several Assistant Postmasters General, recommended and urged Congress to change the system of annual promotion of post-office employees to biennial promotions.

The Post-office officials also resisted paying the increase in salary which had been granted by Congress the previous session to rural free delivery carriers, and in addition they recommended a nullification of the Eight-hour law for post-office clerks and letter carriers.

We are glad to report, however, that in response to our united protests both the House and Senate committees refused to sustain the Postmaster General and his assistants in their efforts to install harsher working conditions, and to reduce salaries by the proposed change of biennial instead of annual promotions for the employees. Congress specifically

ordered the payment of the increase in salary which they had previously allowed to the rural letter carriers and refused to permit a nullification of the eight-hour regulations.

Because of irreconcilable differences between the House and Senate over the question of railroad rates for carrying mails, and other new legislation contained in the Post-office Appropriation bill, no regular appropriation bill for the Post-office was passed for the year, 1915, but in lieu thereof a resolution was adopted by the House and Senate, by which the appropriations allowed the previous session of Congress were continued in effect for the fiscal year 1915. It was specifically outlined in the resolution that the working conditions of post-office employees, salaries, etc., should remain as heretofore, regular annual promotions to follow as a matter of course.

After Congress adjourned, the Postmaster General attempted to reduce salaries and to demote certain post-office employees in Washington and other localities because of advanced age and other alleged reasons. Interviews were held with the Postmaster General by President Gompers in company with Representatives Buchanan and President Flaherty of the Post-office Clerks.

In addition to the results of the interview there was correspondence relative to this matter between the department and President Gompers. Though in a few instances the demotions were made, there was no extension thereof, and it is hoped that the effort has been successfully checked. However, we recommend that this convention declare emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries.

#### **SUMMARY OF LEGISLATIVE MEASURES OF INTEREST TO LABOR WHICH FAILED TO PASS DURING LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS**

As will be seen by a careful review of the subjects reported several very important labor measures failed of passage. We therefore include herewith a summary of the failures.

We particularly regret to add that the Senate Committee on Education and Labor failed to meet the high standard of efficiency that was set during the Sixty-second Congress. Nothing original was reported by that committee, neither did it act successfully on bills that reached it from the House:

1. Immigration bill with literacy test failed of passage in the House over President's veto by four votes.
2. Industrial Education—Vocational Training.
3. Convict labor regulations for domestic and foreign commerce, failed in Senate.
4. Child Labor bill failed in Senate.
5. Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation for government and railroad employees failed in the House and Senate.
6. Bureau of Labor Safety bill failed in Senate.
7. Conservation bill with eight-hour proviso failed in Senate.
8. Hours of Service law with minimum penalty provision failed in Senate.
9. Eight-hour law for telegraphers on railroads failed in House Committee on Interstate Commerce.
10. Old-age pension, superannuation and retirement bills not advanced.
11. Employment bureau measure reported to House too late for action.
12. Safer building regulations for the District of Columbia failed in Senate Committee on District of Columbia.
13. Safety appliance bills on railroads not advanced.
14. Impeachment proceedings of Judge Dayton dismissed in House.
15. Printing bill failed in Senate.

#### **MOTHER'S DAY**

The enactment of the federal law giving to Mother's Day the endorsement of our national government and designating the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day, was reported to the Philadelphia Convention with the recommendation that the several state federations of labor urge upon their respective legislatures the enactment of laws, or adoption of resolutions of similar import. This recommendation was approved by the Phila-



delphia Convention. In an official circular to organized labor, this action of the convention was brought to the attention of the organized labor movement of the country.

### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR OFFICE BUILDING

In the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston in 1903, a resolution was adopted instructing the Executive Council to investigate the cost of purchasing a lot and constructing a suitable office building. Although the need and the advantage of such a building were appreciated, yet, so many other more immediate needs intervened that the office building proposal was deferred from year to year. The Denver, 1908, Convention authorized the E. C. to expend \$80,000 for the purchase of land and the erection of an office building thereon. The local trades and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. had already voted in favor of a loan of \$50,000 from the defense fund for this purpose. The E. C. was instructed to devise ways and means to raise the additional \$30,000. The need for such a building has grown increasingly urgent as the scope of the work of the A. F. of L. has increased with the growth of its membership, and the widening of its activities.

The E. C. then took up consideration of various sites and office buildings with a view to reporting specific plans to the convention in order to carry out the long deferred purpose of securing at the nation's capital a building which should belong to the wage-earners of the nation.

The Seattle Convention asked the E. C. to secure definite data as to lots, size, cost of building, and cost of maintenance. In the report of the E. C. to the Philadelphia Convention it was stated that the investigation had been made. The convention authorized and directed us to purchase a site and erect a building for office purposes for the A. F. of L., and its Departments, and such other unions for which the structure might be suitable. The convention again directed the use of such funds as had been authorized by previous conventions in action upon this subject, as well as the raising of other funds that might be necessary to carry out the purpose.

The resident members of the E. C. submitted at our January session the sites and buildings that were available for an office building. During our April meeting we personally investigated the various sites and decided that the one best suited to our needs was on the northwest corner of Ninth Street and Massachusetts Avenue Northwest. This lot was purchased for the sum of \$40,000.

The lot contains 5,133 square feet. The Massachusetts Avenue front is 60.83 feet, and the frontage on Ninth Street is 138 feet deep. The lot runs back at an angle which makes the width on the end of the lot 37.74 feet. That part of the lot which is 37.74 feet wide is 68.10 feet long.

We selected Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell as trustees with authority to make the purchase and to enter into the contract for the erection of a suitable building and to borrow the necessary money for its erection. It developed that there was an irregularity in the title growing out of a transfer of the property which occurred in 1817. Suit was begun in a court of equity to remedy the defect in the title. This suit is in the name of the trustees, and the expense is to be borne by the former owners of the property. The matter will undoubtedly be adjudicated and the title cleared. We have a guarantee from the Real Estate Title Insurance Company and the Columbia Title Insurance Company of the District of Columbia for safeguarding the title to the property, or, in other words, to afford insurance against any claim arising under the title.

In considering plans for the office building, the trustees have consulted the officers of the various departments of the A. F. of L. in an advisory capacity. Many meetings have been held, as it was necessary to exercise the greatest care and wisdom in carrying out this purpose. Samuel Gompers acted as chairman, and Frank Morrison as secretary of the committee. The firm of Milburn, Heister & Company, architects, was selected to make the plans for the new building, and also to act as superintendent of construction. The plans were approved by the trustees and endorsed by the advisory council. The building is to consist of five stories and a basement. Twelve building contractors were invited to submit bids for the construction. These bids were opened in public, September 18, 1915.

The bids varied from \$92,300 to \$130,000. On October 7, 1915, the trustees entered into a contract with the R. P. Whitty Company, contractors, in the city of Washington, after several changes in material and construction were agreed to that reduced the con-



tract price to \$90,450. The contract provides that the building shall be completed on April 7, 1916.

Upon the site when it was purchased was standing a finely built old mansion with a slave pen in the rear. These of course have been razed to the ground, but before doing so photographs were made of them, framed, and appropriately designated. On that site in which slave owners and slaves dwelt the temple of Labor, the A. F. of L. office building, will be erected.

Ground has been broken and in the course of a few months the cornerstone will be laid. The cornerstone will be contributed by Henry Gompers, a member of the Granite Cutters' International Union, who was the first office boy of the A. F. of L. The date of the laying of the cornerstone is not yet determined. We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to prepare suitable arrangements for the laying of the cornerstone and also for the dedication of the building.

### REGISTRATION OF TITLES AND LABELS

Under the new federal trade-mark law, the name and the label of a labor organization can be registered and thereby prevent any unauthorized person from using the same. Infringements upon the rights of the organizations that have registered their names and labels are punishable by damages equal to three times the amount of the damage actually sustained. Any action growing out of such infringements comes under the jurisdiction of the federal courts when the label is used in interstate commerce.

The registration can be secured at the cost of \$35. We have had the title of the "American Federation of Labor" registered.

This, of course, prevents any other organization from making use of that name and also gives the greatest possible protection to the labels which bear the name of the A. F. of L.

It is recommended that all affiliated nationals and internationals secure the registration of their names and labels. It is a protection that is well worth the trouble and the slight expense.

### THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention the serious condition that had arisen through the action of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America in changing, without authority, and contrary to the regulations of the American Federation of Labor, its title to "Tailors' Industrial Union," and with that change, claiming jurisdiction over the garment making industry. The action was all the more unjustifiable in that the Journeymen Tailors' Union had a membership less than one-tenth as large as that of organizations that already had jurisdiction over the garment making industry.

The report of the E. C. called attention to the fact that a closer alliance, perhaps an amalgamation, ought to exist among the organizations in the tailoring and garment making industries, but that result ought not to be undertaken without the consent of all organizations concerned. Inasmuch as this action on the part of the J. T. U. of A. was subversive to the best interests of the wage-workers concerned and of the continued power and effectiveness of the whole labor movement of the country, the last convention directed the Tailors to resume their former title and to cease all efforts to operate under its unwarranted and unjustified assumption of extended jurisdiction, and also directed the E. C. to notify all affiliated national and international organizations, and through them their local unions, state and city central bodies, and unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. of this unjustifiable action of the J. T. U. of A. in order that they should be properly informed, and therefore in a better position to protect the garment and needle workers. The convention allowed the Tailors until April 1, 1915, in which to conform to the direction of the convention.

There were at the last convention two groups of persons claiming to be representatives of the United Garment Workers of America. One presented credentials signed by S. Hillman and Joseph Schlosberg, claiming to be the President and Secretary respectively of the United Garment Workers. The other group had credentials signed by the regular officers of the U. G. W. The committee on credentials reported that a full investigation of the facts disclosed that the first group were claimants representing a num-

ber of seceding garment workers, and that these garment workers by their acts of secession had voluntarily alienated themselves from membership in and rights to the U. G. W. and the A. F. of L., and, therefore, they were not entitled to recognition by a body of organized labor. This report was unanimously adopted by the convention. However, the so-called "Industrial Tailors' Union" formed an alliance with these seceding garment workers, and in direct defiance of the instruction of the Philadelphia Convention attempted to operate under its extended jurisdiction.

At our January session we directed that a letter to be sent to Secretary Brais calling his attention to the fact that the Tailors were acting in violation of the laws and decisions of the A. F. of L., and particularly the decision of the Philadelphia Convention. The letter specifically brought to the attention of Secretary Brais the action of the Philadelphia Convention in regard to the Tailors' organization, and urged them to establish harmonious relations between all of the workers and to conform to the regulations voluntarily established for the federated labor movement. Attention was called to the evil results that must necessarily follow from encouraging seceders or the spirit of disruption in the labor movement. Secretary Brais was advised that unless we were informed within thirty days' time from the receipt of the letter that the Tailors' organization had conformed to the unanimous decisions and declarations of the Philadelphia Convention, it would be incumbent upon us to take such action as might be necessary to carry into effect the laws, declarations and decisions of the A. F. of L. Secretary Brais was requested to publish the official letter of June 15, 1915, in *The Tailor*, the official journal of the organization. Since Secretary Brais did not publish the letter as requested, it was published in the A. F. of L. *Weekly News Letter* and sent to all of the local unions of the Tailors. In addition a circular containing the letter in full was sent out to the central bodies, state federations of labor, labor press, organizers and the Tailors' local unions.

Meanwhile a deplorable situation had arisen in the tailoring industry. The workers were discontented and discouraged. The conviction grew that their welfare was jeopardized by the new organization and that it would be best to return to the old name, the old jurisdiction, and to resume the use of the former label.

Local No. 5 of Chicago issued a call to all other local unions interested in devising ways and means to maintain the integrity of the J. T. U. of A. to send representatives to a conference to be held in Chicago on March 22, 1915.

The conference decided that the following questions should be submitted to the membership for decision: First, shall the Tailors amalgamate with the seceding faction of the U. G. W.; second, should the Tailors comply with the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. to resume their former title, "The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America," and resume jurisdiction as in their constitution prior to 1914. The conference authorized the appointment of a committee of nine to carry out the decisions.

Representatives of the U. G. W. appeared before the E. C. at our April meeting, and entered complaint against the J. T. U. for using their label on ready-made clothing and on clothing made by the seceding faction of the U. G. W. The Tailors' label had been issued to the seceding garment workers. This was contrary to the laws of the Journeymen Tailors' which prohibit the use of the label by any person not a member of that organization and was in direct violation of the agreement between the U. G. W. and the J. T. U. of A., entered into October 19, 1903. We, therefore, cancelled and withdrew the endorsement that had been given the label of the J. T. U. of A.

We further directed Secretary Morrison to continue to hold all money received as dues from the Tailors and not to credit the same until the Tailors had complied with the direction of the Philadelphia Convention by resuming their former title and ceasing all trespass upon jurisdiction of other organizations, but when the Tailors should have properly complied with the directions of the A. F. of L., to place all dues to the credit of Tailors without prejudice of any kind whatever. According to the rules and regulations of the Tailors' organization, sixty days' time was given for consideration, discussion and voting upon the question submitted to a referendum vote. The official vote upon the propositions was as follows:

Upon the proposition to resume the former title, "The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America," a vote resulted in 4,702 ayes and 822 nays.

Upon the question to resume the former jurisdiction of the Tailors, the vote was 3,897 ayes, 1,385 nays.

Upon the third question, that of withdrawal from the amalgamation of the Hilman faction or the seceding garment workers, the vote was 3,961 ayes and 1,339 nays.

Thus the Tailors have disposed of this movement and have resumed their former relations with the A. F. of L., and they have freely and fully conformed with the regulations necessary to promote and further the welfare of all the workers.

The Tailors now enjoy their former rights without prejudice which means full affiliation to the A. F. of L., and recognition and endorsement of their union label.

### CARPENTERS—BREWERY WORKERS

We are gratified to be able to report that the Carpenters and Brewery Workmen reached a solution of their differences. After several conferences between the representatives of these organizations, the following agreement was entered into:

In order to adjust the present differences between the above named organizations, the following conditions shall be observed:

1. The Brewery Workers' International Union to use its best efforts with the employers in the breweries and bottling establishments, to have only members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners employed in their buildings, for building repairs, saloon repairs (when under control of the brewery), and for the manufacture of bar fixtures and boxes for bottle beer. The erection of all conveyers, both gravity and screw, elevators, all transmission machinery and all millwright work done in breweries and other establishments controlled by the Brewery Workers.

2. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America agree that all running repairs on bottle boxes in breweries and bottling establishments, be done by the bottlers, members of the Brewery Workers' International Union of America.

This agreement is in effect immediately upon having been approved by the members of the General Executive Board of both organizations and may be terminated by either party by giving sixty (60) days' notice.

For the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen:

JOSEPH PROEBSTLE.

ADAM HUEBNER, *Secy.-Treas.*

JOHN RADER, *Intl. Cor. Secy.*

JOSEPH OBERGFELL, *Intl. Rec.-Secy.*

(Approved by International Executive Board of the International Union of Brewery Workmen of America, March 30, 1915.)

For the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

JAMES KIRBY, *Gen. President.*

FRANK DUFFY, *Gen. Secy.*

(Approved by General Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, April 6, 1915.)

### CIGARMAKERS—STOGIEMAKERS

We reported to the last convention an agreement that had been reached between the Cigarmakers' International Union and the Stogiemakers' League. This agreement is practically the same as the one recommended by the Baltimore 1912 convention of the Cigarmakers.

Two conventions of the American Federation of Labor had also endorsed amalgamation as the method for adjusting difficulties between the Cigarmakers and the Stogiemakers. The Philadelphia Convention approved the plan and expressed the hope that it could be carried into effect. During the campaign conducted for the purpose of explaining the proposed plan of amalgamation to the workers interested, President Gompers and Secretary Tracy of the Union Label Trades Department addressed the Stogiemakers of Wheeling, W. Va., and elsewhere, and were materially helpful in creating a sentiment in favor of endorsing the agreement.

By an overwhelming vote of the members of both organizations, the plan for amalgamation was ratified, bringing about more harmonious relations and unity in the cigar-making industry. The Cigarmakers' International organization worked out the details of putting

into effect the amalgamation agreed upon in order that the rights and the best interests of all workers should be protected.

On April 15 the transfer of all the Stogiemakers to the Cigarmakers' International Union went into effect. Thus was brought to an end a contest which had extended over many years.

It is confidently expected that this amalgamation will result in greatly increased betterment for all the workers in the cigar and stogie making industry. The eight-hour day has been extended to the Stogiemakers. Greater solidarity of organization increases their economic power, and hence their ability to promote the best interests of all.

### **CARPENTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS—BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT**

The report to the Philadelphia Convention on the dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers and the relations of the Carpenters to the Building Trades Department, was very complete and gave a number of documents.

In accord with that report a conference consisting of three delegates from the Carpenters, three from the Sheet Metal Workers and three other delegates appointed by President Gompers, was held during the convention.

The Conference Committee reported that they had considered the problem very carefully but had not been able to secure an agreement between the two interested organizations, although the conference had been helpful in that it had developed the realization of a strong community of interest between the two organizations. The Conference Committee recommended that the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the President of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the President of the Building Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and continue conferences for the purpose of securing a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty between the two organizations. This recommendation was adopted by the convention.

A conference was held by the members of this committee in New York City in January, when it was decided that the investigation should be made in Chicago, Cleveland, Jamestown, N. Y., and New York City, starting from Chicago on February 3. The Committee secured information as to the manufacture and the erection of metal trim and secured the opinions of many manufacturers and constructors upon the matter of the erection of metal trim.

After that investigation a meeting was held at Washington for the purpose of securing an adjustment, but no agreement was reached. Since the conference had no power or authority to render an award, its work was necessarily limited to suggestions, proposals and efforts to reach an agreement mutually satisfactory. President Kirby expressed himself as willing to make a compromise based upon an equitable adjustment and subject, of course, to the approval of his general executive board. President Hynes insisted that the entire metal trim work belonged to the Sheet Metal Workers, and was not willing to consider any compromise.

During the year efforts have continued to secure the re-affiliation of the Carpenters to the Building Trades Department. The great obstacle in the way of securing that result is the unsettled dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers.

A conference between the representatives of the two organizations concerned was held during the September meeting of the Executive Council, but again these representatives were unable to reach any adjustment of the difficulty.

It was agreed that President Gompers and President Williams submit a report upon this matter to the E. C. The report is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 20, 1915.

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Per the Executive Council:*

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: The special committee appointed by President Gompers during the Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers on the jurisdictional dispute over the question of the manu-

fracture and erection of hollow metal trim, made the following recommendation to the convention:

"The committee recommends that, for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations, the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the President of the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, the President of the A. F. of L., and the President of the Building Trades Department be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and to continue the conferences, to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations."

This recommendation the convention adopted.

This committee met in New York January 6-7, 1915. All members of the committee were present.

At this meeting we agreed upon the scope and method for conducting the investigation and the cities and places to be visited to best learn all the processes of the manufacture of hollow metal trim, in order to visit as many buildings in the different cities as time and opportunity would permit where hollow metal trim was being erected.

We began the investigation on February 3, in Chicago, with all the members of the committee present. Two sheet metal shops were visited on this day and the committee was shown certain parts of hollow metal trim in process of manufacture. A number of other sheet metal shops were inspected the next day, and it was agreed that the visits and investigations practically covered all the shops in Chicago engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim. The committee found that all the men working in these shops were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

While in Chicago, the committee was unable to inspect the erection of any hollow metal trim, owing to the fact that there was no building then in process of construction in Chicago in which hollow metal trim was being erected.

The committee left Chicago on the night of February 4, for Cleveland, Ohio, and there visited a new school that was being built in which a certain amount of metal trim was being installed; namely, door frames and doors. The men engaged in erecting the work in this school were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

The committee left Cleveland for Jamestown, and there thoroughly inspected and investigated the manufacture and fabrication of hollow metal trim and metal doors in all its many processes to the finished product.

As far as the committee was able to discover, the majority of the men working in the largest plant, engaged in the work of manufacturing and fabricating this material, did not belong to any union, but the painting or enameling of this hollow metal trim was done by members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

From Jamestown the committee went to New York, and on February 8 visited a very large office building in process of construction in that city known as the Equitable Building. Virtually every part of the work known as hollow metal trim and doors was being erected in this building; in fact, there was to be very little wood finish used on this job; therefore this particular building was the best example (that is, with regard to quantity) that the committee had an opportunity of inspecting during this investigation of the process and methods used in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors. The work in dispute on this building was very carefully and thoroughly inspected and investigated. The committee found that all the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors on this building were members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. This ended the investigation of the material itself in its manufacture and fabrication and the methods used in the erection of the material.

We availed ourselves of every opportunity to find out both from the men engaged in the manufacture and fabrication and the men engaged in the erection of this material, the length of time they had been working at this class of work. In the erecting part of this work we invariably found that the men had been selected for their own peculiar ability and had, in a sense, to learn how to handle this material, and that the work had the characteristics of a specialty.

The committee arranged to open the conferences on this subject on March 2, and on that date met in conference with all the members present at A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington. The conference was continued the next day. The entire subject of the dispute was considered and discussed, the late President Kirby and President Hynes presenting briefs and other documentary evidence. At the end of the conference it was agreed that the committee would meet again at the call of the chairman, to continue the conference in order to effect the end desired and hoped for by the A. F. of L.

The entire committee met in Washington on September 22, when efforts were again made by us to carry out the letter and spirit of the recommendation concurred in by the Philadelphia Convention.

Our investigation of the manufacture and fabrication and the erection in the building of hollow metal trim and doors was conducted by us in as thorough and practical a manner as time and opportunity permitted and in an impartial and unbiased manner. We desire at this time to commend the spirit of friendliness and the fairness with which the late President Kirby and President Hynes conducted their part of the investigation and conferences. However we were unsuccessful in bringing about any agreement.

At the request of the representatives of both organizations concerned, as well as our own, several manufacturers and employers engaged in the manufacture and erection of hollow metal trim submitted briefs as to the extent of the work, its classification, both in manufacture and erection, and the judgment each expressed as to the jurisdiction under which the work should properly come.

In each of the cities we visited, representatives of Sheet Metal Workers' Unions and Carpenters' Unions gave the committee every opportunity and facility to make a thorough investigation and study of the subject.

It will be observed that the resolution of the Philadelphia Convention conferred upon the undersigned no more power than "to investigate the work in dispute and continue the conferences to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations." This we have done, and it is doubtful whether the committee has the power to do more than to submit either recommendations or expression of opinion and judgment.

It has been urged that by reason of the dispute in regard to the erection of metal trim that a new organization should be organized covering this class of work. The representatives of both the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers object to this proposition, and we prefer not to give it our endorsement. But we submit that if a new organization of the workers in this class of erection ought not to be and is not formed, both organizations should be willing to meet the situation in a spirit that will conserve the best interests of the men, avoid unnecessary conflict in the labor movement, and eliminate a controversy involving employers who desire to live in reciprocal relations with organized labor. In our conference with the late President Kirby, and President Hynes, it was claimed by the latter and freely admitted by the former, that there are not any members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who are engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash.

With these purposes in view, we express our best judgment as to the course which should be pursued:

1. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners should relinquish all claim to the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash. Also that there is very little dispute as to the fact that the members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union all or nearly all perform this class of work.

2. We believe that the two organizations should reach an agreement by which the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors may belong to either organization with provision of the right of interchange of cards.

3. That the organizations should arrange so that members availing themselves of the right to interchange cards may upon returning to their original work, rejoin the organization of the trade at which they are employed, and be placed in such beneficial standing as they enjoyed upon leaving the one organization for the other.



4. That under such an arrangement every encouragement be given to the end that hollow metal trim, doors, and sash shall be manufactured under union conditions.

We recommend that if the judgment and opinion we herein express meet with the approval of this convention, that the President of the A. F. of L. and the President of the Department be authorized and directed to continue their efforts for the purpose of their consummation.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*  
*American Federation of Labor.*

THOMAS J. WILLIAMS, *President,*  
*Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.*

### CARPENTERS AND THE BUILDING TRADES

General Secretary Frank Duffy of the Carpenters notified President Gompers that the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis made protest against the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. on the ground that the Indianapolis Building Trades Council had unjustifiably and illegally fined the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis for certain alleged violations of rules and that an appeal from that decision would be made by the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. The officers of the Building Trades Department were advised of this action of the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis and asked to appear before the E. C. at its September meeting to make whatever statement they desired in the case.

At that meeting it was decided that inasmuch as the E. C. of the Building Trades Department had declared that they had no jurisdiction in the case because the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was not affiliated to the Department, the appeal of the Carpenters was sustained and the Indianapolis Building Trades Council was directed to pay back to the Carpenters' District Council the money which the Carpenters had paid under protest.

Although the Carpenters are not affiliated to the Building Trades Department, their local unions have continued to have the privilege of representation in the local Building Trades Councils.

President Gompers with Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades on the occasion of the funeral of the late President James Kirby of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, appeared before the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood and urged reaffiliation of the Brotherhood with the Department.

It is earnestly hoped that the Carpenters will shortly resume their responsibilities to the organized labor movement and become reaffiliated to the Building Trades Department. United action is necessary for the maintenance and progress of our voluntary organizations.

### CHICAGO BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL APPEAL

Early in 1915 the Chicago Building Trades Council had under consideration a new agreement with the Building Construction Employers' Association. That agreement did not meet the approbation of all the unions concerned. The Chicago local union of Sheet Metal Workers introduced a motion in the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor asking that the Building Trades' agreement then being voted upon be referred to the grievance committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor for investigation and for report to the next meeting of the federation. The Sheet Metal Workers' Union was not affiliated to the Building Trades Council. President Fitzpatrick ruled the motion out of order. Considerable dispute arose over the authority of the Chicago Federation of Labor or its grievance committee to consider any dispute affecting local unions or international organizations. This question was referred to President Gompers by the president of the Building Trades Council of Chicago. President Gompers telegraphed in reply that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor forbids city central bodies to take part in wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of local unions affiliated to international organizations contrary to the rules and wishes of the officers of the internationals. Presi-



dent Gompers stated that the Chicago Federation of Labor had acted in accord with the constitution of the A. F. of L. He also strongly expressed his judgment of the proposed agreement.

The proposed agreement provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes between workmen and their employers and deprived the members of the building trade unions of Chicago of the right to strike. The principles upon which this agreement was based are as follows:

1. There will be no limit as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his work-day.
2. There will be no restriction of the use of machinery or tools.
3. There will be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison-made.
4. That no person shall have the right to interfere with workmen during working hours.
5. That the use of apprentices shall not be prohibited.
6. That the foreman shall be the agent of the employer.
7. That the workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit, but they shall demand and receive the wages agreed upon by the joint board in this trade under all conditions.
8. That employers are at liberty to employ and to discharge whomsoever they see fit.

Two internationals—the Painters and the Machinists—requested and urged the Chicago Federation of Labor to make investigation of this proposed agreement. The situation became very intense and critical and numerous great strikes were pending. By a unanimous motion adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and President Williams of the Building Trades Department were urged to go to Chicago to investigate and endeavor to adjust the controversy. President Gompers urged President Williams to proceed to Chicago and make inquiry and telegraph him as to whether it was necessary or advisable for him to go to Chicago.

After an investigation President Williams advised President Gompers that his presence was necessary for the purpose of bringing about some adjustment of the difficulty. He then proceeded to Chicago.

In the conference in which he participated there were about a hundred representatives from the building trade unions. The officers of the Building Trades Council participated, and also Mr. Alpine, Mr. Lennon and Mr. Duffy for a short while. The conference lasted nine days; the situation and the proposed agreement were discussed critically. Conferences were daily held by representatives of the Building Trades unions, President Gompers, President Williams, with the Building Construction Employers' Association, in the effort to secure some changes in the proposed agreement. While some modifications were subsequently made, the so-called eight cardinal principles upon which the Employers' Association insisted, were maintained.

One clause in the agreement was later held to be in violation of the constitution of the Building Trades Department. The Executive Council of this department at its meeting in June, revoked the charter of the Building Trades Council of Chicago. The Chicago Building Trades Council then appealed to this Executive Council against the action of the Executive Council of the Department in revoking its charter.

Secretary Spencer of the Department referred the matter to President Gompers and asked whether or not the appeal of the Building Trades Council of Chicago would act as a stay in the revocation of the charter as directed by the Executive Council of the Building Trades. President Gompers decided that although there was no specific law upon the subject, yet it involved a fundamental principle, that is, that when a decision shall involve the life of a human being or an organized entity of human beings, a justifiable and allowable appeal must necessarily act as a stay of execution. At our meeting the week beginning September 20, we went fully into the hearing of this appeal and decided as follows:

That a letter should be addressed to the convention of the Building Trades Department reviewing the case, and that the Chicago Building Trades Council be advised to take an appeal to the convention of the Building Trades Department. President Gompers was instructed to draft a letter reviewing this case to be sent to the convention of the Department. It was thought that inasmuch as the E. C. of the A. F. of L. had ordered a stay of the order of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department and the

charter of that organization is therefore in existence, no danger could be done to the Department by deferring a decision in the matter, and that the Chicago Council would be afforded the fullest and best opportunity for obtaining a just and fair decision based upon full understanding of all facts in the case.

### **TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—COMPRESSED AIR WORKERS**

The Philadelphia Convention recommended that the efforts to bring about an amalgamation between the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and the Compressed Air Workers be continued and that a personal investigation be made to ascertain whether there is a sufficient similarity in the work done by the members of these two organizations to warrant amalgamation and to investigate whether the two organizations can be successfully operated as one.

Efforts for this closer organization have been in progress since the Rochester Convention. Frequent conferences have been held between representatives of the two organizations, and many plans have been discussed. The overlapping jurisdiction of the two organizations brought about considerable confusion and hence has made it impossible to afford complete protection to all of the workers. An exchange of cards between the two organizations has been suggested, but it is the general opinion that amalgamation of the two organizations is necessary to promote the best interest of all the workers concerned. Although efforts were continued during the past year to secure this purpose, we are unable to report anything more definite. The matter is submitted to the convention for consideration and further recommendation.

### **BLACKSMITHS—TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS**

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention that the difficulty in bringing about an adjustment of the jurisdiction dispute between the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union and the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, hinged upon the question of jurisdiction over tool sharpeners, the Tunnel and Subway Constructors refusing to relinquish the tool sharpeners and the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths contending that the tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths and properly belong to the latter organization.

The E. C. further reported to that convention, that as a result of their investigation into the question, they were led to express the belief that the so-called tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths who are called upon to do all kinds of blacksmith work, and the sharpening and dressing of tools.

The Philadelphia Convention concurred in the action of the E. C. and directed that a conference of the parties in interest should be arranged for the purpose of carrying into effect the decision of the E. C.

A conference was held accordingly but nothing was accomplished toward reaching an agreement. That conference, however, recommended that a special meeting be arranged of the tool sharpeners, members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, for the purpose of explaining to them the subject of the decision of the Philadelphia Convention. Upon communicating with the officers of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union in regard to this recommendation, the officers of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors maintained their contention that the decision of the Philadelphia Convention did not award tool sharpeners to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths. However, after considerable correspondence and delay a meeting of the tool sharpeners was held, at which President Gompers and President Kline of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths were present to address them. Those who attended the meeting, however, did not show a conciliatory disposition. As a result nothing was accomplished by the meeting.

Subsequent correspondence from the International officers of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths filed charges against the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, to the effect that that organization not only ignored the decision of the A. F. of L., but had started a campaign to supplant the Blacksmiths from the jobs upon which members of the latter organization were employed.

These charges were considered by us at our September meeting, when we decided that the decision of the Philadelphia Convention should be carried into effect, and the organizations concerned were notified accordingly. The decision was that tool dressers

or sharpeners are blacksmiths who are called upon to do all kinds of blacksmith work, and sharpening and dressing of tools. This decision sustained the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths. This conclusion has also a direct bearing upon the proposed amalgamation of the Western Federation of Miners and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

### PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS AND TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS

At our September meeting the proposition submitted by the Western Federation of Miners for the amalgamation of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors with their organization was considered, and a hearing had at which were representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and the Mining Department. After consideration of the question in all of its phases, the Executive Council decided that such an amalgamation would be in violation of the decision of the Philadelphia Convention upon the controversy between the Blacksmiths and Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and therefore could not approve the application for amalgamation. However, we decided that all parties in interest be invited to meet during the San Francisco Convention in an endeavor to arrive at a suitable conclusion in regard to the matter.

### PROPOSED MINERS' AMALGAMATION FAILED

For several years past an agitation was conducted with a view of bringing about an amalgamation of the Western Federation of Miners with the United Mine Workers of America. The W. F. of M. affirmed its desire for amalgamation, and the question was taken up at several conventions of the U. M. W. of A., and at its 1914 convention created a committee to meet jointly with a like committee of the W. F. of M. for the purpose of making an investigation and ascertaining whether amalgamation was possible or practical. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor gave every encouragement to that effort, and during the address of President Gompers before the Miners' convention in January, 1914, among other things he urged amalgamation, as he in his correspondence urged upon the representatives of the Miners' committee that amalgamation ought to be the best course for them to pursue. The committees of both organizations met frequently, and discussed the subject from this viewpoint. We quote here the joint statement which they made declaring their efforts at amalgamation ineffective:

"BUTTE, MONTANA, July 28, 1915.

"After having made an exhaustive investigation of the question of amalgamation between the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners, and after giving full consideration to the present condition of each organization, we are forced to the conclusion that because of the many obstacles that now present themselves, and which will be explained in the reports hereinafter provided for; that any attempt to consummate an amalgamation at this time, would be premature.

"While we jointly agree that to effect an amalgamation of the two organizations at this time would be impracticable, in consideration of the views expressed by the respective committees, we hereby decide that each committee prepare a separate report stating in detail the result of their findings, and that the same be submitted by each committee for the consideration of their respective organizations.

(Signed)

F. FARRINGTON,  
ADAM WILKINSON,  
ROBT. H. HARLIN,

*For United Mine Workers of America.*

DEAN W. SELFRIDGE,  
JOSEPH GORMAN,  
J. B. RANKIN,

*For Western Federation of Miners."*

We have not seen the report of the representatives of the W. F. of M. to their organization, but we have the report to the representatives of the U. M. W. of A. and from this it is quite evident that in the opinion of the miners' committee the proposition for amalgamation is not only regarded as being premature but impractical, and entirely out of the question. Inasmuch as amalgamation had been so strongly urged, and the negotiations therefore seriously, earnestly, and faithfully undertaken, when the representatives of both organizations have found the proposition wholly impractical, we submit that there can be no criticisms on our part or the part of any one of the course pursued by those most vitally interested.

#### FLINT GLASS WORKERS AND MACHINISTS

The controversy between the Flint Glass Workers and the Machinists over the making of molds for molding glassware was considered by the Philadelphia Convention. Action, however, was deferred at the request of both parties to the controversy, who held the hope that they would be able to bring about an adjustment during the year.

The officers of the two international organizations had in mind the appointment of a committee of three to visit the shops at Alton, Ill., Toledo and Newark, Ohio, and other places in order to investigate conditions of work, and to reach a decision. The committee was to consist of a member appointed by each organization, and a third mutually agreeable to both organizations. Both organizations agreed upon President Gompers as the third party of the committee.

President Gompers found it impossible to act on account of the many duties and obligations devolving upon him. Other names were suggested in the further correspondence, but the organizations have not as yet been able to decide upon the third member of the committee who would be mutually satisfactory, or who could devote the time for the fulfillment of that duty.

The matter was again considered by us at our September meeting when it was found that both organizations had stated that John B. Lennon would be acceptable as an arbiter, and inasmuch as the reason that had prevented his acting earlier had been removed, the Executive Council directed that the two organizations, having agreed upon John B. Lennon as arbiter, shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, that they would pledge themselves to abide by the decision and award of Treasurer Lennon, and that the investigation take place, either between the dates of October 8 to 25, or be deferred until the first of the year.

Inasmuch as the matter is of considerable importance, it is greatly desirable that agreement may be reached upon this matter in dispute at as early a time as possible.

#### MACHINISTS—CARPENTERS

The Philadelphia Convention adopted Resolution 152, which instructed the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to discontinue all infringements upon the jurisdiction of the Machinists in the work of making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used.

In connection with the work upon the Panama-Pacific Exposition complaints were made that the Millwrights, members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, were erecting and assembling machinery on the Exposition grounds. The complaint was submitted to us for a decision. In conformity with the action of the Philadelphia Convention, we declared that the erection and assembling of machinery came properly under the jurisdiction of the Machinists' organization.

A similar controversy between the Machinists and Carpenters occurred in Chicago, and it was decided also in that instance that Resolution 152 should be applied.

#### MACHINISTS—ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS

The Philadelphia Convention decided that the relations existing between the Elevator Constructors and the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department be continued with the understanding that the Elevator Constructors in co-operating with the Machinists and other allied trades should endeavor, to the extent of their authority,

through their agreements and available opportunities, to use nothing in their construction work but materials manufactured under union conditions.

The Executive Council at its January session referred this matter to President Gompers to carry out the purpose of the action of the convention. A conference was arranged at which were the representatives of the two organizations and Vice-President O'Connell as a representative of the A. F. of L. He reported at our April meeting that in the conference it was agreed that one elevator plant should be taken up at a time for the purpose of organizing the workers. President Johnston of the Machinists agreed to submit that proposition to the Machinists' Executive Board. It was further agreed that each organization should call a meeting of its Executive Board for the purpose of agreeing to the action adopted by the Philadelphia Convention.

Representatives of these two organizations appeared before us at our September meeting in regard to carrying into effect the decision of the Philadelphia Convention affecting their organizations. The representative of the Elevator Constructors asked the representative of the Machinists to enter into an agreement to the effect that his organization would cease doing work over which the Elevator Constructors had jurisdiction, and to cease antagonizing the members of the International Union of Elevator Constructors on buildings. The representative of the Machinists said that he had no authority to enter into such an agreement, but would bring the question to the attention of the Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists.

#### PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS—MACHINISTS

Resolution No. 150 of the Philadelphia Convention protested against the decision of the Seattle Convention which gave the Plumbers and Steamfitters jurisdiction over work which the Machinists claimed. Inasmuch as the Machinists declared that technical questions were involved in that decision which had not been personally investigated and which made the decision unjust to them, they requested the Philadelphia Convention to re-open the question of jurisdictional dispute between the two organizations and to instruct the Executive Council to arrange for a conference to be held between the representatives of the two organizations in the city of Chicago in order to make a personal inspection of the work and to render a final decision. President Gompers took up the matter with the two organizations with the view to the appointment of such a committee. The Presidents of both organizations interested were asked to submit the name of one person whom they wished to serve on this committee. These two persons so selected were to choose the third party.

Although persistent efforts have been made to secure the appointment of this committee, the two organizations have not as yet been able to agree upon committeemen mutually acceptable.

The status of this case was reported at our September meeting and we decided that efforts be continued to secure a committee to carry out the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and so recommend to this convention.

#### BREWERY WORKERS—COOPERS

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention an agreement that had been reached between representatives of the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen and the Coopers' International Union of North America, regarding their disputed claims of jurisdiction, which agreement at the time of the report to the convention had been ratified by the membership of the Brewery Workers, but had not yet been agreed to by the membership of the Coopers.

During the progress of the convention a telegram was received from the Coopers' International Union advising that the membership, by referendum vote, had refused to accept the agreement.

The Committee on Adjustment reported to the convention that representatives of the two organizations appearing before the committee agreed that the subject-matter of the dispute be referred to us for further effort to secure a settlement, and the convention so decided.

In subsequent correspondence of the officers of both organizations, they asserted that there had been a misunderstanding on the part of the Committee on Adjustment in making

its report to the convention, the officers of both organizations having the understanding that their respective delegates had agreed that the matter should be referred back to the Coopers' Union for the consideration and action of its convention, which was held in September of this year, at San Francisco, the matter to rest until acted upon by that convention, unless there should be developments that might lead to a satisfactory settlement in the meantime.

In view of this understanding between the two organizations, no further action was taken upon the matter by the E. C. Up to this writing no report has been received from the Coopers' International Union of the decision of its convention, but we trust that before the close of this convention information may be received that the organization has acted favorably upon the agreement.

### TEAMSTERS—BREWERS—BAKERS—LAUNDRY WORKERS

The Philadelphia Convention decided that inasmuch as charges had been made that the Seattle decision upon the jurisdiction belonging to these four organizations had not been complied with, that decision should be re-affirmed and all organizations required to govern themselves accordingly. The decision in question gave jurisdiction over Bakery Wagon Drivers and Laundry Wagon Drivers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers. Jurisdiction over the drivers of brewery wagons was recognized as belonging to the United Brewery Workers.

President Gompers was instructed to issue a circular to all central labor unions and state federations with full instructions as to the jurisdiction held by the Teamsters, and to give notice that local unions having within their membership teamsters coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers should not be seated in central bodies. A circular containing the above information was issued, together with other jurisdictional decisions of the Philadelphia Convention, and later the full decision of the Philadelphia Convention upon this matter was published in the March issue of the *American Federationist*.

President Daniel J. Tobin made complaints against the International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers, charging that they were violating the ruling of the Philadelphia Convention, and asked for an interpretation of that ruling to be applied to the dispute that arose in St. Louis. The issue upon which President Tobin asked for a ruling was whether only the local unions in cities and towns that have drivers in their membership can be unseated or can all local unions of Bakery Workers, even when they have no drivers, be unseated in accord with that decision.

In the name and by direction of the Executive Council, President Gompers answered on the basis of the Philadelphia Convention, and President Tobin's attention was particularly called to the following explicit statement of the convention:

"Local unions having within their membership teamsters coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, shall not be seated."

This explicit statement shows that the decision did not apply to local unions of Bakery Workers in which there are no Bakery Drivers holding membership.

### ENGINEERS—LONGSHOREMEN

Resolution No. 113 introduced in the Philadelphia Convention by representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, charged that the International Longshoremen's Association was organizing engineers and permitting its members to take the places of members of the Engineers' Union who were on strike in Chicago for better conditions. The convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to have a personal investigation made of these charges and if it be found that the Longshoremen's Association accepted into membership engineers properly coming under the jurisdiction of the Engineers' Union, these engineers should be transferred to the latter organization.

In accord with this action of the convention, a conference was held in Chicago for the purpose of making an investigation, at which representatives of the Longshoremen's Association and of the Engineers' Union were present. The Longshoremen admitted that engineers were being organized under their jurisdiction and contended that this was within their authority and charter rights.



The charge that the Longshoremen were using engineers to fill the places of the members of the Engineers' Union when its members were on strike, was denied by the Longshoremen's Association. President O'Connor stated that the Engineers did not call the strike at Chicago, for the Engineers at that time had neither organization nor members upon the job, because the international organization had revoked the charter of its Local No. 69, and hence the Longshoremen could not and did not take the places of engineers on strike. The representatives of the Longshoremen admitted that their crews worked during the strike at work coming within their jurisdiction, and they felt justified in doing so because the strike had been called for the purpose of compelling employers to cease making agreements for pile driving work with the Longshoremen's Association.

Secretary Hannahan stated that the revocation of the charter of the local was only temporary until the local complied with the regulations of the international organization and that this condition in no way affected the jurisdiction of the Engineers or the obligation of other organizations to observe their rights.

The report of this investigation and hearing in Chicago was made to the Executive Council. At the April meeting of the E. C., representatives of the Steam and Operating Engineers appeared in connection with this dispute. We decided that the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention in regard to the dispute be put into effect; namely, that if after the investigation it was found that the International Longshoremen's Association has in its membership, or is accepting to membership, Engineers properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, they shall be transferred to such organization at as early a date as possible.

The matter comes before this convention for such action as the convention may deem best.

#### STEAM SHOVELMEN—STEAM ENGINEERS

To the last convention was reported the agreement providing for the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen. This agreement was signed by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the two organizations concerned, representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, the A. F. of L. Mining Department and the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department. By some oversight, in reporting to the Philadelphia Convention the names of the representatives of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen who signed the agreement reached by the Chicago Convention on September 22, 1914, the name of "A. Childs" was given. This name should, of course, have been "A. L. Wilde."

While the convention was in session, information was received that the two organizations had ratified the agreement by referendum vote. The convention approved the plan for amalgamation outlined in the report and recommended that when the amalgamation was effected, the Executive Council render every assistance possible to bring about a working agreement with the organizations closely allied with the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

At our January meeting, we decided that the instructions of the conventions had been complied with by the two organizations of Steam Shovelmen, and directed that charter be issued to the amalgamated organization under the title of "International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen" and, as already stated, the charter was issued on January 13, 1915.

In the meantime, however, the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers granted a charter to a local union of steam shovelmen in New York City. Protests were received from the officers of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen against the Steam Engineers because in several cities the Engineers had filed protest with the central bodies against the recognition of the representatives of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Several conferences have been held to bring about a settlement between the two organizations.

At a conference held in Chicago in which President Gompers and representatives of the two organizations participated, a tentative agreement was reached for the amalgamation of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen with the Steam Engineers, the same to be referred to the Executive Boards of both organizations. The Executive Board of the Steam Shovelmen rejected the agreement.

The subject-matter is in that situation at this time.

**LITHOGRAPHERS—LITHOGRAPHIC PRESSFEEDERS—PRINTING PRESSMEN  
—PHOTO-ENGRAVERS, POSTER ARTISTS**

The Philadelphia Convention instructed the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use its best efforts to bring about the amalgamation of the Lithographers and the Lithographic Pressfeeders, and in this connection to endeavor to bring about an amalgamation in the lithographic field, which would include also the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers.

The work of carrying out these instructions was referred to President Gompers at our January, 1915, session. The correspondence upon this matter has been voluminous during the year, and shows that every effort was made to accomplish the desired result.

An effort was made by the officers of the Lithographers and the Lithographic Pressfeeders to secure action upon the amalgamation agreement drawn up during their Buffalo, 1913, conference. The two chief points in dispute in regard to this agreement were the mortuary funds and the method of voting.

The President of the Lithographers' organization repeatedly gave assurance that joint committees were at work to secure the adoption of a plan of amalgamation, and that the amalgamation was practically all accomplished except the finishing touches. The Lithographic Pressfeeders' Association had been suspended from the A. F. of L., and was no longer affiliated. A controversy had arisen as the result of the introduction of the off-set press, which made necessary further protection for the Lithographic Pressfeeders. As this new invention in a measure replaced some of the lithographic processes, the question of jurisdiction arose between the Lithographic Pressfeeders and the Printing Pressmen.

On February 18 President Gehring wrote that the contemplated amalgamation had taken place under the Buffalo joint agreement; that the officers had been elected, and the association would be known as the "Amalgamated Lithographers of America." He was advised that it would be necessary to surrender the old charter and to make application for a new charter under the new name and with the new jurisdiction corresponding to the change in title. A conference between the four organizations concerned was arranged to take place in New York City February 21. The four organizations had a conference with President Gompers upon the matter of amalgamation, and then had additional conference in which the representatives of the International Allied Printing Trades Association participated. At this conference the representative of the Printing Pressmen's organization renewed the proposition of amalgamation which had been tendered the Lithographic Workers at a previous conference held in Washington. The representative of the Photo-Engravers likewise renewed a proposal of amalgamation with the Lithographic Workers.

The president of the Lithographers stated that he favored the establishment of one label in the printing industry, and that his union would take into consideration the question of amalgamating all the printing trade unions or amalgamation of the three organizations originally involved in the dispute.

The representative of the Lithographic Pressfeeders stated that his organization held that only one label should be allowed to represent all classes of printing regardless of the process and that his association believed in amalgamation of all branches of printing and lithographic industry to be organized under one governing board. During the discussion, attention was called to the fact that the Poster Artists' Union was not represented in the conference and ought to be invited to participate and to affiliate themselves with these organizations. This conference recommended that President Gompers call a joint meeting of the Executive Boards of all the unions represented and all other unions interested in the lithographic and printing press trades, for the purpose of considering and devising plans to bring about an amalgamation of the trades in question. A conference along these lines was called during the April meeting of the E. C. In this conference all the organizations concerned, except the Poster Artists, participated. However, the conference did not result in any immediate agreement and various representatives submitted reports from their respective organizations. We decided that President Gompers should continue his efforts to bring about amalgamation.

During our April, 1915, session the Lithographic Pressfeeders made inquiry as to the terms upon which they could be reinstated.

The Lithographic Pressfeeders had been given a conditional charter, but as they

had violated the terms of the conditions, the charter had been revoked. We took no action upon reinstating the Lithographic Pressfeeders as a separate organization, inasmuch as it now seemed wisest for all of the lithographic trades to amalgamate in one organization, and that matter has been discussed by the several organizations.

The representatives of the Lithographers, the Photo-Engravers, and the Printing Pressmen had a hearing during our September meeting.

After further consideration of this entire subject, we submit the following:

Application was made to us by the Printing Pressmen and Photo-Engraver's International Union for jurisdiction over what is known as off-set press work. The Lithographers protested against that claim, insisting that in nearly every instance members of the Lithographers' International Union are performing the work. We were unable to reach a conclusion upon the claims made, and so report to this convention.

Both in connection with the conference to encourage amalgamation, as well as for the better determination of the question of off-set press work, we recommend that the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association should be admitted in the Allied Printing Trades Council, where the subject-matter of jurisdiction, co-operation, and agitation for the extension of the use of the union label is best furthered.

We recommended that conferences be held during this convention to bring about harmonious relations between the organizations in interest.

### JURISDICTION OVER SINGLE WRAPPING

The Philadelphia Convention referred to the Executive Council for action Resolutions Nos. 103 and 106, which provided that the International Typographical Union should relinquish immediately all claim to jurisdiction over single wrapping and binders and to surrender to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders such single wrapping as it may, now have under its jurisdiction.

The E. C. requested the officers of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the International Typographical Union to carry out the following decisions of the E. C. in regard to single wrapping rendered in 1911 and 1913 respectively:

"After examining the evidence and hearing the oral arguments, and until the two organizations interested effect a mutual agreement on the subject, it is the sense of the E. C. that 'single wrapping,' where now performed in commercial bindery houses by members of the Bindery Workers' Union should not be disturbed, and that there should be no interference with the rights of the Bindery Workers' Union to organize non-union workers engaged at single wrapping in commercial binderies, but when the work in question is performed in purely printing offices, it comes under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

"In the controversy between the International Typographical Union and the Bookbinders about 'single wrapping,' the wrapping of newspapers not being in question, the E. C. of the A. F. of L. defines the term 'purely printing offices' as employed in the decision rendered June 15, 1911, to mean printing offices without a bindery connected therewith."

A conference was arranged between the representatives of the two organizations concerned at which propositions from both sides were considered, and each rejected by the other.

A report of this conference was made at our September meeting when representatives of the Bookbinders and the International Typographical Union were heard. We decided that the above quoted decisions rendered by us in 1911 and 1913 be reaffirmed and emphasized and that both organizations be strongly advised to conform to them.

### HODCARRIERS—CEMENT WORKERS

The decision of the Executive Council giving the Hodcarriers jurisdiction over cement laborers employed in the construction of sewers and tunnels, as well as laborers doing the mixing of concrete, was approved by the Rochester Convention and reaffirmed by the

Seattle Convention. It was reported to the Philadelphia Convention that this decision had been violated by the Cement Workers. The convention decided that the whole matter be referred to us with instructions to continue efforts by conferences and otherwise to make effective the decisions previously rendered.

As a result of conferences, which were arranged pursuant to the direction of the Philadelphia Convention, an agreement was reached between the Cement Workers and the Hodcarriers under which the Cement Workers agreed to enforce the decision of the American Federation of Labor and surrender all members affected by that decision to the Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' organization.

In another section of this report information is submitted to the convention of the merging of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers with the Operative Plasterers' International Association.

#### **INTERNATIONAL BRICK, TILE AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS—SECEDING LOCAL UNIONS**

The report made to the Philadelphia Convention stated that efforts to secure the amalgamation of the two factions of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers had not been successful.

The convention decided that the seceding locals should be given until February, 1915, to re-affiliate themselves to their international and that if the seceding unions had not complied on or before that date, the President of the American Federation of Labor was to issue a circular to city central bodies and state organizations notifying them that the seceding local unions should be refused recognition by such bodies.

The effort to effect amalgamation was unsuccessful. On February 25, President Gompers issued a circular to the officers of state federations and central bodies recounting the efforts of the A. F. of L. to secure the re-affiliation of the seceding local unions and their final and decisive rejection of all such efforts. The circular stated that since the seceding local unions had failed to comply with the instructions of the convention, all city central bodies and state organizations were notified that the seceding local unions of the Brickmakers should be refused recognition by such bodies.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor advised President Gompers that all the seceding locals of that state had withdrawn from the State Federation of Labor shortly after the action taken by the Philadelphia Convention.

At our September meeting our attention was called to the fact that Secretary Van Bodegraven, of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance had entered into a contract with a firm in Murphysboro, Ill., for a period of five years, the terms of which were so unusual that we instructed President Gompers to communicate with the officers of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' organization in regard to the above information for official confirmation or denial of its authenticity. He complied with the instruction. Replies were received from both President Butterworth and Secretary Von Bodegraven. The entire subject-matter should be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration and report upon the subject-matter.

#### **BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS—BOILERMAKERS—HOD-CARRIERS**

The 1914 convention considered in Resolution No. 126 the application of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers for jurisdiction over riggers machinery movers and house movers. This resolution was protested by representatives of the Hodcarriers and the Boilermakers.

Inasmuch as no conference had been held among the contending parties upon the disputed claims, the President of the American Federation of Labor was directed to call such a conference, and pursuant thereto, one was arranged for and held at headquarters during our January meeting, at which the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Boilermakers and Hodcarriers were represented. As a result of this conference an understanding was reached that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers would withdraw the claims set forth in Resolution No. 126, which infringed upon the jurisdiction of the Boilermakers and the Hodcarriers, and the matter was closed upon this understanding.

President McClory of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and President D'Alessandro of the Hodcarriers reached the following specific agreement in regard to the work of house moving:

In the controversy between the Building Laborers' International Union and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Resolution No. 126 of the Philadelphia Convention, in reference to house moving, it is understood and agreed between both parties hereto that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will withdraw their claim for jurisdiction over this particular class of work with the understanding that in case any local union of either side will enter a complaint both organizations get together to adjust same.

### DOCK BUILDERS OF NEW YORK CITY

We regret very much to report the differences that have arisen in regard to the dock builders of New York City and vicinity.

There were in that city two organizations of dock builders, one known as the Independent Dock Builders and the other as Municipal Dock Builders' Union 13041. The independent dock builders had formerly been Dock Builders' Union 12429, which had been chartered as a federal union by the American Federation of Labor March 19, 1907. This union, however, was suspended January 1, 1910, for failure to pay dues. Later the organization was revived and conducted independently. On July 7, 1910, the A. F. of L. granted a charter to the dock builders who did the dock building for the New York City Department of Docks and Ferries. These workers were under civil service rules. The organization was known as Municipal Dock Builders' Union. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America made complaints against the Independent Dock Builders of the city of New York, charging that they were infringing on the jurisdiction of the Carpenters and that they were an independent organization not affiliated with the A. F. of L., and yet recognized by the Central Federated Union of the city of New York with representatives in that body.

The situation was investigated and conferences were held between the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the dock builders of New York City, the Central Federated Union and the A. F. of L., and it was decided that the dock builders ought to become a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. As the result of these conferences there was a general agreement that the dock builders ought to become a part of the Carpenters' organization.

An agreement was drawn up to adjust the difficulties that prevented an immediate amalgamation of the Dock Builders with the Carpenters. This agreement contained the conditions under which the Carpenters would agree to receive the Dock Builders in their organization. An effort was then made to unite all of the Dock Builders of the city of New York into one organization, in accord with the decision of the Executive Council that there should be but one organization of Dock Builders in the city. The Municipal Dock Builders' Union refused to agree to this amalgamation, and they were joined by the seceders from the other organization. However, the organization that was formerly known as 12429 agreed to the terms that the Carpenters had presented, became part of that organization and are now known as Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union 1456. Every effort was then exercised to have the Municipal Dock Builders conform to the decision of the A. F. of L., and come under the jurisdiction of the Carpenters' organization. Many conferences were held in which representatives of all parties concerned participated.

In accord with the rules and the decision of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., President Gompers then notified the Dock Builders' Union 13041 that it should become a part of Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America on or before June 15, 1915, or the charter of the union would be withdrawn. As the organization still maintained its stubborn resistance to authority, the charter was revoked. In accord with this action of the A. F. of L., the Central Federated Union of the city of New York expelled the representative of the Municipal Dock Builders' Union from membership in that organization.

The trade union movement found it necessary to dissociate itself from this organization in order to maintain the autonomy and independence of the principles upon which the international trade unions of America are founded, particularly as it applies to the original claims of international unions' jurisdiction. Local trade and labor organizations

are organized where there are no international unions of the trade, and are affiliated directly to the A. F. of L., but when the work which these local unions do comes under the jurisdiction of an international or a national, then they become affiliated to the proper national or international organization. Every opportunity was afforded for the presentation of any reasonable complaint or grievance which the Municipal Dock Builders wished to present, with the assurance that every such complaint would be investigated with opportunity for redress. Notwithstanding this the Municipal Dock Builders refused to comply with the requirements and decision of the A. F. of L. Efforts were continued to secure the compliance of the Municipal Dock Builders with the decision of the A. F. of L., and their amalgamation with the Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union No. 1456.

However, in the meanwhile, charges were entered against them by other workers, that they were taking the places of the Dock and Pier Builders when these workers had gone out on strike. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers granted a charter to the Municipal Dock Builders' Union. The attention of the officers of the organization was called to the unwarranted character of their action and to the fact that never at any time during all the years that the Dock Builders' matter has been under discussion, had the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers ever taken any part in the matter or uttered one word claiming that the Dock Builders' Union of New York should become part of their international union. Their attention was called to the further claim that it was not the time to raise rival claims for jurisdiction and issue a charter to men when those men were on the opposite side to another Dock Builders' Union which was engaged in a struggle.

The action of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in granting a charter to the Municipal Dock Builders of New York City was to have been considered by us at our September session, but since the convention of the Structural Iron Workers was held in San Francisco at the same time, it was impossible for them to have representatives appear in behalf of their claims. However, we telegraphed to the convention urging them to revoke the charter recently granted to the Dock Builders of New York City while a strike was on. We stated that if the convention would comply with our request, then further consideration of the entire matter would be deferred for adjustment at the San Francisco Convention. However, the delegates to the convention of the Structural Iron Workers declined to comply with the request of the E. C. Therefore, a hearing was granted to the representatives of the Carpenters who entered a protest against the action of the Structural Iron Workers.

In view of the refusal of the convention of the Structural Iron Workers to revoke the charter of the Municipal Dock Builders, President Gompers was authorized to send a second telegram to the convention emphasizing the statement already made, and bringing to their attention the fact that the Municipal Dock Builders' Union had held a charter from the A. F. of L. for more than five years, during which time the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers entered no claim for jurisdiction, and that the charter of the Dock Builders' Union had recently been revoked for failure to comply with trade union ethics.

The whole matter is referred to the convention for consideration, and for such action as may be deemed advisable.

### **PAINTERS—CARMEN**

The Philadelphia Convention directed that a conference be arranged between representatives of these organizations with a view to adjusting their jurisdictional dispute.

President Hedrick for the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers and President Ryan for the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen responded to the call for a conference which was held during the January meeting the Executive Council. That conference having failed of results, it was decided that the dispute should be referred to the respective Presidents of the two organizations, with the request that they continue the effort to reach a satisfactory agreement.

Upon request being made for a report as to what progress had been made in the matter, replies were received from Presidents Ryan and Hedrick to the effect that nothing further had been done in the matter, both communications expressing the conviction that no results could be obtained by holding further conferences. The matter was in this status at the writing of this report.



### CARPENTERS—RAILWAY CARMEN

Resolution No. 23 brought to the attention of the Philadelphia Convention the protest of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, against the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, on account of alleged infringement by the latter organization upon the jurisdiction of the Carpenters.

No conference having previously been held between the two organizations upon the dispute, the convention decided that one be arranged by the President of the American Federation of Labor with a view to reaching an adjustment.

A conference was held with representatives of both organizations in attendance. No results were accomplished, however, and at the subsequent meeting of the Executive Council, we decided that the dispute should be referred to the executive officers of the Carpenters and Railway Carmen with the request that they continue the effort to reach some mutually satisfactory basis of agreement upon the disputed jurisdiction. Pursuant to this action correspondence was held with the officers of both organizations, and while at the writing of this report we are unable to state that any progress has been made toward an adjustment, we are nevertheless hopeful that continued effort and conferences may lead to a satisfactory solution of their differences.

### CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS—BLACKSMITHS—UPHOLSTERERS—MACHINISTS—METAL POLISHERS

The Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor decided that the Carriage and Wagon Workers should drop the words "automobile workers" from their title, and should refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations. The officers of the Carriage and Wagon Workers were officially notified of this decision and wrote to President Gompers in regard to this action of the convention and asked for the following information:

"Are we to understand that we are to turn in the charter we now hold and apply for one with the title of Carriage and Wagon Workers, or in other words are we to understand that our present charter has been revoked either wholly or in part?"

"Are we to understand that the recommendations of the committee mean that we are to have a clear field to the workers in the carriage and wagon shops and factories?"

"There are several classes of workers in the automobile factories that are not claimed by any of the organizations in the American Federation of Labor, are we barred from organizing them?"

"Are we to refrain from organizing workers in the automobile industry claimed by other organizations when said organizations have never been given jurisdiction?"

The Executive Council directed President Gompers to reply to the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union that according to the action of the Philadelphia Convention the title of that organization was required to be changed to "The Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union," and that accordingly the A. F. of L. does not recognize the words "automobile workers" in the title. We directed that the charter of the Carriage and Wagon Workers should be returned to headquarters for change of title in conformity with the directions of the Philadelphia Convention and called attention to the instruction of the Philadelphia Convention that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union should refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations. It was further urged upon this organization that the best interests of the men of their trade and of the labor movement in general required that prompt steps be taken by the organization to conform to the decision of the A. F. of L.

No reply has been received to this communication, nor has the charter of the organization been returned to headquarters for the required change of title. The matter is referred to this convention for its further consideration and action.

### ELECTRICAL WORKERS—THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYEES

The complaints and the counter-claims of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers arising from

efforts to organize the Moving Picture Operators were referred to the Philadelphia Convention. The convention declared that the claim of the Electrical Workers to jurisdiction over Moving Picture Operators was not well founded and directed that organization to refrain from organizing Moving Picture Operators and to turn over such operators whom they had organized to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

However, considerable correspondence from both organizations and from persons interested in the moving picture business, came to headquarters. In addition, many conferences were held for the purpose of carrying into effect the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, the Electrical Workers continuing their claims to jurisdiction in Chicago and several other cities. This correspondence was submitted to the Executive Council at our April meeting and we referred the entire matter to President Gompers and Vice-President O'Connell to continue efforts to secure an adjustment of the dispute, and to secure the compliance of the Electrical Workers with the decision of the American Federation of Labor. An effort was made to secure a conference between representatives of the two organizations, but without avail.

At our September meeting it was brought to our attention that the Electrical Workers had organized a Moving Picture Operators' Union in Chicago, and that in St. Louis they had violated the decision of the Philadelphia Convention. We instructed President Gompers to send a telegram to the convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers which was then in session in St. Paul. The telegram called the attention of the delegates to the Electrical Workers' convention to the decision of the Philadelphia Convention reaffirming its former decision, which declared that jurisdiction over Moving Picture Operators belongs to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and that the Philadelphia Convention had instructed their organization to refrain from organizing Moving Picture Operators, and to turn over all such workers affiliated to their organization to the Theatrical Stage Employees. In the telegram we also urged the Electrical Workers to comply with the decision of the Philadelphia Convention.

#### UPHOLSTERERS AND CARPET MECHANICS

The last convention again endorsed the decision of the Seattle Convention, and directed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to request the officers of the Building Trades Department to further assist in carrying out these instructions.

The matter was taken up with the President of the Upholsterers' International Union and with the Secretary of the Building Trades Department and every effort was made to secure compliance with the instructions of our convention. However, we regret to report that the California State Building Trades Council has not yet unseated the representatives of the Carpet Mechanics' Local of San Francisco, although in recent letters from President McCarthy, he declared that the matter would be effectually determined before this convention is well under way. During the year it was brought to the attention of the President of the A. F. of L. that a dual union of Carpet and Shade Mechanics was affiliated to the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oreg., and that this was a part of the general movement to work against the Upholsterers' International Union. The matter was at once taken up with the central body at Portland with the instruction that this dual local was not entitled to representation in their body, and its representative should be unseated until it affiliated itself with the Upholsterers' International Union.

This matter is submitted for the consideration of the convention that it may determine what course will be most helpful in establishing co-operation between these workers in the industry.

#### APPLICATION OF RETAIL CLERKS FOR A CHANGE OF TITLE

At the September meeting the Executive Council, the application of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association for a change of name and charter under which they should be known as the Mercantile Employees' Association was considered. The question of jurisdiction over all classes of employees in mercantile establishments is also involved. We decided that the request should follow the course provided by the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and should be submitted to this convention for consideration and action.

## METAL LATHERS—PLASTERERS

At our January meeting we considered the jurisdiction dispute between the Metal Lathers and Plasterers in regard to metal corner beads. The dispute was brought to our attention by the officers of the Building Trades Department according to the direction of the Philadelphia Convention of that Department. The Executive Council of that Department was called upon during last year to consider a dispute that developed in Cincinnati between the Lathers and Plasterers over this work. The Plasterers' local union persisted in the claim that the erection of all metal corner beads shall be performed by its members. This work had previously been in controversy between the Plasterers and Lathers. A decision in favor of the Lathers was rendered by the Denver Convention of the Building Trades Department and this decision was concurred in by the Toronto, 1909, Convention and reaffirmed by the Seattle Convention of the Building Trades Department. The E. C. of the Building Trades Department in rendering the decision upon the Cincinnati dispute requested the officers of the Operative Plasterers' Union to require their local union of Cincinnati to refrain from continuation of its tactics, and also directed the Building Trades Council of Cincinnati to give full support to the Lathers' Union in their contention for the right to jurisdiction over all such work.

The matter was acted upon by the Philadelphia Convention of the Department after representatives of both organizations had had a hearing, but an adjustment was not effected. Therefore, it was decided that the matter should be laid before the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor. We placed the matter in the hands of Vice-President Duncan to make an effort to bring about an adjustment of the controversy.

He reported that after numerous efforts to get the two parties in interest to meet for the purpose of trying to adjust the contention he had failed and that it had been arranged to hold conferences in San Francisco during the session of this convention in further effort to reach a mutual settlement.

## AMALGAMATION OF GLASS WORKERS WITH THE BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS

In December, 1914, the Secretary of the Glass Workers' International Association of America, wrote to the officers of the American Federation of Labor informing them that the Glass Workers had under consideration a plan for amalgamation with the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, and asked for the assistance of the officers of the A. F. of L. in carrying out the provisions and conditions of that agreement in the event it was mutually agreeable to both associations.

The agreement was submitted for our consideration. At our April meeting we considered the agreement, approved and made it part of the record. President Gompers then, on behalf of the A. F. of L., signed the agreement, which was also to be signed by the representatives of the two organizations. The vote was favorable to amalgamation by a vote of 549 to 20. Because of the objection of one member of the General Executive Board of the Painters, the amalgamation agreement was also submitted to a referendum vote of the members of that organization and was approved.

## GLASS WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

NEW YORK, \_\_\_\_\_ 19.

*Proposed Plan of Amalgamation Submitted by the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.*

Realizing the necessity for the thorough organization of the working people, and the closer unity of the organized workers, and to more thoroughly organize the yet unorganized, and further realizing that amalgamation under proper conditions would accomplish greater results to protect and promote the rights and interests of the workers thereof, and for the furtherance of the great uplift work for all the workers, we, the undersigned, representing their respective organizations, do hereby agree upon the following terms of amalgamation.

## ARTICLE 1

The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, holding a charter granted by the A. F. of L., September 25, 1900, consists of a number of local unions having jurisdiction over the following branches of the glass industry, to wit: Glass cutting, lead glazing, metal glazing, prism glazing, shade working, beveling, silvering, scratch polishing, embossing, engraving, designing, glass painting, drafting, sand blasting, glass chipping, glass mosaic working, art-glass setting, protection glass setting, cementing, bending, flat glass or wheel cutting, glass sign making, glass packing and plate glass working. The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America agree to recognize and uphold the foregoing jurisdiction in its entirety, and incorporate the same in their constitution.

## ARTICLE 2

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America hereby agree that all existing local unions of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America that desire to retain their present identity as local unions, shall have complete trade autonomy as now enjoyed by them, and to all such local unions the brotherhood will grant charters, seals and all other necessary supplies free of charge. Local unions that prefer to consolidate with existing local unions of the brotherhood may do so, providing such consolidation is mutually satisfactory to the locals directly concerned. Where consolidation is agreed upon no initiation fee shall be charged or collected. In localities, where no glaziers' local exists, Glass Workers enumerated in the foregoing jurisdiction shall be admitted to brotherhood locals, and shall have the same autonomous rights as glaziers, paperhangers, sign painters, and other members engaged in special branches of the trade who are members of mixed locals.

## ARTICLE 3

It is further agreed that in any city or district where a union of Glass Workers is located, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall not organize or place a local union of the brotherhood that shall consist in whole or in part of members working at any of the trades enumerated in Article No. 1, of this agreement, without the consent of the said Glass Workers' local union; and it is further agreed that any Glass Workers working at any of the trades enumerated in Article No. 1 of this agreement, shall not affiliate with any local union of the brotherhood, other than a Glass Workers' local in said city or district, without the consent of the said Glass Workers' Local Union.

## ARTICLE 4

It is further agreed by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America that all Art Glass Workers in the event of amalgamation, shall retain jurisdiction over the setting of art glass as granted by the A. F. of L., September 25, 1900, and defined by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., June, 1911, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 23, 1911.

The E. C. of the A. F. of L., at its session held in this city the week of June 12, gave further consideration of matter of the controversy between the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, over their respective claims of jurisdiction. The following action was taken by the E. C.

"Resolved, That President Gompers communicate with the officers of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to the effect that the decision rendered by the E. C. at the meeting held September 10, 1903, conceding that putty-glazing comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood

of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, does not include the setting of art glass, jurisdiction over which belongs to the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association.

"It was further ordered that a copy of this decision be forwarded to the officers of the Building Trades Department."

The above decision was reaffirmed as follows:

"At the meeting of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., held at Atlantic City, N. J., July 21-29, 1913, the dispute between the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America was taken up and the following decision rendered:

"It was moved and adopted that the E. C. reaffirm its previous decision which gives to the Amalgamated Glass Workers' Union jurisdiction over the setting of art glass, without further modifying the decision rendered at the September, 1903, meeting, which gave jurisdiction to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers over putty-glazing, and the decision be also communicated to the officers of the Building Trades Department."

#### ARTICLE 5

It is further agreed that the members of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America shall be immediately placed in benefits for the period during which they have been in continuous good standing—according to the existing laws of the brotherhood—in the Amalgamated Association, but not to exceed a period of two years. All members who were under fifty (50) years of age at the time of their admission to membership in the amalgamated association shall be considered as full beneficial members. Such members, two years in continuous good standing, to be entitled to a death or total disability benefit of one hundred dollars—the amount paid upon members of the brotherhood in good standing for that period. Such members more than one year, but less than two years in continuous good standing to be immediately entitled to a death or disability benefit of fifty dollars. All members who were fifty (50) years of age or more, at the time of their admission to membership in the Amalgamated Association shall be considered as semi-beneficial members. Semi-beneficial members shall be entitled to death, disability and wife's death benefits as provided in the laws of the brotherhood. Members less than one year in good standing shall have credit for such good standing as they have in the Amalgamated Association, under the existing laws of the brotherhood. All members transferred shall be entitled to wife's death benefits in accordance with their standing as set forth above. All members shall have the same rights to earn further benefits as are enjoyed by members of the brotherhood.

#### ARTICLE 6

It is further agreed that the Brotherhood will honor the outstanding clearance and withdrawal cards of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, provided the holders thereof fulfill the conditions under which said card was granted.

#### ARTICLE 7

It is further understood and agreed that in the event of amalgamation, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America will recognize and protect all agreements of the local unions of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America that are now in effect.

#### ARTICLE 8

It is further agreed in the event of amalgamation that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall make no claim upon the funds in the treasury of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, or on the present funds and properties of any of its local unions.

## ARTICLE 9

It is further agreed that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall inaugurate an aggressive campaign for the more thorough organization of all men engaged in the glass working industry, covered by the foregoing jurisdiction.

## ARTICLE 10

It is further agreed that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall give credit on the cards or books of their association for the length of time that the members of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America have been in continuous good standing on the books of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, that they may enjoy the same rights and benefits as those enjoyed by the members of the brotherhood, under Section No. 38 of their constitution. Members' stamp books and books of the General Secretary-Treasurer to determine same.

## ARTICLE 11

It is further agreed by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America that any member who has been fined, suspended or expelled by a vote of a local union of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, for cause, shall not be admitted to membership in any local union of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America until restitution be made or satisfaction given, and accepted by a vote of the local union imposing the penalty.

## ARTICLE 12

It is further agreed by the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America that at the first convention or referendum vote of the brotherhood following the date of the signing of this agreement they will recommend the amendment of the Constitution of the brotherhood by the extension of its claims of jurisdiction and the making of such other changes as will bring it into conformity with the articles and conditions set forth in this agreement.

## ARTICLE 13

It is further agreed that the President of the A. F. of L., or a representative delegated by him, by direction of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., agrees in the name of the A. F. of L. to guarantee the faithful enforcement of all the provisions set forth in this agreement.

## ARTICLE 14

In consideration of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America agreeing to, and accepting the conditions and proposals contained in all of the articles of this agreement, and after the same has been signed by its executive officers, the executive officers of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association and also by the President of the A. F. of L., or his representative, the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America does hereby agree to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and that this agreement shall become binding and operative on both associations mentioned in these articles of agreement, thirty (30) days after the same has been ratified by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and by a two-thirds refer-



endum of all members in good standing in the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America.

For the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

GEO. F. HENDRICK, *G. P.*  
J. C. SKEMP, *G. S. T.*

For the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America:

DAVID RING, *G. P.*  
A. J. SCOTT, *Gen. Sec.-Treas.*  
PETER BELL, *Chairman.*  
AL. L. NUTT.  
WALTER H. CROTHERS, *Secretary.*

Gen. Ex. Board:

WALTER WEST.  
WM. E. MULDOON.

For the A. F. of L.:

SAML. GOMPERS,  
*President.*

### LONGSHOREMEN—MARINE WAREHOUSEMEN

The Philadelphia Convention referred the request of the International Association of Longshoremen for extension of jurisdiction over men employed in marine warehouses to the Executive Council with instructions to have a personal investigation made as to whether the Brotherhood of Railway Freight Handlers is organizing Marine Warehousemen or has ever exercised that jurisdiction, and if the investigation should disclose that no other organization had legitimate jurisdiction, we were authorized to grant the Longshoremen's Association jurisdiction over Marine Warehousemen.

Organizers Hugh Frayne of New York City, and Frank McCarthy of Boston, were instructed to investigate the work performed by Freight Handlers, and to find out what organizations claimed jurisdiction. In the meanwhile the Brotherhood of Railway Freight Handlers disbanded and charters were then issued directly by the American Federation of Labor to the existing locals of Freight Handlers. Two organizers of the A. F. of L. were instructed to investigate the work performed by local unions of Freight Handlers holding charters from the A. F. of L. and local unions of Longshoremen, and submit a report to the E. C. bearing upon the disputed jurisdiction.

These organizers made independent investigations and separate reports but were unable to agree upon recommendations.

At our September meeting it was decided that this matter be referred to a conference to be held in San Francisco during the A. F. of L. Convention.

### UNITED HEBREW TRADES

Owing to the peculiar local conditions, the United Hebrew Trades of New York has for years had the advantage of the endorsement and the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor. New York City has been the center where Hebrew immigrants have located. The U. H. T. has performed a valuable service in teaching these immigrants American customs, the methods and principles of organization, and thus has been helpful in protecting and educating newly arrived immigrants. It has been an agency for getting these foreigners in touch with American customs and American institutions. So long as the U. H. T. performed this service, it was helpful to the trade union movement and was endorsed, even though the organization had characteristics of duality. However, the spirit of co-operation more than counterbalanced any evils that might have arisen of a quasi-dual nature.

However, the U. H. T. deviated from the policy which gave it value. When some of the workers that were affiliated to the United Garment Workers' organization seceded and formed the "Amalgamated Garment Workers," even though the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. by unanimous vote decided that the seceding organization should not be recognized and that only representatives of the United Garment Workers should be

considered the legitimate representatives of that industry, the U. H. T. refused to act in accord with that decision. In defiance of the laws, declaration and decision of the A. F. of L., the U. H. T. not only refused to unseat the representatives of these seceding locals, but harbored and supported them in every way, and thus encouraged and assisted a secession movement. It is a fundamental principle of the trade union movement that solidarity is necessary for the best progress and for the greatest betterment of the wage-earners. Wherever there is discord or dissension, the influence and the power of the labor organization is weakened and it becomes increasingly difficult to protect the workers, and to promote their best interests.

Because the U. H. T. is actually dual to the Central Federated Union of New York City, and because the A. F. of L. had declared that the representatives of the seceding locals of the Garment Workers should not be recognized, the Central Federated Union of Greater New York made protest against the course which the U. H. T. had pursued and requested that the international unions should direct their local unions in New York City to withdraw their representatives from the U. H. T. unless it unseated the representatives of the seceders.

The Executive Council directed that this request be held in abeyance until President Gompers should address the U. H. T. for the purpose of delivering to them personally the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, with the request that the organization comply with that decision and conduct the organization according to the ideals and the principles of the trade union movement.

In accord with this direction, President Gompers addressed the U. H. T. (see speech, June, 1915, *American Federationist*), and urged upon them the necessity for solidarity and reviewed the action of the Philadelphia Convention in regard to the seceders. He urged upon them the fact that the U. H. T. had been tolerated because it had been helpful in promoting solidarity, even though the religious principle which was the basis for separation from the national trade union movement was not in accord with American ideals, and was reactionary and hurtful. Several conferences were held for the purpose of adjusting the difficulty.

At the last conference it was agreed that the representatives of the U. H. T. should recommend to that body to prevail upon the seceding locals or upon that body itself, to request the E. C. to call a conference of all parties in interest for the purpose of reaching an adjustment of the fundamental differences existing. Instead of so recommending, the representatives of that body misrepresented the understanding and the U. H. T. undertook to invite the representatives of the organizations to participate in the conference. Of course the bona fide unions could not accept such an invitation and did not. When this misrepresentation was called to the attention of the U. H. T. there was further request for time, more time, and still more time. Further correspondence was indulged in and long explanations, until it finally seemed evident that the purpose of that policy was to defer action merely to procrastinate and thus to avoid conformance with the decision of the A. F. of L. The effect of the disrupting policy manifested on the part of the U. H. T. was injurious to the solidarity or progress of the trade union movement of New York City.

When the U. H. T. had been given every opportunity and ample time to conform to the action agreed upon, and yet still continued to refuse to take action complying with the declaration and decision of the A. F. of L., we directed President Gompers to require any local union directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. to withdraw from affiliation with the U. H. T., and to request all national and international unions having local unions connected with the said U. H. T., to require their locals to withdraw from it.

Our decision was conveyed to the U. H. T. in time for action at its regular meeting, but that organization even then refused to comply, whereupon, in accord with our instructions, official notice was given to all international unions having local unions represented in the U. H. T. in New York City, calling upon them to perform their duty as prescribed in the constitution of the A. F. of L., and in compliance with the laws, decisions and declarations of the Philadelphia Convention, and to direct their local unions to withdraw all representatives from the U. H. T. of New York City.

It was only when the U. H. T. demonstrated the fact that it intended to harbor, encourage, give recognition, support and co-operation to seceding locals and thus to become a hostile and therefore a rival body to the chartered Central Labor Union of New York City, and vicinity, that the A. F. of L. refused longer to co-operate with that organization.

In accord with instructions the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity immediately issued instructions to all unions affiliated with the U. H. T. that they would be suspended, unless an official report was filed showing that they had severed all affiliation with that body.

### CAPMAKERS—HATTERS AND STRAW HAT WORKERS

Resolution No. 3 adopted by the Philadelphia Convention instructed the Executive Council to call a conference between the representatives of the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers for the purpose of determining the question of jurisdiction over the making of ladies' cloth and straw hats, or the millinery industry, which had been recognized by the E. C., since 1903, as a part of the cloth hat making industry and jurisdiction over the industry has been exercised by the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers' of North America. A few federal charters have been granted to federal unions of millinery workers.

A conference between the representatives of the United Hat and Cap Workers was held in New York. The Hatters would not agree to surrender any of the jurisdiction claimed by them, but agreed, however, that when any conflict of jurisdiction arose between the two internationals, that the officers of both organizations should meet for the purpose of reaching an amicable understanding. They stipulate, however, that they would not waive their jurisdiction over the ladies' straw hat making industry. This arrangement provided for the adjustment of any further disagreement.

In Chicago the Cloth Hat and Capmakers have organized the straw hat and millinery workers into what is known as an auxiliary of Local Union No. 5. As the International Union refused to issue a charter to them as straw hat and millinery workers in the ladies' straw and felt hat making industry of Chicago, the workers in that trade organized and secured a federal charter from the A. F. of L.

Several years ago the women employed in the ladies' straw hat industry organized, secured reasonable wages and ten-hour workday. This is a seasonable trade—the rush season lasting between three and four months of each year. During the slack months there is very little employment in the trade. Before the organization of the women in the trade and before the ten-hour law of Illinois for women became operative, all had to work long hours during the rush season. When the women's ten-hour law went into effect certain firms undertook to employ male operators during the rush season who were not included under the statutory ten-hour law for women. And thereupon a conflict arose between the women and the men who desired to enter into that industry—the women opposing, as the latter held they would finally be supplanted entirely by the men, particularly as the men had not set for themselves any limitation of their hours of labor and the employers were endeavoring to secure men to work a longer number of hours per day, and thereby deteriorating the conditions of all those who worked in the industry.

An investigation was made of the Chicago situation by President Gompers, John Fitzpatrick, representing the Chicago Federation of Labor, and by President George W. Perkins of Cigar Makers' International Union. After a thorough investigation, they recommended that the A. F. of L. issue a charter to the ladies' straw and felt hat operatives in the contending organization under the following conditions:

"1. That the members of the newly chartered organization shall demand work at the regular prescribed number of hours by Local Union No. 14400, now in existence during the rush and dull periods.

"2. That the members of the newly chartered union shall demand and receive at least the same wages and demand work under the same rules and regulations governing all working conditions that now prevail in the Local Union No. 14400.

"It is hereby understood and agreed that the employing of help in so far as sex is concerned shall be left to the employers."

### MARBLE WORKERS AND SLATE WORKERS

Resolution No. 90 of the Philadelphia Convention provided that the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers should extend to all workers employed in the production and the working of slate.

Inasmuch as no conferences had been held in regard to the matter prior to the Philadelphia Convention, the convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to arrange for a conference of all parties at interest for the purpose of adjusting the claim for extension of jurisdiction by the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers.

A conference of the Slate Workers, Marble Workers, and the Quarry Workers, was held in New York City, at which the following agreement was reached:

First. That the members of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers shall set slate specified in Resolution No. 90 when the contract is being executed by firms operating their own mills and factories.

Second. That the members of the International Association of Marble Workers shall set slate specified in Resolution No. 90, when the contract is being executed by firms holding agreements with locals of the International Association of Marble Workers.

Third. That the members of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers shall receive the same rate of wages and conditions existing in localities under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Marble Workers while erecting slate in buildings.

Fourth. That both organizations named will work in harmony, using all legitimate efforts to the end that a more thorough organization of both industries will be affected.

For International Association of Marble Workers:

WALTER V. PRICE.  
STEPHEN C. HOGAN.  
CHAS. TUCKER.

For American Brotherhood of Slate Workers:

PATRICK HANLEY.  
LAWRENCE WATERS.  
PHILIP JAGO.

After this agreement was reached, the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America entered a protest that this extension of jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers encroached upon the jurisdiction of the Roofers' Union. An effort was made to arrange a conference between the representatives of the three organizations, but has not as yet been successful.

### MARBLE WORKERS

Resolution 138 adopted by the Philadelphia Convention earnestly requested the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Union of Steam Engineers and Operative Plasterers to refrain from using their influence in a manner detrimental to the interests of the International Association of Marble Workers.

Representatives of the Marble Workers in a hearing before the Executive Council stated that the Bricklayers were discriminating against the Marble Workers and cited particularly the case of the Widener Memorial Building at Philadelphia. They requested us to prevail upon affiliated organizations to aid the Marble Workers in their claim to the work to which they were entitled, and to urge the Carpenters, Engineers and Plasterers that if they were not willing to strike in support of the Marble Workers' contention that they would at least remain neutral. It was decided that President Gompers should confer and communicate with the executive officers of the various organizations in order to secure their co-operation to prevent a strike on the Widener building against the Marble Workers and to have them assist the affiliated organization in every way possible in such contentions which are recognized and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

All organizations affiliated to the Building Trades Department were advised of our decision and urged that where trade complications prevented giving full support to the Marble Workers, at least they should not lend their support against the Marble Workers and would assume a neutral position.

**THE COOPERS AND BARREL-STAVE INDUSTRY—RESOLUTION 80**

Employers engaged in the barrel-stave industry have organized the National Association of Slack Barrel, Stave and Heading Makers' Association, and have declared in convention against the organization of the workers in that industry. This matter was presented to the last convention, and by that convention referred to us in order that we might endeavor to bring about a conference for an adjustment of the differences between the Coopers' Union and the Employers' Association. We referred the matter to President Gompers to arrange for a conference. After correspondence with both parties, he was informed that a representative of the Coopers' Union would be glad to meet for conference any time or place, and that the Secretary of the Employers' Association intended to be in Washington some time in February, and that if the President of his association would give his approval, the Secretary would be glad to confer with President Gompers and the representative of the Coopers' Union in regard to the matter. However, nothing tangible has been accomplished in this matter.

**THE HOLT MANUFACTURING COMPANY—RESOLUTION NO. 146**

This resolution presented opposition of the Holt Manufacturing Company to the standards of organized labor and called attention to the long workday, and low wages that existed in the establishments controlled by the company.

The Holt Manufacturing Company is a member of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association of California, and owns and controls three manufacturing establishments. One of its principal owners declared in testimony before the federal Commission on Industrial Relations that the firm would not employ any one known to be a member of a labor organization, and that its establishments are closed to members of trade unions.

The Machinists, Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Patternmakers, and Molders' Unions struck against the Holt Manufacturing Company at Stockton, Cal. Inasmuch as the firm makes farming implements, the circular letter which was sent out to all state branches of the American Federation of Labor was also sent to organizations of the farmers, in order that the widest possible publicity should be given to the labor policy of this manufacturing company so that all those in sympathy with the purposes of the organized labor movement to secure better conditions for the wage-earners might be in a position to co-operate with and support the wage-earners who are fighting for their rights.

The California State Federation of Labor submitted to the local unions of the Metal Trades information relative to the policy of this company toward organized labor, and ask them to request their respective national officers to assist in giving publicity to the facts. The Holt Manufacturing Company still continues to discriminate against union men.

**DETROIT CIGAR AND TOBACCO TRUST**

Resolution No. 71 of the Philadelphia Convention called attention to the deplorable conditions and the harmful practices and the great injustice with which the girls and women employed by the American Cigar and Tobacco Trusts had to contend in Detroit Sweatshop conditions under speeding-up pressure prevailed. The convention referred the subject-matter of the resolution to the Executive Council for the purpose of causing an investigation to be made and publicity given to conditions in these Detroit shops, with the further suggestion that, if possible, the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations investigate conditions in the cigar factories of Detroit.

The E. C. presented this request to Chairman Walsh of the Industrial Relations Commission who took the matter up but found that the funds of the Commission would not admit of their making an investigation. It was then decided that one of the paid organizers of the A. F. of L. be assigned to make this investigation. Organizer T. H. Flynn was assigned to this work. A very thorough investigation was made, the results of which were embodied in the report which Organizer Flynn made. This report was referred to President Gompers to take up with the President of the Cigarmakers' International Union for further action. Chairman Walsh of the Industrial Relations Commission agreed that Organizer Flynn's report be submitted to the Commission and ordered read into its hearings. The report

is a very comprehensive one and will be submitted for consideration of any committee: The chief points and findings are as follows:

"1. Several years ago a number of cigar companies formed a combination to devise ways and means to secure labor at the lowest possible cost.

"2. This combination started a school in which female students were taught a part of the cigar trade, and by specializing them they would be more submissive and by keeping the school constantly going there would be a continuous force of young specialists waiting for positions at all times, which would have a tendency to make the older hands more submissive.

"3. In order that the school might be self-supporting they made it a cigar factory and named it the Detroit Ideal Cigar Company. Young girls who were employed were compelled to sign an agreement which certified to the fact that they wanted to learn whatever part of the cigar trade was designated and they agreed to work 36 days without pay and further agreed to pay the company \$5 in advance for such instruction, besides furnishing their own tools of trade. If they could not pay \$5 in advance, they paid \$6 in installments. At the expiration of 36 days they were given a certificate to show that they were practical bunch makers, cigar rollers or cigar packers. The pupils were never allowed to learn the entire trade, they were made specialists. After they received their certificate they were sent to one of the factories of the combine and they were given a position as follows:

"For bunch-making, cigar rolling or packing, their contract provided that they work six months for a certificate of \$1 per week, each week, receiving the certificate of \$1 payable at the expiration of six months, on condition that the employee would have worked steadily six months in the factory. If the employee, on account of illness or other incapacitation, worked only five months and 28 days, the company would refuse to cash the \$1 certificates, with the result that the employee would receive absolutely no pay for the time put in."

"Favoritism crept in, in that some of the larger firms secured more than their pro rata share of the young pupils, which caused dissatisfaction and the institution became weaker and a few years ago disbanded.

"The combine still exists and has carried the system into its own factories. This combine made it prohibitory for firms paying high wages and firms which recognized the rights of their employees to bargain collectively to attempt to engage the employees of the combine, going so far as to use the Circuit Court of Wayne County to enjoin companies which might solicit or might employ their employees.

"The Cigar Factories in Detroit are members of this combine, and employ practically all female labor with the exception of the foremen, and the ages apparently from 13 to 21 years.

"Another matter which I believe should receive our attention is that of the employment of married women with families in the preparing of the tobacco in the factories.

"Detroit has a settlement known as the 'foreign town,' mostly Polish, who have not at the present time any knowledge of the laws of our country, nor do they appreciate the American standard of living. The wives go to the factories after they have cared for their children and done their housework, and because most of them are too old to learn the more skillful part of the work, they do the stripping. They work about nine hours in the factory, and after taking out some time for housework, it probably leaves them about two or three hours of the twenty-four to give to the care of the children for whom they are responsible. It is probable they earn \$5 or \$6 a week, but this is not authentic as it is almost impossible to learn from the women themselves just what their wages are.

"During my investigation, in watching the females who are employed almost exclusively in the factories—with the exception of the foremen and where men are needed for the heavy work as stated in the foregoing—I could not but notice one thing in particular, and I think I could say, without fear of contradiction, that 90 per cent were under the age of 20 years. This would indicate that the system I have mentioned—the thirty-six days' free labor, and the six months at \$1 week, providing the full term of six months is served, otherwise being classified



as "free labor"—has so entrenched itself in those factories that the young "specialists," working for comparatively nothing, are fast crowding out those more experienced, or, in other words, labor that costs nothing is taking the place of those who demand wages."

The report also contains a copy of the injunction which Judge Murphy issued which denies workers the right to quit a non-union factory for the purpose of taking employment in a union factory at increased wages and shorter hours of labor.

In carrying out the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention to give publicity to the conditions prevailing in the cigar factories of Detroit, President Perkins published in the *Cigarmakers' Journal* for July, Organizer Flynn's report in full. The attention of the delegates is particularly called to the chief points of Organizer Flynn's report in order that they may know under what conditions cigars are produced in the shops of the American Cigar and Tobacco Trusts in Detroit, and that they may give the widest possible publicity to this information.

#### RESOLUTIONS 79, 92, 154, AND 161

Resolution No. 161 of the Philadelphia Convention referred to the matter of Abram S. Cox Stove Company, Lansdale, Pa., and Resolutions Nos. 92 and 154, referred to the Victor Talking Machine Company. Investigation was made and effort at adjustment but no tangible agreement was reached.

Resolution No. 79, regarding United States Broom and Brush Company, of Chicago, was made a subject of inquiry and the facts disclosed as stated in the resolution. A circular letter was addressed to affiliated bodies quoting the substance of Resolution No. 79.

#### WARD BAKING COMPANY

Resolutions 120 and 123 dealt with the struggle that was being waged by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union against the Bread Trust, composed of several large concerns, including the Ward Baking Company, and the general baking companies. These resolutions called attention to the fact that Robert B. Ward, President of the Ward Baking Company, was also one of the main financial backers of the Federal Baseball League and the sole owner of the Brooklyn Club. The convention referred the subject-matter of these resolutions to us and correspondence was entered into with the officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers for the purpose of securing information and for bringing about an adjustment between them and their employers.

At our September meeting we considered the appeal of the Bakers' Union asking that the organizers of the A. F. of L. be requested to render every assistance possible in the campaign that the members of this organization were waging against the Bread Trust for the purpose of extending organization, and thereby better protecting the workers in this industry, and also to defeat the efforts of the Bread Trust to secure an exclusive market for their product. The campaign of the Bread Trust is directed principally against the smaller cities where smaller bakeshops are now established and where the master bakers are most inclined to recognize the union and to accord union conditions. It was decided that the request of the Bakers be complied with, and the organizers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to co-operate with them for the purpose of organizing these workers and protecting the organizations already in existence.

#### TELEGRAPH COMPANIES

Resolution 155 described the methods employed by the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies to prevent the telegraphers from organizing, by discharging, black-listing, and persecuting telegraphers belonging to associations of union men. The workers in this monopolized industry have been unable to exercise the rights of free-born American citizens. The convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to call the attention of the various international unions and central bodies to the conditions under which the commercial telegraphers work. In accord with this instruction, this

matter was included in a circular letter which President Gompers issued to all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. Additional publicity was secured for the wrongs of commercial telegraphers by the hearing which they had before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

### L. S. STARRETT TOOL MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Resolutions Nos. 47 and 157 presented to the last convention the unfair policy which the L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Company of Athol, Mass., has adopted in regard to its employes. The company has recently introduced the piecework system with the avowed intention of extending the same to all departments. Members of the machinists' local unions had been discharged because of their membership in the union. The convention referred the matter to the Executive Council and Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, that joint action might be taken to bring about conditions more satisfactory to the trades concerned.

At our January meeting we directed President Gompers to write to the company for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment between the company and the Machinists. The President of the company refused to meet representatives of the machinists' locals and further correspondence revealed the fact that there was a general misunderstanding, and when this was cleared up a conference was agreed to. At this conference a satisfactory understanding was not reached, but the chances are good at the present time for a conference which will probably result in some substantial gain.

### FIREMEN—ENGINEERS

The Philadelphia Convention recommended that the President of the American Federation of Labor attend the convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen to be held in Cincinnati, August, 1915, for the purpose of urging upon the convention amalgamation with the Steam and Operating Engineers. The convention also requested the international officers of the Stationary Firemen to extend an invitation to the President of the Steam and Operating Engineers to be in attendance at that convention. The two organizations were asked in the meanwhile not to trespass upon the jurisdiction which the A. F. of L. had recognized as belonging to each.

In accord with this instruction, President Gompers attended the convention August 3, and urged upon the convention the benefit of amalgamation with the Engineers and he urged that if the convention was not willing to agree to amalgamation that they authorize the appointment of a committee to bring about better relations between the two organizations. The Firemen's convention unanimously voted against amalgamation but elected a committee of three to confer with a like committee from the Engineers if that organization should be willing to authorize a committee for that purpose.

### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Since the time of its establishment, about twenty-two years ago, the *American Federationist*, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor, has had but one purpose, to explain and to champion the cause of trade unionism. Although there are matters of interest to the trade union movement, matters which indirectly affect it, even for these the *American Federationist* has never turned from the cause to which it was dedicated. The same clearness of thinking, the same understanding of fundamental principles that have characterized the leadership of the trade union movement of America have characterized the tone and the editorial policy of its official journal. Amid all of the theories of proposed reforms and all the efforts to guard or to mislead the working people, there must be one agency to which they can look for guidance and information, something in which they can place implicit confidence. This is one of the services which the *American Federationist* has performed. Through its editorial columns and its articles it has presented to its readers an interpretation of happenings and movements that will enable American workers to see what policies and what methods will best promote their own interests. The magazine judges everything upon certain well-known trade union principles and seeks to keep ever prominently before the minds of wage-earners the value and significance of the fundamental principles involved in their industrial and political freedom, so that the workers will be in a position to solve their own problems

and to promote their own interests. During the past year these principles have been presented with insistence and force.

In accord with the instruction of the Philadelphia Convention, there has been published at least every two months an article dealing with higher dues in unions, and with the experiences that have determined various organizations to increase their dues. These articles have been of more than usual value, and have been copied by many labor papers. The September issue of the *American Federationist* will be a valuable source of information for years to come. The central thought of that issue as developed in the symposium which forms the leading article, was "Labor's Mission, the Achievement of Freedom."

In order to give full recognition to the value and significance of the labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act, men closely associated with the enactment of that law and those who held places of responsibility in the labor movement, and whose practical experiences in the labor movement had given them a very keen realization of the need of remedial legislation to protect the existence of organized labor, were asked to make contributions to that symposium. Those articles show how firmly there has been ground into the minds of the men of the labor movement an understanding of the value of human life and of those principles that humanize industry and industrial problems. The symposium will be invaluable to lawmakers, students, and all of those who wish to study labor legislation.

In addition to articles on the Clayton Act, were articles dealing with that legislation second only to the Clayton Act—the Seamen's Law—and others showing how the organized labor movement opens up opportunities for greater freedom and greater activity on the part of wage-earning women.

The issue is a fitting commentary upon the great progress made during the past year, and proclaims that every advance in human freedom is a significant event in history. It emphasizes the revolutionary force of that tremendous legislative declaration of section 6 of the Clayton Act, "the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." That is a principle, which, when applied, will humanize economic and judicial theory, and will abolish many of the fetters that have held the workers bound to their employers.

The *American Federationist* has been a tribune that has stood for human rights and human freedom, and has insisted that every other consideration must be subordinated to these. The influence of the magazine upon the labor press, as well as the general press of the country, is strong and helpful in all things, true to trade unionism. It is an influence that can not be bought, can not be diverted, and can not be silenced or ignored.

#### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

It is a generally recognized fact that the chief sources of information for the masses of the people are the newspapers. This has given papers a commercial value that has frequently hampered the editorial policy. Work of publishing newspapers has been organized in the same highly specialized way as all other business undertakings. For convenience and economy, there have been established news agencies for the collection and the dissemination of current matters. Because these news agencies are established for profit, they serve best the interests of those who have financial and economic power. It has long been a matter of common knowledge that the things which are of greatest interest to the workers and which present their cause and contentions fairly or forcefully, have been suppressed in the interest of profits.

As publicity has become of increasing importance in dealing with industrial relations and problems which have become more complex and on a larger scale as industrial organization has developed, it has become correspondingly important that the wage-earners should have some instrumentality for disseminating labor news. Labor papers are hampered because they serve a cause that has little money, and consequently they lack funds to render this service. It was for the purpose of organizing the dissemination of news that the convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized the establishment of the *Weekly News Letter*. That publication has become the dependence of many labor papers. It is recognized as the labor news agency and furnishes to labor editors throughout the country current information ready for use.

In addition to the service the *Weekly News Letter* has rendered to the labor press of the country, it also furnishes a speedy and economical means of communicating officially with the local labor organizations. Declarations of the Executive Council and of the President

of the A. F. of L., published in the *Weekly News Letter* are given wide circulation and hence a still wider publication in the labor papers which are thus enabled to reprint them. This is of particular value in legislative matters in connection with which it is necessary to get information quickly before the members of the labor movement throughout the country in order to get action necessary to the securing of legislation.

This is demonstrated by the issues of the *Weekly News Letter* containing information which came into President Gompers' possession showing the influence at work to prevent the passage of the Immigration bill. Those two issues aroused the trade unionists throughout the country to present to their representatives in Congress in no unmistakable terms their desires for the passage of that bill. The *Weekly News Letter* has proved itself a valuable news agency, as well as a help in the educational work of the trade union movement.

### LABOR PRESS

Unquestionably the newspaper is the chief literature of Americans. In form, in method and in spirit it is adapted to the needs of the times. The paper habit has become so firmly established as a national custom that every cause must have the means of publicity. It is the only way to get the news quickly and surely to those who must be reached. The policy of the paper depends usually upon the motives in the managing room. The ordinary daily paper is published for profit. There may be ideals in the editorial room and scattered among the reporters but these may be checkmated at any time by the decisions from the managing room based upon the balance sheet.

These conditions mean that the cause of the people is often neglected to make room for the special interests for those who can afford to pay. They mean that news will be edited, suppressed, perverted—for those who will pay. The cause of the toilers, the wronged of humanity, fails to secure space if its publication affects profits.

These conditions made labor papers necessary and they have struggled against tremendous obstacles—hampered by lack of appreciation, friends, facilities and opportunities.

Each year brings increases in the power and the number of the labor papers of the land. They are tremendous dynamic forces giving publicity to the cause of human welfare and the struggle of the workers for justice and a better life. They herald abroad the news of Labor—the ideals that touch the things of daily life and make them to glow with the glory of humanity. They tell the facts of the workers' lives and of the struggles for a better life.

Usually in a secluded office, work the labor editors who dedicate their lives to the cause of publicity for Labor. Their reward has been frequently but a meager living and the satisfaction of a great work done. The labor movement stands for fair wages—an ideal that must be extended to labor editors. Yet, on the other hand, great care must be exercised lest the power that comes through a labor paper should fall into the hands of those unfit to use it. Labor papers must be kept clean, free from outside or political partisan domination.

The labor papers by bringing about understanding of conditions are a powerful element in helping to unify and give direction to the labor movement. They journey throughout the length and breadth of the land entering into the mental life of each reader, expanding in some way his thought, and consequently his acts. They are an incalculable power in the labor movement and ought to be supported financially and morally by all the workers, and those who genuinely sympathize with the great cause of Labor.

### ORGANIZATION OF TEACHERS

The schools of every country have an incalculable effect upon the mental life of the nation. The instruction given in the schools imbeds ideals and concepts in the minds of the boys and girls that in a large degree determine their viewpoints and constitute the materials according to which they will judge their experiences and determine their actions. Education means that training that shall enable people to take advantage of opportunity. It should inculcate self-reliance and independence that are essential for freedom. It is the public schools of the country that constitute the chief guardian of our free institutions, the spirit of independence and the love of freedom and justice that are in our people. This effect is cumulative. Instruction given to one generation enables that generation to live a broader life, to get a wider and deeper insight into the meaning of things, a keener

appreciation of the value of life, the rights that should belong to each, and what constitutes justice. The standards that are raised by one generation are made the basis for advance by the next generation.

Once give a people the power that comes through training acquired through the public schools and you have put into the lives of those people the force that will protect them against tyranny and unfreedom in whatever guise the attack may be made. The schools of our country are concerned with the raw, human stuff that constitutes our nation and can influence those human lives for good or for evil. No more insidious or more dangerous attack can be made on the freedom of the people than an attack upon institutions that control the fountains of information. The teachers, the human agents in instruction, have a power that is really terrific in its far-reaching consequences. They can make easy the access to truths or they can make that very difficult and indeed may turn the student astray by pointing out the wrong way and by incorrect interpretations.

It is for these reasons that a free people resent most emphatically and most bitterly any attack upon the educational institutions. They are greatly concerned whenever any undemocratic power or agent endeavors to get control over school management, over teachers or other instruction given in any of the educational institutions of the country. Perhaps the best planned, most dangerous efforts of this type are the great foundations that have been established by our captains of industry who have grown enormously wealthy and who subsidize foundations to be associated with the work of educational institutions. Since educational institutions are so closely associated with the lives of the people—in fact are a part of the lives of the people in every nation which has ideals of democracy, can we favor granting control over educational affairs to any agency that belongs or that is itself dependent upon the favor of a private individual or groups of individuals?

No one can contend for a moment that the viewpoint of industrial exploiters are the ideals and the viewpoint of the majority of the citizens of the United States. No one can contend that the fortunes of these men can ever be dissociated from the conditions under which they were accumulated. The types of some of our multi-millionaires will always carry with them the taint and the curse of the economic tyranny which their agents have exercised over their employees. The great millionaires of our country have resisted all ideals of democracy in their relations with their employees. They have maintained an industrial regime of despotism and tyranny in every detail where they were not forced to establish other relations through the economic power of their employees.

If the American citizens are to maintain their social, political and economic institutions free from the evils of autocracy, they must maintain in their own hands control over their educational institutions. Educational institutions touch directly the heart of the nation. We want more schools, we want better schools, but we want our own schools. Anything that savors of charity, whether it be termed "foundation" or some other euphonious name must be opposed, checked and rooted out of our educational system.

Domination of this sort has been particularly evident during the past year. The dismissal of Prof. Scott Nearing from the University of Pennsylvania, of Prof. James H. Brewster from the University of Colorado, the five professors from the University of Utah, the investigation of the University of Wisconsin ordered by the reactionary state legislature, are all evidences of effort to control or to pervert instruction given in those institutions and to prevent free and untrammelled discussion and search for truths by students. Every effort to suppress freedom of thought or freedom of discussion in a university or college means a lessening of the freedom of the people, not only of those directly concerned, but of all, upon whom their lives have effect through personal contact and otherwise. The professors and instructors in institutions of higher learning have felt and realized the importance of attempts to hamper their instruction and to deprive them of freedom to instruct and discuss. As an expression of this conviction on their part, more than a year ago they organized the American Association of University Professors. The organization has rallied to the defense of fellow-instructors who have been victimized by the universities. It is founded upon the same principle that underlies the trade union movement: namely, organization for personal self-defense and freedom.

The same spirit of unfreedom has characterized the policy of many of the boards of education of our cities. These boards of education consist of individuals who are either elected by the people or usually in the larger cities appointed by the mayor. As a general thing they represent not the masses of the people but the employers and the corporate interests. Their direction over school affairs is a "business administration" and is responsible for many policies that are out of harmony with democratic ideals. School manage-

ment is generally upon a despotic basis, and regulations are arbitrarily fixed for teachers who are required to submit without question. This autocratic regime has been bolstered up by fostering the notion that teachers are employed in so high a calling that they must sacrifice all of their own interest, all of their own welfare, rather than interpose their best judgment or in any way interfere with what is termed "school discipline" and school regulation. Of course no one denies the necessity of proper school discipline or regulation, but we insist, as do the teachers, that an association of teachers conducted in the interests of the teachers, for their proper protection and welfare, does not and can not interfere with such school discipline and regulation as concern the education and the character development of the pupils. On the contrary, we insist that the reverse has been and must result.

All of this has had the effect of introducing into school control the same concepts, the same system, the same policies, as factory employers and managers of commercial and industrial institutions have so unwisely established in factory systems, thereby reducing all business to a purely mechanical basis without heart, brain or spirit. This utter absence of individualism, absence of democratic relations and institutions, this formalism, this mechanical spirit, have had a terrible effect not only upon teachers in the high, grammar and graded schools, but upon the boys and girls who attend these schools. There has been a tendency to standardize education and individuals, to make every one conform to a conventional pattern that has been detrimental to the initiative, power, resourcefulness that ought to be cultivated at the sacrifice of everything else.

But the teachers of the present day are feeling the impulse of freedom. They are catching glimpses of new ideals, a wider and better life, a better and holier opportunity and they are at the same time beginning to understand how these new ideals can be realized and made agencies of power. They are beginning to feel the throb of independence and they know that they hold within their own hands the power to help themselves. And with it all are becoming better teachers, most competent, reliable caretakers of the children whom the people place under their direction. As a consequence they are turning toward organization. There have been organizations of teachers in existence for several years. The Teachers' Federation of Chicago was organized in 1897 and has proved beneficial and effective in bettering conditions for the teachers of Chicago. Last year the teachers of Cleveland attempted to organize and they met the despotic opposition of a school board that threatened to blacklist any teacher who belonged to an organization. The Cleveland School Board adopted rules requiring teachers to give up their right to belong to organizations they wished to join. As the result of that order of the school board, court proceedings were instituted and are still pending.

The Chicago Board of Education has recently adopted similar rules.

But the teachers of Chicago did not tamely submit to this unwarranted invasion of their rights as free men and women. They took up their fight for justice, for liberty and their rights. The Chicago Federation of Labor has and is supporting them in their praiseworthy purpose. The representatives of that organization and the President of the American Federation of Labor joined with the teachers in a mass meeting of the citizens of Chicago to protest against the action of the Chicago School Board and to demand for the teachers their rights. The executive head of Chicago has attempted to introduce another issue in the situation complicating it. He has charged the teachers' organization with undue political activity and attempting to interfere with and influence the actions of the city council. By so doing he has taken the same position as some of the administrative agents of our federal government, past and present, who have forbidden employees under the civil service to exercise their political rights and to take an active part in political questions. These policies deny to civil service employees the benefits and the rights of free citizenship and the franchise. In some departments it amounts virtually to a gag-rule.

This is the sort of policy the mayor and the council of Chicago are attempting to fasten upon the public schools of the city. It is a most pernicious system which if allowed to fasten itself upon the civic life, must surely undermine the institutions and freedom of the citizens.

The notion is altogether too prevalent among some public officials that when a citizen becomes a public employe he thereby renounces all rights of citizenship, particularly the right of the exercise of the franchise, and the right of petition for the redress of wrongs and for the attainment of rights. Against such a notion we can not remain quiescent but must and do enter our solemn and emphatic protest. There is no way to aim more directly at the freedom of the wage-earners and the masses of the people than through suppression of the individuality, the thought and the activities of the teachers.



The educational tendency is toward freedom and adaptability, independence, greater opportunity, not only for the teachers but for those who are taught. There are most splendid conceptions of the schools of the future, of an education that shall reach out and up to greater and broader things. That ideal can not be realized with a tyrannical system of school administration—suppressing and thwarting those who control and direct instruction.

The school boards must be big enough and broad enough in mind and heart to comprehend the ideals back of the schools of the future and to exert their influence in school management for the realization of those ideals. If the members of the school board are out of harmony with progress and democracy, it is the business of the citizens to see to it that others are substituted. If this can not be accomplished directly, it must be accomplished by replacing the one who has the appointive power. As the school boards become more powerful, it is essential that control should be democratic and that those in authority should be responsible to the people.

The vital relationship of the common life is industrial. Schools are more and more dealing with industrial problems and matters. Industrial instruction and vocational training are becoming more general. The industrial aspects and relations of all instruction are now recognized and are given greater thought and understanding. This again makes it all the more essential that schools should be upon a democratic basis. As free people we can not tolerate despotism or autocracy or bureaucracy in politics, in social relations, in industry or education. The teachers of our country must not be left behind in the great forward progress toward democratic ideals, greater freedom and greater opportunity. If they are not lost behind they must join in the effort. We can and we will aid, but they must do this thing for themselves.

### EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The matter of providing better educational opportunities for the workers has been under consideration for a long time. The Seattle Convention referred the matter to the Executive Council to establish a lecture bureau and employ expert sociologists in order that the labor movement could make better contributions to the general information of the public, and at the same time furnish intellectual opportunities for the members of the trade unions. The E. C. reported another plan to the Philadelphia Convention which was approved. (See proceedings Philadelphia Convention, pp. 164-5.) But this plan had to be deferred. The great press of work during the year, the innumerable conferences and the many demands made upon the time of President Gompers, at as well as away from headquarters, made it impossible to carry out the plan which had been endorsed by the Philadelphia Convention. When he realized that it was impossible for him to carry out this plan, he decided that by issuing circulars to the organizers and the various organizations in the A. F. of L. he would be able to give them information and assistance that would carry out the spirit of the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention, if not the letter. Accordingly during the year the following were issued:

1. To the organizers of the A. F. of L., circulars dealing particularly with the principles of the Clayton Antitrust Act and calling attention to the information throwing light upon that law and calling attention to efforts to discredit it.
2. A circular informing organizers of a pamphlet dealing with the makeup, achievements and aspirations of the labor movement, analyzed into subjects giving the pages on which the subjects could be found for the greater convenience of the organizers. This pamphlet was, as stated, issued and has been much in demand, not only by the members of organized labor, but by students and all those interested in the trade union movement.
3. Another circular called attention to the report of the legislative committee of the A. F. of L., which was published in the April, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*. It is particularly desirable that organizers should be informed as to the important facts in this report, for it furnishes them with valuable material for presenting achievements of the labor movement and for answering opponents.
4. In July a circular was issued urging upon organizers the importance of organization, pointing out the peculiar fitness at that time of urging the work of organization and making a special inducement to volunteer organizers for new unions formed.
5. Another circular upon one of the important issues in the labor movement, namely, the attitude of the A. F. of L. upon the eight-hour day. This circular called attention to articles published in the *American Federationist* which would be helpful to organizers in

studying the issue and urged upon them the necessity for discussing this matter in such a manner as to promote a better and more general understanding of fundamental principles of the trade union movement.

We have reached the conclusion that the most important and most practical policy the A. F. of L. can undertake at present for educational work among the members of organized labor and to the yet unorganized workers is to put at the disposal of the organizers, information and assistance that will enable them to perform their work better, to keep in touch with discussions of affairs affecting the workers, to be better able to present matters in lectures, talks and discussions for the benefit of the labor movement, all the workers and the general public.

The officers and the organizers are the instrumentalities through which the ideals and policies of the organization to a large extent are carried out and made effective in the common life of the people. Every organizer constitutes a center of incalculable influence, radiating in all directions and having a determining effect upon the work for organization. We have been trying to work out ways to carry out this educational thought.

In a circular issued to the organizers in the month of August, President Gompers presented the matter to the organizers and asked them to write to headquarters whenever they were in need of information or materials for study or any special assistance in studying or understanding the policies of the trade union movement. He furthermore offered to render to the best of his ability assistance to organizers who wished help in preparing special speeches or preparing talks to be given in the regular course of their duties, and offered to secure for them all obtainable information.

The resources of the A. F. of L. are limited, and there are already many heavy demands made upon our officers, but despite a full appreciation of these difficulties, the great importance of the work determined President Gompers to make at least a beginning along these lines. The organizers wishing to avail themselves of this assistance in organizing work, were asked to designate the particular nature of their request by writing at the head of their letter "Information for Organizers." It is earnestly hoped that this plan will develop into an effective and a practical educational agency which will strengthen the general labor movement.

#### *Seattle Plan*

Another field for educational work has revealed itself during the past year. The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention a rather extensive plan for an A. F. of L. library as directed by the Seattle Convention. In view of the fact that the A. F. of L. had little money to expend for this purpose, the plan was formulated upon the theory that co-operation with existing organizations and associations would result in much helpful information and assistance with a minimum of expense. This plan provided for accumulation of information upon the relations between workers and art, poetry and literature generally. It suggested the possibility of establishing co-operation with students of economics, sociology and law and with organizations of graduate students of these various subjects, as well as with institutions throughout the country that gathered information of interest to the workers. However, the Philadelphia Convention considered the plan too elaborate for the present means of the A. F. of L., and recommended that something simpler be tried.

During the year there was developed in Seattle, Washington, an effort of the workers to solve this educational problem for themselves. As their plan had grown out of their own needs and is thoroughly democratic and practical, it will probably be a suggestion to other central bodies and organizations that are considering educational work. The Central Labor Council of Seattle was very favorably impressed with the report which the E. C. made to the Seattle Convention upon this subject and determined to follow out the work along the lines planned. The Central Body appointed an Educational Commission to devise plans and methods. The subcommittee on social science of the Commission provided for a lecture course on labor problems to be given by the members of the faculty of the University of Washington. These lectures were given in the Labor Temple and were under the joint control of the Educational Commission and the university extension division of the University. The Educational Commission, of course, was composed entirely of members of organized labor.

Another subcommittee had the subject of literature and arts. The work of this committee included music. A labor chorus and a music study club were organized. This

subcommittee wrote to the headquarters of the A. F. of L. for assistance in regard to securing art exhibits in Seattle and information about labor in art. The Educational Commission also wrote for suggestions and information in regard to the labor literature, choruses, poetry, bibliography, lists of art work, information in regard to organization of teachers, and various kinds of specialized information.

The A. F. of L. secured from the Library of Congress a bibliography of literature written by the workers. However, the bibliography is not at all complete or satisfactory. It seems that that work can best be done by interested students and by the workers themselves. One of the most feasible plans is to interest graduate students who are doing research work and enlist their co-operation in the compilation of bibliographies of labor literature. This can be done by the trade unions and central bodies in university towns or communities. A presentation of this matter to those in authority will probably elicit the sympathy and co-operation of humanitarian instructors and students. The great human value of this work is of an appealing nature that would inspire the enthusiasm and the industrious research of many. It is not easy work or quick work, but if many students can make even small contributions, the sum total of what each can contribute will make a valuable bibliography. Of course, the only way to secure a final compilation of the work of all of the students would be for every central body that undertakes work or secures information of this character, to forward copies of their information to the headquarters of the A. F. of L. where the whole could be tabulated and prepared for the use of all of the workers of the country.

Another practical method and one that would secure considerable valuable information is for every worker who has knowledge of a book, poem, an essay or any piece of literature written by a worker, descriptive of or dedicated to the workers, to send that information to the A. F. of L. offices. The same plan is practical in connection with music, songs, and art. There is a great mass of information in the minds of many of the workers, but it is so scattered that it is not available for general use. The problem is to collect the bits of information that are in the minds of many people and the result, no doubt, would be extremely valuable.

#### *Workers' Educational Association*

The Educational Commission of Seattle furthermore requested information in regard to the Workers' Educational Associations of England and Australia. We have at headquarters information through the newspaper clippings, etc. In order to secure more accurate and more comprehensive data of the organization and the operation of these associations, President Gompers wrote to Professor Meredith Atkinson, President of the Workers' Educational Association of Australia asking him to send information that would be helpful to the workers of the United States. A most sympathetic letter was received from President Atkinson in which he promised his fullest co-operation for the attainment of our common purpose. The information, of course, when received will be put at the service of all of the workers of the country who desire to undertake similar work. In addition, President Gompers endeavored to secure information from the English Association, as well as information of the relations of the workers of England to Ruskin College.

These Workers' Educational Associations are democratic organizations of workers who desire more extensive training, and wish to continue their studies while at work. The workers adapt the instruction to suit their own needs. They choose their courses and their instructors. In England and Australia this movement has opened up educational opportunities for all of the people, even those who have previously been debarred from such opportunities in their earlier lives, and because of their distance from educational institutions. It is of the nature of university extension work, only the extension work is under the control of the workers and adapted to their needs and interests.

#### *Labor in Art*

Efforts of the A. F. of L. to secure the co-operation of artists in this educational work resulted in an offer, both generous and practical, from Albert J. Kennedy of Boston. Mr. Kennedy offered to enlist the help of the authorities of the Boston Museum in securing bibliographies and other information. He proposed that he be authorized to get together an A. F. of L. subcommittee, or a committee to work under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. for the compilation of a descriptive bibliography of pictures, prints and illustrations dealing with workingmen, their wives, and families. He suggested that about half a dozen persons

would be a good number to undertake this research, and suggested the names of well-known men in this country. In his opinion this committee should consist of several representatives from America, together with representatives in the art centers of Europe. He thought that the information foremost in men's minds could be elicited within a few months, or perhaps a year, but that it would take several years to make an exhaustive study necessary to investigate the whole field.

The plan presented proposed that the committee give its services free and pay its own incidental expenses with no expense at all to the A. F. of L. However, it was deemed worth while, or at least helpful to have a simple letterhead as a credential for the committee, authorizing the use of the names of the A. F. of L. This plan was submitted to and approved by us.

Every effort to increase the educational activities of the labor movement and to provide new opportunities for information has met with a most hearty response from the officers and rank and file of the labor movement. The educational influences radiating from the headquarters of the trade union movement, have extended not only throughout the movement itself, but to various other educational and informational organizations. During the year there have been many requests from thinkers, students, public men and writers for information in regard to the functions and purposes of the A. F. of L. This all reflects an increasing appreciation of the power that exists in our economic organization and the tremendous influence that it wields upon the minds and the affairs of daily life.

### DEMOCRATIZATION OF SCHOOLS

Vocational training and industrial education are an indication of the character and direction of the dynamic forces underlying twentieth century civilization. Power now consists in control over materials. Men no longer dominate by political or religious controls, but because of their superior ability to coordinate physical forces and material resources. Power, whether national or individual, is commensurate with the extent and the intensity of economic control.

The true function of education is to develop personal powers and to give the individual control over himself so that he may have confidence in himself and may use his ability to the best advantage. The previous educational methods which have not by any means been replaced by the newer ideals, dealt primarily with abstractions. That education dealt altogether with the idealational. It ignored the daily experiences of the girl or boy, or man or woman. It appealed to that small percentage of people who desired truths for their own sake, to whom only the esoteric appeals. The ideals for the schools of the future, the movement for the new education, includes even more than vocational and industrial education—it begins with the very fundamentals of mental training. This education begins with those things which appeal to the child and arouses his curiosity in the daily life, the actual material things with which he comes in contact. These things the schools of the future are to explain to the child in order that he may have full and complete understanding of his daily life and thereby be master of himself and his environment because he knows how to coordinate his own powers. Flowers, fruits, animals, pieces of furniture, are all marvelous and wonderful objects to the child; they appeal to his curiosity; they stir him because he knows they are real. These should be the first things with which education deals; abstractions should be introduced in connection with realities.

Arithmetic, reading, spelling, and knowledge of the forces that have created the earth and its present geological stage can all be reached by using materials and the surroundings of every-day life as starting points. As the child grows older these objects of study naturally lead up to productive activity and the next stage is reached which is industrial and then vocational instruction. The effect of this sort of education will be to lay the basis for economic democracy, a democracy in which each individual will have equal opportunity. It will develop the highest ability of which the individual is capable and will enable him to approach a realization of that ideal self that always urges the individual on to greater progress.

A comparison of the various countries of today shows that the country that has the greatest power is the country that has the best control over its material and natural resources, and whose citizens have the deepest and fullest earth-knowledge.

If men and women are to retain sound bodies and sane, wholesome minds, they must be close to the earth; if society is to base its institutions and relations upon true values, it must have a deep understanding and firm grip on the earth and its forces. Only this

knowledge can save from mistake, wasted national heritages and the fate that awaits all artificial superstructions.

National resources can be utilized, developed and conserved when each individual is a conscious, responsible participator, and has the surest coordination over his own powers and the best and surest grip on those things which are a part of his daily life, and on the tools of production. Previously, education in our country and in the majority of countries has been of the type that has produced the wasters and exploiters instead of creators, conservators, statesmen in all of the phases of life.

Financial and industrial control has been built upon a fictitious basis with little regard for real values. The demand for the new ideals of education is part of the world old struggle for freedom. Those who were denied opportunity are endeavoring to assert their claims to opportunities and rights. Whatever impairs educational opportunities impairs possibilities and opportunities throughout life.

The older ideals of education have stultified many and have maimed their intellectual existence. These older ideals have little regard for the masses, those who are the world's creators and producers. It is from these that the demand comes for an education that will open up to them great vistas of opportunities—opportunities that will lead out into a life of tremendous power that shall mean the subduing of the physical resources of the world, an absolute control over the tools of production, as well as ability to utilize the earth's materials, thus freeing the spirit by assuring the materials of a better civilization.

In our country the first educational demand of the workers was for schools for all of the people. As a result of that came our public school system. Now the people demand that the instruction given in the public schools shall be adapted to their needs and interests, to the needs of those who are the creators and producers. As a result of this demand there are throughout the country the beginnings of industrial and vocational education.

The leader in this movement for the mental freedom of the people, and for opportunities for them to coordinate their mental and physical powers so as to get the most out of life, has been the A. F. of L. Few realize fully what our Federation has done, but it has been the force to which the people and the teachers in the schools have appealed in their efforts to overcome the older methods, practices and standards that hamper efforts for greater freedom. Some of the evidences of the power and the efforts exerted by the A. F. of L. are found in our reports and various other documents upon the subject of vocational and industrial education.

In 1903 a committee of the A. F. of L. was appointed to consider what the trade unions themselves could do to secure from the public schools the sort of education needed to enable them to attain the greatest development of their own powers, the best coordination of mind and muscle, and to grow into the fullest and deepest appreciation of the meaning and possibilities of life.

Another committee on education was appointed in 1904, others in 1905 and 1906. In 1907 the A. F. of L. at its annual convention endorsed all efforts for the purpose of introducing better and more extensive industrial education, and for teaching the technique of various industries.

In 1908 the committee on education reported the splendid progress accomplished along the lines of industrial education, and submitted to the convention resolutions which stated that industrial education is necessary and inevitable for the progress of an industrial people.

Industrial education and vocational training were before the convention of 1909, at which time our President stated in his report that the A. F. of L. favored public industrial education, but opposed a narrowly specialized training under the control of private interests.

To the 1909 convention of the A. F. of L., the President again submitted that technical education of the workers preparatory for work in the trades and industries was a matter of national concern, and it should, therefore, not be regarded as a private but as a public function to be controlled by the public and at public expense.

In 1910 the A. F. of L. published a preliminary report on industrial education and vocational training in conformity with a resolution of the convention held in Denver, 1908.

The special committee on education appointed by the 1909 convention of the A. F. of L. asked for an extension of time in order that it might use its influence to have the United States Bureau of Labor undertake an investigation of the general subject of industrial and vocational training, not only in the United States but in other countries. The Bureau of Labor undertook that investigation and made a report.

In 1911 the A. F. of L. endorsed a bill in Congress providing for national aid in establishing vocational education in the public schools of the country. Since that date up to the present time, the A. F. of L. has consistently and unremittably advocated the establishment of industrial and vocational education in the public schools.

Documentary proof that organized labor has been actively agitating for the institution of public industrial and vocational education, is spread through the annual reports of every convention held by the A. F. of L. from 1903 to the present time.

In 1912 in accord with the recommendation of the A. F. of L.'s special committee on industrial and vocational education, the Executive Council authorized Mr. Charles H. Winslow, to prepare a final report for the committee. This report was submitted to the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L.

The United States Senate ordered the report of the A. F. of L. Committee on Industrial Education printed as a government document.

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly gone on record in favor of a nation wide development of industrial education and vocational training through schools supported and controlled by the public and adapted to the determined needs of the community.

It did this through its support of the Davis-Dolliver, Dolliver, Page, and Page-Wilson bills, all of which provided for educational co-operation between the state and federal government, and for state and federal control and supervision of public industrial education.

It not only favored, but strongly urged, the appointment of a national commission to study the question of federal aid to vocational education.

The A. F. of L. desires to direct public instruction according to the ideals that shall give the individual power over his abilities, make available his resources of mind and character, and shall result in ability to coordinate physical power at the same time as it aims at the culture of the mind and senses. It desires an education that will be practical, cultural and inspired by a reverent search for values. This new education necessitates teachers with the new ideals, teachers who understand not only the technique of the mind, but the technique of tools.

With every opportunity there is, of course, accompanying dangers. With this new education a menace may come through its perversion and through its manipulation to suit special interests and the ideals of the old exploiters. If the new education is to further democracy, to promote progress for all, it must be under the control of the people. It must be that which will give to the individuals a guide into the great world of life and work. The people must watch carefully that school management and school control do not permit the building up of barriers that shall make for separation into classes or the establishment of any set of customs that shall make invidious distinctions between types of education.

The school system of our country must be under unified control and must recognize as a fundamental and universal principle that it is to serve the creators and the producers, and that between producers there is little distinction because after all what gives a producer of any kind value is that he has been able to coordinate his mental ability with his physical ability. Our so-called distinction between manual and mental workers is of degree rather than kind. The value of citizens which all our national and social agencies seek to produce, is creative ability and power to interpret the things of life, and to use tools and materials so as to promote the best interests and welfare of themselves and their fellows.

We therefore recommend:

1. Continuance of the effort to secure the highest and best form of education—academic, industrial and vocational.
2. That education is a public function to be borne at public cost.
3. The passage of a law by the federal Congress embodying these principles.
4. The right of teachers to have the fullest opportunity for self-development and mutual aid.
5. The right of teachers to self-expression by association for their individual and collective protection and welfare.

Your attention should be called to the recommendations which the United States Industrial Relations' Commission made. We quote them as follows:

"1. Compulsory daytime continuation schools for all children in industry between the ages of 14 and 18 years, for not less than five hours per week at the expense of their employers.



"2. Night schools for all persons over 18 years of age, who are desirous of further educational opportunities either cultural or vocational.

"3. Standards of efficiency for teachers.

"4. Joint state control in administration of vocational education by public school authorities, organized labor, and organized employers, with equal representation.

"5. The Federal board to establish some model schools for industrial training in agriculture and vocations, as examples to the several states."

While the recommendations in a general way commend themselves, yet there is one feature to which consideration should be given, that is, that they imply a dual authority and administration of the schools. It is one for serious consideration, and the convention should authorize further investigation upon this feature before committing our movement to it.

## REPORT OF UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The appointment of the federal Commission on Industrial Relations to investigate industrial relations, and to make recommendations for the purpose of removing evils and bettering harmful conditions, was recognized by the representatives of the labor movement as an unusual opportunity to get before the people of this country the problems and the issues with which the wage-earners have to contend, and to bring about a better understanding of the ideals and purposes of the trade union movement. It was for this reason that we insisted and secured representation on that commission for men who were of the labor movement and who understood it. These representatives were James O'Connell, John B. Lennon and Austin B. Garretson, who did splendid service for the cause of labor and humanity and whose ideals were so high and their insistence upon them so vigorous, that even the commissioners least favorable to provisions for human protection and welfare were forced to enlarge their concepts.

That we were not mistaken in our policy was demonstrated when the methods of the commission became manifest through their public hearings. The labor representatives on the commission refused to be bound by precedent and red tape, but endeavored to get at the heart of the matter by eliminating all unessentials. When the chairman of the commission endorsed their position and joined them, the investigations of the commission became direct, thorough and effective.

The labor commissioners and the chairman refused to be defeated by equivocation, refusal to testify or the mannerisms of witnesses. Other commissions had attempted to investigate similar questions but had failed because they followed conventional lines, and because they regarded academic information rather than the feeling and the motives that make the industrial world and its problems what they are.

The commission worked upon the theory that industrial problems can only be solved by arousing the will and conscience of the American people and conducted their public hearings in conformity with this policy. They proceeded upon the theory that not only their final report and their written declarations would be helpful in accomplishing the task assigned them, but that the most powerful influence could be exerted by enabling those individuals that had first-hand information to get their stories to the American people. This policy caused criticism from some sources because it was not molded upon judicial procedure, but the chairman as well as the members of the commission knew that judicial ethics and judicial precedents have thus far failed to establish industrial justice, and they knew that they had to do away with all formalism in order to get at the heart of the matter. The hearings that have been held in various parts of the country have been of tremendous human interest. They have revealed the daily lives of the people of all walks of life and their relations with their fellow men. The testimony given in these hearings carried with it the conviction of actual experiences and existing misery.

Because the commission did not follow conventional lines and so presented facts and materials that are usually carefully suppressed and are not available to the masses of the people, there was initiated against the commission and directed particularly against the chairman, a campaign for the purpose of discrediting in advance the final report and for placing a light valuation upon the work the commission was doing. However, the labor movement, as well as all citizens who have

sympathy and understanding of the lives of the wage-earners, united in a determined effort to defeat this campaign and to make known their approval of the policy that the commission had followed.

Few can appreciate the power of the forces brought to bear upon Chairman Walsh and the labor representatives, Messrs. O'Connell, Lennon and Garretson, to make them deviate from their sincere endeavor to present the causes that underlie industrial injustice in the country but they were true to their principles and to the cause of labor. Their practical experience, judgment and determination brought to light many wrongs and injustices that might otherwise have been concealed or overlooked. It was largely through the labor press of the country and the declarations of the representatives of the labor movement that the campaign to discredit the work of the commission was halted and its purpose revealed. It was particularly opportune that at that time the commission was hearing evidence showing how the power of the employers was used to influence the press, the informational agencies of our country and even our schools and universities. The report of the commission deals with so many different subjects and makes so many recommendations that it is impossible for us to make a definite and general declaration in regard to its specific recommendations. However, we can not endorse too emphatically the tone and spirit of the report. The fundamental thought is that the wage-earners must work out their own salvation according to their own best judgment and ideals, and that society must secure to them the right to organize to accomplish this purpose and the right to activities necessary in that effort. With many of the recommendations made in the report of the chairman and the labor members of the commission we are in most hearty sympathy and accord.

As was to be expected in a commission composed of representatives of various groups of citizens, there is no unity or agreement in their recommendations; however, so irrefutable and so convincing were the evidence and the facts adduced in the hearings of this commission that even the commissioners who manifestly represented the interests of the employers did not venture to make recommendations condemning trade unions.

The work of the federal Commission on Industrial Relations has been of tremendous educational value. Their report and the hearings before that body constitute a valuable fund of information upon existing industrial conditions. This information ought to be available to all and should be given the widest possible publicity.

For this reason we recommend that this convention urge upon the Sixty-fourth Congress to make the report and the hearings before the commission public documents and have these documents published in such quantities as to be available for the use of students and all those interested in labor questions, readily accessible to all these desiring the information, and we recommend that the delegates to this convention be urged to present this matter to the organizations which they represent and to secure co-operation of their own organizations that shall add weight to the demands made upon Congress.

#### BOARD OF MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION

At the end of their report upon the various matters that have been referred to it by the Philadelphia Convention, the committee on adjustments recommended a resolution providing for the establishment of an American Federation of Labor Board of Conciliation and Mediation. The purpose that the committee had in mind was to conserve the time of the convention by adjusting jurisdictional disputes during the year and thereby reducing the number to be brought to the attention of the convention. The resolutions as proposed by the committee on adjustments provides for a permanent board of mediation and conciliation, consisting of three members.

After a general discussion of this resolution the subject-matter was referred to us for consideration and for report to this convention. We gave careful consideration to this plan, and are of the opinion that the proposition is impracticable and is not calculated to bring about the best results. It is not in harmony with the spirit that has characterized all of the work of the A. F. of L., and has insured its success and continued usefulness. That spirit upon which so much depends is the absolute absence of any element of compulsion. The plans, policies and decisions that are adopted and followed, are voluntarily endorsed by those whom they affect. There is a spontaneity and a flexibility about the trade union movement that enables it to adapt itself to every changing condition, every new development, and to serve the best interests of the wage-earners. It is so flexible and adjustable that it is part of their lives and changes as their daily needs change.

The plan proposed by the committee on adjustments provides for a permanent board whose functions shall be mediation and conciliation. The plan is modeled after various suggestions looking toward compulsory conciliation and mediation and government organizations for that purpose. There seems to be no reason to think that any permanent and more or less mechanical agency would be more effective in the work of conciliation and mediation between the various organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. than is the method that has enabled us to build up our present degree of power and success and to adjust difficulties as they develop between organizations.

At the present time, every officer every member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and the more than seventeen hundred commissioned organizers are conciliators and mediators whose duty it is to try constantly to adjust disputes and difficulties that may arise between the organizations united together in the A. F. of L. To establish a special board to perform this function would result in making all of these various active members of the labor movement who are in touch with it throughout the country feel that the responsibility had been located in the new agency and that they were more or less relieved from the duties that have previously devolved upon them. This could not but decrease the effectiveness of the work that is being done at present.

A great porportion of the time and attention of the officers is devoted to just the kind of work that is set forth in the resolution. Under our present system people are selected to act in each dispute for jurisdictional claims who are most likely to bring about an adjustment. The success of their work must result in their securing the consent and the co-operation of the organizations concerned. This element for success would be materially lessened in power and effectiveness by the proposed permanent department of conciliation and mediation.

There is no power vested in the labor movement to compel agreement of any organization to any finding or award of conciliators and mediators. Therefore, the proposed plan would weaken our present methods and would add nothing that would make for greater progress and better adjustment of relations between affiliated organizations.

### UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Conditions and difficulties that could not have been foreseen have made it impossible to accomplish material results in regard to all of the matters that were referred to the Executive Council by the last convention. In order to secure the best results and make the greatest progress for the wage-earners, it has been necessary to use discretion in determining those things which were of greatest importance in order to concentrate efforts upon them.

Among the subjects upon which no substantial progress can be reported are:

- The Effect of Machinery on Unemployment.
- The Legal Department of the A. F. of L.
- National Bureau of Unemployment.
- Social Insurance.
- World Congress of Unemployment.

From this enumeration, it will be seen that some of these matters are connected with meetings that could not be held because of the European war. The problems that would have been discussed at these meetings and the plans that might have been proposed will be taken up at a later and more opportune time.

In regard to the other subjects requiring an investigation under the direction of the A. F. of L., it is only necessary to refer to the limited funds available for all purposes and to state that it seemed best to use whatever resources we had for immediate and direct purposes of organization.

### CONCLUSION

The report that we make of the year's work is representative of the labor movement. It demonstrates the steady forward movement of the wage-earners; it indicates progress and the character, the qualities and the policies that insure progress; it reveals opportunities, unfinished work, new problems, and it shows that there is the will and the way to take advantage of everything that may aid the workers—the masses; and to deal with

situations, conditions and problems as they arise, in such a way as to make for the best progress of all. The trade union movement—the American Federation of Labor—is a living thing. It can not finish and finally decide upon anything; in its work and aspirations there is no finality—no stopping point; it must plan and do for today in order to create greater opportunities for the morrow. Everything is in a state of development, of progress, and the great thing is to keep open the way to opportunity and to retain freedom to do those things which shall enable us to reach out after and achieve the better and larger ideals of a truer justice, a fuller freedom, a broader humanity.

The work that has been accomplished during the past year would not have been possible without the co-operation of the organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L., and the members of these affiliated organizations. There has been a splendid response to every appeal and suggestion and most hearty co-operation to further the interests of all. It has been our purpose throughout the year to make every agency and every opportunity serve the economic organization and promote its growth and power. The power that the wage-earners have is due to their productive function in industry, agriculture and commerce. By controlling their productive power they can secure for themselves the place and recognition in society that they ought to have. Economic organization is the thing. Therefore, the direct purpose of all activities of the A. F. of L. has been to further economic organization.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS

*President*

JAMES DUNCAN

*First Vice-President*

JAMES O'CONNELL

*Second Vice-President*

DENIS A. HAYES

*Third Vice-President*

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE

*Fourth Vice-President*

JOHN R. ALPINE

*Fifth Vice-President*

H. B. PERHAM

*Sixth Vice-President*

FRANK DUFFY

*Seventh Vice-President*

WILLIAM GREEN

*Eighth Vice-President*

JOHN B. LENNON

*Treasurer*

FRANK MORRISON

*Secretary*

*Executive Council*

*American Federation of Labor*

## APPENDIX

### BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Secretary-Treasurer William J. Spencer submitted the following report of the Building Trades Department for the past year:

There appears to be evidence of a revival in building operations from the slump prevailing in the industry last year, and an improvement in conditions will undoubtedly be general throughout the country. It is the announced opinion of all writers on the subject that an unusual and prolonged boom is imminent. A complete recovery from the paralysis that has firmly gripped the building business will be welcomed by all, and especially by the international unions known as the "Building Trades."

Without doubt the past year has been one of the most disastrous we have been called upon to face in recent years, and has produced a state of demoralization unknown since the panic in the early nineties, so that the promise of relief by an expansion of building operations is not only cheering but seems to be well founded. Increased activity at this time will make for stronger and better unions, with a correspondingly increased interest in the welfare of our organizations, while finally, and what is most essential, a period of more steady employment is in prospect for our members throughout the country.

In our last annual report mention was made of a prospective amalgamation of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers with the Operative Plasterers' International Association. The department has continued to exercise its efforts in this direction, and in consonance therewith General President McGivern of the Operative Plasterers gave assurance to the last convention that he would file with the Department a tentative plan of amalgamation for submission to the Cement Workers. This was done in due time, and the document was referred in turn for the approval of the Cement Workers.

While no detailed report has been officially communicated to the Department, still so far as we are able to learn a mutually satisfactory agreement has been reached by both parties, the terms of which provide that the Cement Finishers are to become members of the Operative Plasterers and the unskilled workmen, members of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, are to join the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, in accordance with the decision of the American Federation of Labor. Practical confirmation of this report is contained in a communication from F. C. Gengenback, past president of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.

The accomplishment of our joint efforts to bring about harmonious adjustment of trade differences between the parties herewith referred to is the culmination of our purpose instituted but four years ago, in which time consolidation has been effected in the wood-working trades, the pipe trades, the plastic trades, and among important groups of building laborers.

During the past year a determined attempt was made to institute a series of dual or rival local councils to those chartered by the Department. Leadership in these movements is commonly believed to rest with parties having no affiliation with the A. F. of L. coupled with others holding membership in a few of our affiliated unions who have interpreted the much talked of "offensive and defensive alliance," as a plan to be duplicated locally in rivalry to our chartered councils.

So soon as the undesirable agitation was drawn to our attention, we requested the co-operation of the A. F. of L., and our affiliated internationals, which jointly rendered substantial assistance, with the result that the plan to divide our local unions in different groups hostile to each other was rendered abortive to such an extent that no serious effort has been put forth to disrupt or destroy the efficiency of the local councils that are working under a charter issued by the Building Trades Department.

On the presentation of our last report mention was made of the manner in which the Executive Council was selected by the previous convention of the Department. Necessarily the adoption of the general rules governing departments caused an abandonment of the experimental arrangements and a return to the plan previously in vogue, by which seven members representing seven different internationals are selected to officiate as the E. C. In so far as we are enabled to judge, there is no sentiment expressed against the original plan, and our return to it by direction of the last convention seems to give uniform satisfaction to all affiliated international unions.

Pursuant to direction of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., held at Philadelphia, the Building Trades Department, whose yearly meeting followed, adopted the "General Rules Governing Departments of the A. F. of L.," as contained in Article XV of the General Constitution.

The belief prevails throughout the "Building Trades" that the rules governing departments were the result of deep and earnest study, in which the thought to be helpful to the subordinate bodies was uppermost. Especially was it felt to be the case that international unions which had previously refused to identify themselves with the departments to which they are eligible would be expected promptly to take up membership, for the greater development of the labor movement in general and for the encouragement of the several departments in the achievement of their proper functions in particular. In this sense the formulation and adoption of the "General Rules" has fallen short of the intent in so far as the Building Trades Department is concerned, as instanced in the following case.

It will be remembered that repeated reports have been made to the A. F. of L. that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners failed to affiliate with the Building Trades Department in accordance with the general law on the subject, and that organization has not yielded to the influence contained in the provisions of Article XV. Instead of the ready compliance to be expected of an international union, loyal to the labor movement as exemplified by the A. F. of L. the union in question has entered into and maintained reciprocal relationship with an organization whose course in many respects has been antagonistic to the A. F. of L.

The attitude of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners toward this Department, and to the "Governing Rules" as laid down by the last convention of the A. F. of L., is manifest in a communication from the general secretary, which I prefer in the interest of our movement not to quote. If necessary, however, it will be at the service of all who are interested.

To one feature of Secretary Duffy's letter it is necessary to refer. He on behalf of the brotherhood appealed to this Department from a decision reached by the Building Trades Council of Indianapolis, Ind. That council imposed three fines upon the Carpenters' local unions of the brotherhood. The E. C. of our Department decided that inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was not a part of the Department, the right of appeal to the Department did not exist, since it had no jurisdiction. It should be stated that the letter of Secretary Duffy clearly indicates that the brotherhood has not become reconciled to the Department through the adoption of the general rules as was expected by the delegates to the last convention.

Furthermore, the general rules provide that an international union *may* affiliate with departments of secondary vocational interest, in which case it shall be required to pay per capita tax only upon 20 per cent of its general membership. The exercise of this option has embarrassed the Department by reducing its revenues without furnishing relief by the acceptance of voluntary membership on the part of organizations having primary vocational interest in the Building Trades Department. A deficit in our funds has resulted which must be made good either by the enforced membership of eligible unions on the part of the A. F. of L., or the imposition of a higher per capita tax rate by the Department. The adoption of either of these recommendations is necessary, for while the funds of the Department are ample to cover all routine expenses at this time, still our revenues are falling as a result of the restrictions placed upon the departments by the last convention.

Without doubt compulsory membership is the most desirable, since it will not only provide sufficient receipts for the maintenance of the Department, but it will at the same time cause each international union to bear its proper share of the responsibility which the continuance of the body involves.



It is admitted that the departments have rendered a valuable service to the A. F. of L., the statements of dissenters notwithstanding. In justice then to the departments, encouragement should be extended even to the point of enforced membership of eligible organizations, more especially when their only genuine reason for defiance of constituted law is studied refusal to comply with such decisions as may be rendered with regard to their particular jurisdictional claims.

The opinion is freely expressed by the rank and file of the unions of the building trades that there should be no hesitancy in dealing firmly with recalcitrant organizations when urging an observance of law, especially since a display of positive firmness by the officials of the A. F. of L. on two previous occasions resulted in enforced membership on the part of influential unions in this Department.

An application of the same rule at this time would doubtless be attended with similar success, and would put an end for all time to the argument that certain organizations, because of their numerical strength, can openly disregard their functional duties as members of the A. F. of L.

In compliance with the instructions of the last convention, the officers of the Department extended their fullest co-operation towards the submission of the federal Eight-Hour law for review to the Attorney General of the United States, and especially for an interpretation more in harmony with the intent of the law as passed by Congress.

President Gompers, though deeply engrossed with his manifold duties, gave freely of his time to the subject-matter, and conducted the negotiations through the many ramifications with commendable zeal and as rapidly as so complicated a case would permit. His report, which is contained in that of the E. C., covers the subject so thoroughly that there is no occasion for our dwelling thereon further than to say we are in complete accord with his presentation of the matter referred to.

Notwithstanding the backward conditions prevailing in the building industry, which have necessarily affected the work of organization, the department succeeded during the past year in organizing local councils in the following cities:

Billings, Mont.  
Columbus, Ohio.  
Hannibal, Mo.  
Joliet, Ill.  
Johnstown, Pa.  
Long Island, N. Y. (rechartered.)  
Mansfield, Ohio.  
Shreveport, La.  
Lynn, Mass. (rechartered.)

The financial condition of the department is shown in the following recapitulation:

Balance on hand August 31, 1914.....	\$7,998.08
Receipts from all sources August 31, 1914, to September 1, 1915.....	15,280.55
	<hr/>
Total current disbursements.....	\$23,278.63
	<hr/>
	18,756.80

Balance on hand August 31, 1915.....	\$4,521.83
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Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) WILLIAM SPENCER,  
Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Dept.

### METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Mr. Albert J. Berres submitted the following report of the work of the Metal Trades Department during the past year:

After the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor Convention, the convention of this Department reconvened and the delegates adopted Article 15 of the A. F. of L. constitution in its entirety but not without some discussion for and against the amended article. Of course, no one could determine what effect the amended article would have

upon the Departments until it became a law. Since March 1 we have had an opportunity to know what internationals affiliated with this Department would take advantage of its provisions. The Engineers and Sheet Metal Workers decided to pay upon 20 per cent of their membership. The Machinists, Boilermakers and Blacksmiths elected the Railway Department as their principal affiliation; the former decided to pay upon 50 per cent of their membership, the latter two upon 20 per cent of their membership into this Department. However, I am pleased to report that upon reconsideration of this matter the last two named organizations have since decided to pay upon their full membership. There are other internationals affiliated, which, if they were so disposed, could take advantage of Article 15, and only pay upon 20 per cent of their membership, for they have elected other Departments as their principal affiliation.

If all that have elected other Departments as their principal affiliation decided to pay upon only 20 per cent of their membership, it would reduce the income of this Department to such an extent as to make it impossible to conduct its affairs as at present, unless the per capita tax was increased. If this was done it would destroy the principle that many had in mind when they voted in favor of amending Article 15, and they would again be paying an amount perhaps equal to one-fourth of a cent upon their full membership.

The lowest limit of the membership upon which internationals can pay per capita tax to Departments in my judgment is not founded or based on facts, because from what we know of the membership of the affiliated internationals to this Department, we believe in every instance there is a larger percentage of the membership or those eligible to membership engaged upon work of a character that focuses their interests in this Department. If the limit was 50 per cent as a general proposition, it would be more in keeping with the facts.

#### *The San Francisco Eight-Hour Agreement*

We have just been informed that the following agreement has been signed by the Metal Trades Council and the officers of the Manufacturers' Association of San Francisco, Cal.:

AGREEMENT made this 27th day of September, 1915, between the California Metal Trades Association and the Iron Trades Council of San Francisco, as follows:

WHEREAS, In a letter submitted to the organizations above mentioned said letter being dated March 30/12, and signed by William Matson, as chairman, and on behalf of the San Francisco Industrial Conciliation Board, there did appear the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That it be suggested to the Metal Trades Association Committee and the Iron Trades Council Committee that they meet together at the earliest possible date, and take as a basis for the purpose of discussing as a possible solution of the existing controversy the feasibility of entering into a five-year contract on an eight-hour basis with the present wage-scale and the privilege on the part of the employers to adopt existing shop conditions most favorable to employers operating in the east.

First: It is agreed that we do accept as a solution of the controversy between the respective organizations the suggestion offered in the resolution herein above quoted, and we do now enter into an agreement on the basis, and subject to the conditions therein stated, and to such other conditions as are set forth in this agreement.

Second: Such grievances as do not relate to the subjects of hours and wages covered by this agreement, which may arise in any shop of the California Metal Trades Association, shall be given consideration as follows:

Upon complaint being made, in writing, by either party to this agreement, the secretary or a duly authorized representative of the California Metal Trades Association and the business representative of the union, or the representative of the Iron Trades Council who may be selected to represent the union, shall immediately proceed to the shop or shops where grievance exists, and endeavor mutually to settle the same.

Any grievance that can not be settled in this manner must be referred to conference, the call and subject for such conference to be made in writing. This conference shall be called within ten days from receipt of notice for the purpose

of adjusting the question at issue, and the conference shall continue without unnecessary delay until the question at issue is settled.

No change shall be made in existing conditions nor any new condition established by either party to this agreement until the same has been agreed upon in conference.

Third: During the life of this agreement there shall be no lockout on the part of the employers nor strike on the part of the employees.

Fourth: The resolution which forms the basis of this agreement in so far as it deals with the wage-scale, shall apply to the machinists' craft, only for a period extending to October 4, 1915, when the minimum wage of that craft shall be raised to \$3.75 per day and continue until December 12, 1915, on and after which the minimum wage of that craft shall be \$4 per day during the life of this agreement.

Fifth: The term of this agreement shall commence on October 4, 1915, and terminate on September 15, 1917, and the signing of this agreement by the authorized representatives of the Iron Trades Council and the California Metal Trades Association shall be accepted as a cancellation of any agreement, that may now exist between the parties to this agreement.

#### *Interpretation of the Eight-Hour Law*

As has been reported on several former occasions, efforts to get the several heads of the Departments of the United States government to interpret the eight-hour law to apply to the production of more articles contracted for has been most difficult but it is pleasing to report after several years of activity and earnest effort on our part, the following decision was made by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy on a contract let for engines for submarine torpedo boats:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,  
August 24, 1915.

"SIR: Referring to your inquiry of the 19th instant concerning the department's decision on the question as to whether the construction by the New London Ship and Engine Company as subcontractor of the Electric Boat Company of the engines for submarine boats for the navy is to be regarded as eight-hour work, I have to advise you that on the 19th instant the Department addressed to the Electrical Boat Company a letter saying:

" 'Heretofore the department, following opinions of a preceding attorney general, has held that the engines for submarines under construction by your subcontractor, the New London Ship and Engine Company, were excepted from the eight-hour rule by the second section of the act as being materials or articles that may usually be purchased in the open market, and not of a kind customarily manufactured by the government, but the view of the attorney general set forth in said opinion makes it plain, as you will see upon perusal thereof, that the engines of submarines fall within the eight-hour restriction, and not within the exceptions therefrom of the second section of the act.

" 'It is requested that you inform your subcontractor, the New London Ship and Engine Company, of the foregoing and instruct that company to observe the requirement of the eight-hour law in the construction of the engines they are now building for submarine boats under contract with you for the navy.

" 'Very respectfully,

(Signed)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,  
Acting Secretary.'

"Mr. A. J. BERRER,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
Metal Trades Department,  
Washington, D. C."

We are hopeful of having other heads of Departments broaden their interpretations, so as to make the law apply more generally to contracts let by their departments.

*The Label for the Metal Trades Department*

To some extent each convention of this Department dealt with the question of a label for the Metal Trades Department but no definite action has been taken. Recently, however, a representative of the International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Worker of America, in endeavoring to bring about organization in the W. A. Ives Manufacturing Company, of Wallingford, Conn., informed the management when the question was asked relative to the use of their label, that the use of the label would only be granted to them if each department was organized. An agreement was drawn up and the use of what they termed the metal trades label was given them. The following international organizations' names appeared on this label:

Metal Polishers, Brass and Silver Workers.  
 International Association of Machinists.  
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.  
 Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers.  
 International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

The whole subject-matter of the agreement with the Ives Company, and the question of adopting a joint metal trades label was laid before the Executive Board of this Department at their recent meeting and it was decided that the label could be used and issued to the Ives Company, and would be recognized until this Department had further opportunity in convention to discuss the advisability of adopting a joint metal trades label. However, it was understood that if the Department adopts a label it could only be issued to employers or corporations where every department in the plant was organized, and in agreement with each international having men of their trades employed. The Executive Board will no doubt make certain recommendations to the coming convention of this Department with reference to the adoption of a joint metal trades label.

*The Abolition of the So-called Efficiency System in Navy Yards and Arsenals*

We have been actively engaged in assisting in the passage of legislation prohibiting the use of any of the so-called efficiency systems in navy yards, naval stations, and arsenals of the United States. While the bill introduced and fathered by Congressman Deitrick of Massachusetts was not passed, the following amendment was incorporated in the Navy and Army bills:

*Provided*, That no part of the appropriations made in this bill shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employe of the United States government while making or causing to be made, with a stop-watch or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employe between the starting and completion thereof or of the movements of any such employe while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this bill be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employe in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any government plant; and no claim for services performed by any person while violating this proviso shall be allowed.

However, this amendment has not been made to apply to the Watertown Arsenal where there was much unrest because of the trying-out of the so-called Taylor system. The work in this arsenal is authorized and the appropriations made for it in the Fortifications Appropriation bill. This bill did not include this amendment and hence it has been held that it does not apply to the Watertown Arsenal. It is, however, our intention to endeavor to place the amendment in the Fortifications bill this year.

*Executive Order, January 15, 1915, Fixing Conditions of Employment Governing Employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Employes*

## CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

By virtue of the authority vested in me, it is hereby ordered:

1. Pursuant to the provision contained in Paragraph 17, of the Executive Order of February 2, 1914, fixing the conditions of employment governing em-

ployes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama, a charge will be made for rent, fuel, and electric current on and after March 1, 1915.

#### RENT

2. Rental will be based on a percentage of the value of the quarters occupied, the rate per centum to be the same for all quarters, and the value of the quarters to be appraised by the Governor of the Panama Canal. The amount to be collected should be sufficient to defray the cost of maintenance of the quarters and grounds, maintenance and renewal of furniture, collection and disposal of garbage, and, for bachelor quarters, janitor service. No charge will be made for water.

#### FUEL

3. Fuel will be sold to employes at cost delivered at quarters.

#### ELECTRIC CURRENT

4. The charge for electric current will be based on the cost of the current, delivered to the quarters. When practicable, the current used will be measured by meters; otherwise a charge will be made for each lamp or other device installed.

5. Where employes for the good of the service are required to live in certain designated quarters, one-half the rental will be remitted.

6. When an officer of the Army or Navy is detailed for duty with the Panama Canal, and the amount of extra compensation of the position he occupies over and above his official salary as an officer of the Army and Navy is not sufficient to cover his rent, he will not be charged for rent, but will receive no extra compensation.

7. The Governor of the Panama Canal is charged with the duty of issuing such instructions as may be necessary to carry out this order, and to fix and change from time to time, if necessary, the rates and charges herein outlined, subject to the general instructions provided.

8. The free use of quarters, free fuel, and free electric current are not, under the conditions of employment now governing, a vested or contract right of employes but revocable privileges, which it has been considered advisable to continue until the permanent force was organized. The revocation of these privileges shall not be made the basis for increasing salaries or wages or otherwise increasing compensation.

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 15, 1915.

(No. 2100.)

Conferences were held with the President of the United States and the Secretary of War on several occasions, at which we protested against these privileges being taken from the Panama Canal employes. Later on a committee arrived in the states from Panama and they too engaged themselves in the campaign to have the executive order set aside and the privileges continued. Later at a conference with the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Labor, and the committee from the Canal Zone, the following recommendations were made to the President of the United States and later was approved by him:

The two secretaries will recommend to the President that the executive order in question be modified by suspending the operations thereof relating to rent, fuel and lights during the period of actual construction of the Panama Canal, but not later than June 30, 1916.

The latter conference developed the fact that the suspension of this order meant a saving to the men of approximately \$259,000. We shall use very effort to have Congress continue the present conditions of employment on the Canal Zone as long as it is necessary to have men employed on the Isthmus.

*Increase in Wages in Arsenals*

The method of fixing the wage rate for employes in the United States Arsenals in a measure is not unlike the methods used by the Navy Department for fixing the wage rate in navy yards, with the exception that the question of an increase in wages in arsenals can be brought up at any time when industrial conditions justify it. Much activity has manifested itself in the arsenals during recent months because of the increase in wages given to the several metal trades engaged in the manufacture of war munitions and as a result wages have increased to some extent in certain arsenals.

In conjunction with the officers of the International Association of Machinists, a request was made of the Secretary of War to change the method to some extent by which the rate of wages is fixed by arsenals. After a protracted conference with him he issued the following order, which at that time was only to apply to the Frankford Arsenal, but later at our request it was made to apply to the Watertown Arsenal. We hope finally to have the order made general.

After giving this matter such consideration as I have been able to give it, I have reached the conclusion that the following would be a fair and just method to pursue:

To secure the information from the establishments in the vicinity, in order to arrive at a determination of the prevailing wage rate, the government will select a representative, and the men at the arsenal in the particular line of employment will select a representative, and they together will visit the establishments in the neighborhood and secure the necessary data. The employes may select their representatives in any manner that they desire, provided that if they can not agree upon any other method, it shall be by a majority of the votes cast at an election at which all of the men in the particular line of employment shall have the opportunity to vote. In any case where there is a disagreement between the representative of the government and the representative of the men as to the rate at any particular establishment, the matter shall be first taken to the commandant at the arsenal; and if he is not able to reconcile the disagreement, it shall then be brought to the Chief of Ordnance; and if he is unable to reconcile the disagreement, it shall come for final decision to the Secretary of War.

After there has been established, as above provided, the date from the various establishments in the neighborhood, the following procedure shall be pursued:

The government will select a representative, and the men, in the manner above indicated, shall select a representative, and they two shall go over the data secured with a view of arriving at the prevailing wage rate in the vicinity and the rate which should prevail in the arsenal in the particular employment in question. In the event of disagreements, the matter shall pursue the course above outlined, of the appeals to the various persons as above indicated.

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,  
*Secretary of War.*

The same conditions that influenced the granting of an increase in wages in some arsenals had its effect on the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C. In addition to this, the Secretary of the Navy acting in accordance with a provision contained in the Naval Appropriation bill of last year, reduced the wages of 1,272 employes in the Washington Yard 8 cents per day in order to give the same percentage increase to the employes at the Indian Head Proving Ground, Indian Head, Md. The increase which had been given to the employes of the Washington Navy Yard by Congress was based upon what was found upon investigation to be the difference in the cost of living between the cities where data are collected, which forms the basis for the wage rate paid at Washington, D. C.

The action of the Secretary caused a united protest on the part of the employes at the Washington Yard. We were present at all the conferences held between the committees and the Secretary of the Navy, and later with the President of the United States. While the Secretary's position was sustained by the President, as a result of the protest the President and Secretary of the Navy decided upon a special investigation to determine if wages had been increased in plants manufacturing a similar work.

This investigation was conducted by the wage board consisting of naval officers of the Washington Yard, who were instructed to collect data, and to be ready to report



before October 1, 1915. The result of this investigation and the recommendations of the wage board have just been made to the Secretary of the Navy, which carry increases for the metal trades, varying from 8 to 32 cents per day, in effect October 9, 1915. The payroll is increased about \$136,000.

#### *Executive Board Meetings*

In former years we found it difficult to hold Executive Board meetings because the members are the presidents of their respective international organizations, and therefore very busy men. Realizing, however, that in order to do the things we were organized to do, regular meetings of the board should be held at least twice a year, and when possible of the Presidents of the affiliated internationals, the constitution was amended at the Philadelphia Convention which provides for two meetings of the board between conventions, to be held the third Monday in March and August. As a result we have had two excellent meetings and many matters of interest were discussed and disposed of, and a better and more general understanding reached.

#### *Immigration Bill and Legislation in General Affecting Labor*

We co-operated with the officials and the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. in their efforts to have the Immigration bill passed over the President's veto. We worked continuously in behalf of the bill at the Capitol until a vote was taken. We also used our influence to aid in having all measures advocated by the A. F. of L. passed. In fact, whenever and wherever the opportunity presented itself to assist the officers of the A. F. of L. we have willingly done so.

#### *Increase in Dues and Per Capita Tax*

We are pleased to report that our affiliated internationals in conventions are carrying out the wishes and the policy of this Department with reference to adopting a uniform rate of dues and per capita tax. Since the Philadelphia Convention the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance increased their dues and per capita tax. We intend advocating and agitating this question until we have established a rate of dues and per capita tax sufficient to enable us to carry on joint movements more frequently.

#### *Local Councils*

We have organized and reorganized five councils. I am pleased to comment upon the activity of some of our councils. Progress is being made in the direction of educating the locals in the various localities that joint action in most cases is essential. With the continued help of the A. F. of L., and our affiliated internationals, the time will soon come when organizations will recognize the advantage and the wisdom of at least conferring with one another before final measures are adopted to correct or to improve industrial conditions.

#### *United States Department of Labor*

It is most pleasing to report on the valuable assistance rendered to us and to our affiliated internationals by the United States Department of Labor. On every occasion when we have sought advice or asked his assistance, Secretary Wilson has not failed us. The readiness and willingness to be helpful is most gratifying to us and sincerely appreciated. We believe the Department of Labor under the supervision of Secretary W. B. Wilson, to be one of the greatest and most potent factors towards the establishment of harmonious relations between the employer and the employee. Certainly every one must say that the motto of this Department is "justice," for the interests of all receive full measure of consideration. We shall lend our aid in an endeavor to see that the Congress of the United States is as liberal in its appropriations to this Department as it is to the others.

This opportunity is accepted to express officially our most sincere appreciation to the Honorable William B. Wilson, and through him to his associates, for the valuable assistance they have so generously rendered to this Department and its affiliated organizations.

Respectfully submitted.

A. J. BERRES, *Secretary-Treasurer,  
Metal Trades Department.*

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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## UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Secretary Thomas F. Tracy submitted the following synopsis of the work performed by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor during the year ending September 30, 1915:

At the close of the fiscal year we had thirty-nine national and international unions affiliated with the Department, that have paid an average per capita tax on 409,663 members, which is a decrease in membership during the year of approximately 12,000.

During the year one international organization has affiliated with the Department, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

I hereby also submit the following figures of the amount of labels issued by our affiliated organizations during the year:

American Federation of Labor.....	9,910,000
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	630,170,000
Brewery Workmen, United.....	39,124,620
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.....	5,967,000
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	29,420,000
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	7,955,000
Garment Workers of America.....	53,210,000
Glove Workers of America.....	2,140,000
United Hatters of North America.....	14,275,092
Metal Polishers, etc., Union.....	11,000
Molders' International Union.....	48,600
Stove Mounters' Union.....	30,000
Tobacco Workers International Union.....	446,794,950
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	147,000
Textile Workers' of America.....	253,000

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union reports that there were seven union stamps issued for the year ending July, 1915, and the number of persons employed where the union stamps are issued for the year ending July, 1915, 4,500.

The Laundry Workers' International Union reports that 62 union stamps have been issued for the year ending July, 1915, and the number of persons employed where the union stamps are issued for the year ending July, 1915, 1,250.

The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union reports that 25 steel dies have been issued for the year ending July, 1915, and the number of persons employed where the steel dies were issued for the year ending July, 1915, 1,400.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America reports that there were issued during the year 609 shop cards, and there were employed where these shop cards are issued 1,653 people.

The American Wire Weavers report that they have distributed approximately 12,000 to 15,000 labels in the year, and that it is hard to determine the number each shop uses.

While a number of the organizations that have reported have made material gains above the preceding year, there are several organizations that have not issued as many union labels during the year past as were issued by them for the previous corresponding year.

During the year we have organized three local departments, located as follows:

Salt Lake City, Utah.  
San Rafael, California.  
Omaha, Nebraska.

In conformity with the action of the last convention, relative to working in conjunction with the A. F. of L. in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition, I desire to report that, on account of lack of space, the Department was unable to provide for a label exhibit, but in place of the same procured a stereomotorgraph at a cost of about \$400, in which were reproduced by slides various labels, store and shop cards of our affiliated organizations, as well as pictures of the Union Printers' Home, Printing Pressmen's Home and other matters of interest.

The Department continued its activity during the year in the distribution of literature and giving publicity and issued from this office about 200,000 pieces of literature by mail,

besides a large number of express packages. In addition to this 15,000 copies of the document entitled "The Union Label, Its History and Aims," were printed and distributed with good effect.

The last convention of the Department authorized the sending of a representative to the various state conventions that were to be held during the year, as well as to conventions of National and International Unions and in connection with this work the following conventions were visited:

*State Conventions.*

Chattanooga, Tennessee	Shreveport, Louisiana
Austin, Texas	Columbus, Georgia
New Haven, Connecticut	Louisville, Kentucky
Charlestown, West Virginia	Jersey City, New Jersey
Buffalo, New York	Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Gary, Indiana	Alton, Illinois
Omaha, Nebraska	Winona, Minnesota
Augusta, Maine	Moberly, Missouri

*National and International Unions*

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, Louisville, Ky.  
 Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, Rochester, N. Y.  
 National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, Atlantic City, N. J.  
 Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, E. St. Louis, Ill.  
 Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America, St. Thomas, Ont., Canada.  
 Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association, Chicago, Ill.  
 Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of America, Chicago, Ill.  
 Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Woman's International Union Label League, Youngstown, Ohio.  
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, St. Paul, Minn.  
 Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, St. Louis, Mo.  
 International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Switchmen's Union of North America, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 National Print Cutters' Association of America, New York, N. Y.  
 United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, New York, N. Y.

In accordance with the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., an amendment to the constitution relative to the time of holding the conventions of the Department has been submitted to the convention for its approval, and if this amendment is adopted the conventions of the Department will be held prior to the convention of the A. F. of L., and at the conclusion of their work, they will then take a recess until the close of the convention of the A. F. of L., when they will again reconvene to take action on such matters as may have been referred to this Department by the A. F. of L.

The income and expenses for the year are as follows:

Balance on hand October 1, 1914.....	\$8,172 63
Income during the year.....	12,270 27
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$20,442 90</b>
 Expenses for the year ending September 30, 1915.....	 14,494 78
 Leaving a balance on hand October 1, 1915.....	 \$5,948 12

which is deposited in the Security Savings and Commercial Bank, in the name of the Union Label Trades Department.

This briefly outlines the work performed by the Department during the year, which I hope will meet with your approval.

Yours fraternally,

THOMAS F. TRACY,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

## RAILWAY EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT

In compliance with the rule requiring the Departments to render a report of progress to the American Federation of Labor to be embodied in the report of the Executive Council to the annual convention, President A. O. Wharton submitted the following brief summary of the activities of the Railway Employees Department during the past year:

Following the close of the thirty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L., at Philadelphia, the E. C. members of the Railway Employees Department met to consider the amendments to the laws governing the Departments adopted by the convention, effective March 1, 1915, and to take action to comply therewith. We are pleased to state that all of the affiliated organizations in this Department have voluntarily agreed to pay per capita tax on their full membership; this action has insured ample funds to conduct the affairs of the organization properly, and has avoided the necessity of increasing the taxation.

The work of the Department for the past year has been chiefly confined to organizing the shop crafts on various lines throughout the New England and eastern states, and reorganizing System Federations. This work has been made possible through the hearty co-operation of affiliated organizations who have borne the expense of organizing crews who have been assigned to work under the instructions of the Department.

Although the past year has been one of exceptional depression, perhaps more noticeable in the railroad industry than in any other line of business, and many thousands of our members were thrown out of employment and practically all others worked very short time, we are pleased to report that notwithstanding the many obstacles the efforts of our organizing crews have met with reasonably good success, not only in reorganizing System Federations in accordance with the laws of the Department but in forming the nucleus of federations on other lines; eleven System Federation charters have been issued, and while the poor industrial conditions have been responsible for retarding our progress, more or less, yet the reports to hand of numbers of new locals recently organized among the various crafts would indicate a gradual return to better conditions.

By force of circumstances the usual yearly custom of presenting new agreements for the betterment of the shop crafts has, in the majority of cases, been deferred until business conditions seem to justify such action. At the present writing a few of the federated lines in the eastern states are negotiating for new agreements and wage increases, assisted by the officers comprising the organizing crews, and in close touch with the Department on all questions arising.

We have waged a successful warfare against all forms of dualism and particularly so against the so-called "American Federation of Railroad Workers" under the leadership of P. F. Richardson, formerly associated with the Association of International Car Workers, which went out of existence with the beginning of the year 1915, because of lack of support of its policies, and has since endeavored to create a source of revenue by masquerading under a new title seeking to beguile the unwary into the belief that it is associated with the bona fide American labor movement. It offers a haven of refuge for the secessionist of all grades and conditions. As usual the employer is ever ready to take advantage of any opportunity to divide the workers, and those who have allied themselves under the banner of the American Federation of Railroad Workers are contributing what influence they may have to the detriment of the movement as a whole, which we fully believe is primarily the aim and purpose of the promoters.

During the past year the Department has been called upon on numerous occasions to render assistance to federated crafts on various systems in opposing the introduction of obnoxious rules in direct violation of the existing agreements, such as the demerit system of discipline and personal record system proposed by the management of the Fort Smith and Western, requiring shopmen to come under the same discipline and regulations as that of the transportation employees. The physical examination required of all employees entering the service of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, whether shop or train service, was one of the most rigid and exacting possible for the mind of man to conceive, and if put into effect would nullify all of the existing agreements on the system. As a result of this attempt by the company to over-ride the rights of the employees, representatives from all branches of the service, transportation, office and shops, formed a compact together determined to oppose to the utmost any such infringement of their rights. This Department has gladly rendered all assistance possible during these negotiations, and we are glad to state that in the case of the Fort Smith and Western that an entirely satisfactory understanding

has been reached and all objectionable features removed, and that the old system has been restored on the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, which is eminently satisfactory to all concerned.

The policy of this Department is unalterably opposed to the piecework, bonus, or any of the co-called efficiency systems which have come into existence, and have gained more or less foothold on some of the railroads of this country. The railroad companies have quite generally advocated one form or the other, and in some instances forced the men to accept such conditions which are proving most detrimental to both the physical welfare of the employees and their social status. The new innovations we find are particularly favored by certain railroad managers where lack of organization has permitted the introduction and try-out of all manner of schemes to rob the worker of the fruits of his labor.

During the past year we have found it to our advantage to follow out the policies of the Railway Employees Department to use the good offices of a conciliator in seeking to bring about the adjustment of controversies and thereby avoid strikes and their consequent hardships. We can not speak too highly of the valuable services rendered by the commissioners of conciliation from the Department of Labor, and the prompt attention given to our requests for the service of a conciliator when required. We fully realize the great value to both the employer and employee through the intercession of mediation as a means of bringing them together to find some mutually satisfactory basis of agreement. One of the really important cases which threatened most serious results was occasioned by the absolute refusal of the management on the Kansas City Terminal to continue negotiations for a joint agreement with the shop crafts after several conferences had been held and matters were apparently progressing favorably to both sides. It developed that while apparently acting in good faith with the committee, arrangements had in the meantime been made to secure strike-breakers and these were shipped in and housed by the company. This action was soon followed by discharge of the old employees two to four at a time until the number had reached over thirty, for no other reason than that they were members of their respective organizations. The other members were also advised that they would be required to surrender membership in their organization if they desired to remain longer in the service.

That such an unreasonable and arbitrary attitude of the management did not precipitate a strike at that time was due to the prompt action of the Department in getting on the ground and taking full charge of the situation. The Kansas City Terminal Company is owned, controlled and officered by twelve trunk lines, each one of these twelve roads selecting one of the official staff to act as a board member, because of this plan of organization, and because the organizations affiliated to this Department had an aggregate membership of 45,000 working under agreements with these companies; the Department decided in furtherance of its policy to avoid strikes whenever possible, to place the facts before the Board of Directors. As a necessary means to this end, a meeting of all general chairmen on these lines was held in Kansas City, fifty in number being present, at which time our plans were mapped out and put into execution, resulting in the Board of Directors being fully informed of all the conditions surrounding the unjust discriminations against our respective members; a request was also sent to the Department of Labor for the service of a conciliator to act as an intermediary, as further negotiations were denied us by the local management. Every means at our command was used to avert trouble, but the persistent refusal of the Kansas City Terminal management to consider in any sense the rights of the men and the hesitancy on the part of the other board members to oppose that policy openly. After two months of negotiations and meeting with no better success, we were reluctantly compelled to order a strike for the preservation of our organizations, the order taking effect at 10 a. m., July 29, and remaining in force until August 10. After the strike was called we again placed the matter before the Board of Directors and we believe that the pressure thus brought to bear was largely responsible for the satisfactory settlement later secured, which we have every reason to believe will be adhered to. The value of approaching matters of this nature with the exercise of every possible effort to avoid drastic measures, should appeal to all, and will prove a more satisfactory and peaceful solution of the many questions that heretofore have brought about serious situations. It also affords a striking example of what can be accomplished by proceeding through legitimate channels and observing the organization laws pertaining to such matters.

The commissioner of conciliation worked assiduously during the entire period of these negotiations, exercising every influence and effort to bring about an amicable adjustment, and to his able efforts much of the credit is due for the successful results obtained.

Whether due to the business depression or other causes, on several railroads, attempts were made during the past year to abrogate agreements with shop crafts; notices were served to this effect. We are pleased to say that in each case we were successful in avoiding any such action and have retained the agreement and friendly relations.

Agreeable to the recommendations of the Department convention held in April, 1914, we appeared before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, in support of Bill H. R. 17894, to provide for the inspection of locomotives as a whole. The measure was later approved by President Woodrow Wilson on March 4. We also attended conference held by the Inspection Bureau during the week of August 23-28 in the offices of the Chief Boiler Inspector at Washington, D. C., representing the interests of the shop crafts and working in harmony and conjunction with the A. F. of L., and representatives of the transportation organizations, at which time a suitable code of rules was drafted to govern the inspection of engines and tenders to be submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission for their final approval.

The Department was instrumental in securing and having secured valuable data in connection with the cause and effect of the Harriman and Illinois Central strike, inaugurated September 30, 1911, and presented same at the hearings before the Commission on Industrial Relations, which consumed four days in taking evidence. We feel assured that through the report of the Commission to Congress, the public will learn the truth and the position of the men will be vindicated, and it is our hope and belief that their report will result in the enactment of legislation that will make for industrial peace, and that will make secure the rights of the wage-earner. The total cost of compiling data and presenting the case before the Commission was prorated and paid by the five organizations involved.

The Department endeavored in every manner possible to promote the passage of the Immigration bill, and used its full facilities and influence in conjunction with the A. F. of L. in the promotion of legislation favorable to organized labor.

### MINING DEPARTMENT

Mr. James Lord submitted the following review of the work of the Mining Department during the past year and of conditions of mining in general:

Never, in my recollection, have conditions surrounding the mining industry been so dull as they have during the past two years. Our best organized districts in the coal fields have witnessed more unemployment and have been called upon to furnish more relief to their members, than at any other time, and the effects of the European war have proved almost disastrous to the metal mining industry in some localities.

At the present time, however, there seems to be an upward trend in the industrial life of the country, and conditions are growing slightly better.

The International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have become affiliated with the Mining Department during the last year.

In spite of the severe industrial depression that has been so long manifest, a splendid campaign of organization and education has been carried on by the affiliated unions. The seven weeks' campaign of organizing and education in the anthracite region has been fruitful of great results, and gives every indication of bringing in a 100 per cent organization in the hard coal fields.

The efforts of the Western Federation of Miners in the great zinc belt of Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma, have resulted in a good strong district union being established there, and the indications are that a joint agreement will be worked out which will insure the future of unionism in that field.

A dual organization to the steel workers was inaugurated in the vicinity of Wheeling, W. Va., April 4, 1915, but the seceders came back into the regular movement June 17. Organizer John L. Lewis, of the American Federation of Labor, rendered splendid service in this fight.

The International Association of Machinists has made splendid progress in the way of organizing, increasing wages and reducing hours of work in Connecticut, Louisiana, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Delaware, New York, and other places.

The miners in some localities have alleviated the double burden of slack work and the high cost of living to some extent by starting co-operative mercantile stores on the Rochdale plan. Especially in the state of Illinois, where the United Mine Workers and the State



Federation of Labor have lent their aid and encouragement, has the movement forged ahead, and there are now in the neighborhood of two dozen local co-operative societies, and a State Co-operative Union formed that will be the means of establishing a wholesale society, or some method whereby wholesale buying can be conducted on the largest possible scale.

These societies are operating under the Rochdale plan, that is, limited stock, and a vote for each member, with such local additions or changes as seem best suited to their locality. They are not engaged in cutting prices, but charge the standard prices for their goods, giving preference to honest weight and measure, the best quality, and, of course, union-made wherever possible.

John R. Lawson is still in jail at Trinidad, Colo., awaiting trial by the Supreme Court of the state. About five hundred more are indicted. The place or time for these trials is entirely problematic, as the appropriations of the different counties where the alleged crimes were committed and likewise those of the state, are now exhausted. The judges living in the counties have all been disqualified by the Colorado Supreme Court from trying these particular cases.

Burke would not have given utterance to the saying, "you can not indict an entire community," if he had had any knowledge of or connection with Colorado.

The unions at present affiliated with the Mining Department are:

The United Mine Workers of America.

Western Federation of Miners.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America.

International Association of Machinists.

We hope and trust that the brotherhoods will ultimately become a part of the federated labor movement of America, and make it possible to work out the affiliation and working agreements necessary for the success of each and all of us. The sooner they realize the fact that they need us and we need them, and the sooner they learn and profit by the example of organizing, interlocking and affiliating now carried on by their employers, in relation to other industries, the more progress we shall all make and the better off we shall be.

This also seems nearer of realization now than ever before, and it is encouraging to note the occasional "getting together" of the representatives of the brotherhood organizations and the A. F. of L. organizations on matters of policy, legislation, etc.

If, as Hugo said, "the twentieth century will be the people's century," then working for a greater co-operation and closer affiliation on the economic field will be the most interesting, useful, and really constructive purposes that can engage the efforts and attention of men and women.

### PORTO RICO

Mr. Santiago Iglesias, President of the Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico, makes the following report of the year's work in Porto Rico and other Spanish-American countries:

The invasion of Porto Rico by Americans and the infusion of the principles of the American Federation of Labor into the life of the workers have led to considerable change in the attitude of the people toward work and toward the workers. The A. F. of L. has tended to strengthen in many ways the position of the laborers.

The forces of reaction and greed of employers have shown great aggressiveness during the last year. All that could be done to destroy existing labor organizations and to prevent the organization of new ones in the island has been done.

In spite of that, during the year past the toilers have advanced along the road of progress toward the achievement of a better social, economical, and political independence by means of a methodical and persistent labor fight, both collectively and individually. The effects of this effort will prove in the near future to be highly beneficial to the producing people of the island at large, and specially to the agricultural laborers so much exploited in this country.

The efforts of the A. F. of L. are being antagonized by those who have interests in keeping this island as a large factory worked by slaves.

On the other hand, the workers are realizing that only by an active economic organization and a persistent effort the social and economic progress could reach the masses of the workers in the agricultural fields where the crops are collected, and those of the indu

trial pursuits where they are suffering an intolerable economic exploitation. Certainly they are striving to sweep out the old form of Spanish peonage now aggravated with the American form of plutocracy in its new form of feudalism.

It is true at this time that the landholding conditions involved in most of the agricultural districts of the island have enabled the employers to keep what amounts to a feudal system for the operation of the sugar as well as the tobacco fields and manufactures.

The most important event during the past year brought about by the labor movement was the greatest strike of agricultural workers that ever occurred in this island.

#### *Strike of Agricultural Workers*

About 40,000 agricultural workers of the sugar-cane fields and from some of the mills, men, women and children, went on strike during the early days of February of this year. The bulk of them lack necessary resources for striking. However, it was the most favorable occasion we had to teach the peasants the principles and the aims of trade unionism, and the best way to create the most powerful organization of the agricultural workers.

After taking into consideration the deplorable conditions prevailing in the country, the low wages and long hours, and taking into consideration also the high prices for sugar which the companies obtained at that time in the American market, it seemed to us that no better opportunity would present itself to advance and strengthen the position of the workers getting for them better wages, shorter hours of labor and the right to organize themselves.

But the old, old story that happens in this island when workingmen entertain any plan for freedom was repeated over again. As soon as the bosses realized that the labor movement afforded an opportunity to be heard and the chance to create a powerful organization, repressive measures were undertaken and a rule of terrorism inaugurated among the working people by the police authorities, by the mayors, judges and other officials of the government. In time of strikes the masters assumed the power of police in many ways to force the poor laborers to go back to work on the terms of the employers. Of course, real freedom under such conditions is impossible and industrial tyranny prevailed.

The labor men were prosecuted, jailed, wounded and killed in the streets and highways with the purpose of stopping the advancement of the labor movement, and of cutting in the bud the aspiration of the peasant folk for freedom, who produce the wealth of the island.

According to the old policy of tyranny the government supported the employers and the privileged, the police force were put at their disposal to force the agricultural workers to return to work, or to compel them to leave the houses where they were living, if they would not go to work under the old conditions. All the public police force, under the pretense of keeping order and guaranteeing the properties, was in the service of the private corporations, landlords and capitalists, to break the strike, to force men to work, while they enjoy their banquets and drinks. In almost all the towns where the workingmen were on strike, the local headquarters of the police force were installed within the sugar mills, or under their premises, the men of the force were fed by the plantations' owners, and the horses and automobiles used by the police to hunt the strikers were also furnished by the bosses.

The Governor turned over to the police the whole rural region, and these in their turn had forbidden that there should be any public meeting, gatherings, parades, and groups of not even ten persons should gather on the highways and barriers of the whole island, though it were shown that such gatherings were of an orderly and peaceful character. So, practically a species of martial law was declared by the police, and attacks upon strikers were very common. It was very common to force the labor speakers down from the stands and afterwards to disperse the meetings, the workers being brutally attacked with revolvers, carbines and clubs.

Thus it is that the wish of the employers was secured by the police force; namely, that of breaking the strike of the poor country workers through fear and intimidation, through persecution and murder.

Upon request from every union of Porto Rico, we asked President Gompers to help the workers of this country. The A. F. of L. after being informed of the many sad incidents of the agricultural strike in which poor laborers had been killed and many others imprisoned and clubbed asked for and obtained that the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations would investigate the labor troubles of Porto Rico. In pursuance of advices from President Gompers, Mr. Rivera Martinez, President-Organizer of the Cigarmakers' Unions of this island, and I went to Washington to be heard before the Commission. This hear-

ing took place about May 26-27 of this year. The Insular Government sent also two representatives to appear before the Commission to defend the government officials. Mr. Martin Travieso, Secretary of Porto Rico, and Mr. Bills, of the Bureau of Labor represented the government.

In summarizing the matters presented before the Commission on Industrial Relations by the labor representatives I desire to mention those of more importance.

Our island of Porto Rico is one of the West Indies which occupies an important place as to agricultural production. It had been a possession of the Spanish monarchy for more than four hundred years and had a governmental regime brutalizing in its results, and the regime of this government was deeply rooted in Porto Rico. The island has about 1,200,000 inhabitants, 25,000 industrial workers and about 600,000 agricultural laborers.

From and after 1898, Porto Rico became a possession of the United States of America. It has progressed in many ways. It is true that the conditions of the toilers have improved somewhat, relatively speaking, though not in proportion to the vast wealth that this same class has produced, and much less in comparison with the great improvements made by the monopolists of commerce, industry, the political power, the financial power, and the possessors of privileges and franchises.

Some of the deplorable conditions of the peasant of Porto Rico are the following:

Men working in the sugar and tobacco plantations, engaged in cutting cane, labor an average twelve hours a day for the wage of 45 to 55 cents.

The system of paying the men with checks is much in vogue. The check-system operated in conjunction with the "pluck-me" stores enables the company or the tools of the company to gather in all the money paid. Checks are, of course, redeemable only at "pluck-me" stores, or like stores.

Woman labor is even more exploited than that of the men. Women and girls work as a rule from ten to twelve hours a day in sugar fields or selecting tobacco or coffee in the large houses, for which they make an average of 30 to 40 cents a day. Other laborers can not make more than 30 to 40 cents a day for twelve and fourteen hour's labor.

Housing conditions are almost indescribable. Families of ten and twelve live in one room, and a small room at that. This is the rule rather than the exception. It can be found in thousands of cases. Lucky are the families that boast of having a two-room shack. Few, indeed, have three rooms.

The houses in the suburbs are, as a rule, built on hills. As they are difficult to construct they are built as small as possible. Thus an entire family has to dwell in a small shack measuring ten by twelve feet in width, and less than eight feet in height.

Now, in the early days of February, more than 40,000 of these poor workers went to strike demanding a flat scale of pay of \$1 for an eight-hour workday.

At several points, Fajardo, Juncos, Humancao, and other places, agreements involving 9,000 laborers had been closed with the employers, resulting in the winning of important advantages to the men. But when the police of Porto Rico were placed at the disposal of the corporations, then not only did the corporations give up the idea of reaching terms of agreement with the laborers, but the corporation which had already signed and made peace with its workers broke the agreements and entered fiercely into the contest to establish the old conditions of wages, etc.

At a meeting of the Sugar Producers' Association, held in San Juan, representatives from most of the large sugar interests all over the island discussed means of handling the situation and finally requested the enlistment of at least 200 more insular police. At this conference Governor Yager was told that in various sections cane fires had followed meeting of strikers at which threats were made by strikers against the property of cane men. Most of those who attended the meetings were inclined to oppose a basis of settlement which the Fajardo Company had reached with its laborers, which provided for a sliding scale of wages to be based on the price of sugar. Since this agreement was entered into it was found unsatisfactory by the laborers, and after a trial of but two days it was dropped, in so far as the field laborers were concerned.

The Bureau of Labor was helping the employers in breaking the agreements. The following telegram was signed by Chief of the Bureau of Labor:

"Domingo Santos, Fajardo, P. R. Mr. Bird, Manager of the Fajardo Sugar Company, has officially informed the government that workingmen are not fulfilling their part of the contract, which makes it therefore neutral. I trust all differences will work out regardless of strike. (Signed) Bills."

This telegram was sent after the Sugar Growers' Association and corporations had agreed not to sign any terms of agreements with the workers and not to agree upon any wage-scale. More than 1,000 country workers in Fajardo filed complaints duly sworn to before a judge protesting against the attitude of the Chief of the Labor Bureau, and the same thing happened at Juncos, Humacao, and other places. Since the Sugar Growers' Association refused to sign any terms of agreement with the agricultural workers police violence commenced all over the island to break the strike, as has been proved by many exhibits.

Some of them are as follows:

Exhibit No. 1.—Contained the casualties of Juncos, where a parade of strikers was violently dispersed with shots by the police and the men were beaten.

It was generally known that the man who started the attack against a peaceful parade of agricultural workers at Juncos was an officer of the Sugar Central who, with a revolver had been trying to intimidate and violently disperse the assembly of the workers and, notwithstanding (twelve peasants having been injured by the police and the officers of the Sugar Central), no arrest was ordered against the officer of the sugar company, nevertheless the workers were sentenced to six months in the Municipal Court, and how they were acquitted by the District Court, where they filed an appeal. While this trial was in progress in the District Court, the justice had to call attention to one of the corporals and to two of the guardsmen on account of their perjury before the court.

These men of Juncos who were released on the appeal had been put in jeopardy by preferring charges against them for the same crime and with the same evidence. The flags which the strikers carried in the procession, even the American flag, were torn by the police from the hands of those who bore them.

Exhibit No. 2.—Contains several documents regarding the deplorable incidents which occurred on the Island of Vieques where a parade of strikers was violently dispersed and five men killed and others wounded; a legal report of the attorneys for the strikers, and some affidavits. It was demonstrated by those documents how some of the men were sentenced by the judge in the local headquarters of the police, which was not a legally constituted court. The writs for imprisonment were amended, some of them were originally used, charging the men with assault and battery, with intent to deprive other persons of life, and in order to deprive them of jury trial these writs were amended and the cases were brought before the Municipal Court in which a severe penalty was imposed upon them. The dates of the sentences of some of the men were illegally amended to prevent the appeals to the superior courts. The so-called concealed weapons and arms of the laborers were sticks at the ends of which were flags. The same exhibit contains the manner in which the offices of the Federation were closed by the police and how the meetings were prohibited; how the liberty of these men was jeopardized by denial of habeas corpus. When the workers protested against those actions they were brutally wounded, jailed, and killed. Three laborers defending themselves wounded two policemen with their machetes. More than one hundred arrests followed. In the town the police scattered the people with shots and blows. There was a great dread in the town.

Exhibit No. 3.—Contains an affidavit sworn to and signed by about 300 persons, stating that the one responsible for the occurrences that took place in Ponce was only the Captain of Police, Ramon Fernandez Nater, and those guardsmen under his command, who without cause insulted the people and disbanded a meeting of strikers without cause, which was being held near the market. The meeting was opened in the evening at half past seven, by the members of the organized labor movement. After I had spoken for about an hour, and was making the statement that the police could not be placed on an impartial and independent position while having their quarters in the premises of the sugar mills and plantations, while eating and drinking with the bosses, while using the horses of the sugar mill owners under the pretense of guaranteeing the properties, I was brutally ordered to leave the tribune, while the Captain of Police Fernandez Nater cried: "This meeting has finished."

Then the police were ordered to dissolve the meeting, the workers were shot and clubbed. The result of this social crime committed against the people was a man dead and several wounded. Organizer Rivera Martinez, myself, and all my fellows from San Juan in the commission were arrested and placed under bail of \$2,000.

Ultimately, the District Court of Ponce, where our trial took place, released my colleagues and me of the charges preferred by the Captain of the Police against us.

In an affidavit signed by Juan Cruz Piris, Secretary of the Free Federation of Workingmen, who after the meeting disbanded came near the headquarters of the police to offer his service to us and he was beaten by Captain of Police Fernandez Nater and some of the

guardsmen; he was then taken to the Prosecuting Attorney. The Prosecuting Attorney asked the Captain of Police why he had beaten Mr. Piris, and the Captain of Police answered that he had beaten him by mistake. Some of the police without any warrant entered the offices of the Federation at Ponce, broke up some of the desks and took with them some of the documents and papers of the strikers' committee.

Exhibit No. 4.—Contains 14 affidavits intended to prove how Policeman Quiles illegally killed the workman named Robledo at the meeting in Ponce, and how the man was killed while he was running, and how Captain of Police is also responsible for this crime. Policeman Quiles was set free on bail, and he is as yet in active service, not having been suspended as policeman or from payment. He is serving duty and as a man he has the confidence of his chiefs. The commission of the police has just demonstrated its good feelings in regard to Policeman Quiles by voting an appropriation of \$100 of the funds of the same force to defend him, and also have requested some of the local headquarters to help this policeman in his defense before the court. This initiative is due to the activity of the Chief of Police of Ponce, Fernandez Nater. This same Police Commission granted gold medals to those who killed the strikers of Vieques.

Exhibit No. 5.—Contains fourteen affidavits to prove how the right of meeting, no matter how peaceful, was absolutely denied by Chief of Police who exceeded the order received from the Governor of Porto Rico. The right of meeting in Arecibo was denied to all of the representatives of the A. F. of L. in or outside of the urban zone.

Contains seven affidavits signed by several persons to prove assaults, abuses, and searches by the police in the town of Arecibo, and to prove the number of men who were wounded by the police, and how the people were terrorized. To prove how 19 workmen were held for trial, and how they were sentenced to 30 days by the Municipal Court without being given the necessary time to speak to their lawyers and to produce evidence in their favor. These 19 persons were acquitted on the appeal that they filed in the District Court and no further action taken.

Exhibit No. 6.—Is an affidavit signed by Mr. Andres Orellano, of the Bakers' International Union, stating how he was thrown from the platform while addressing a meeting in the town of Barceloneta. Charges were preferred against him by the police before the Municipal Court and he was released. He was compelled to leave the town and prohibited from speaking within the jurisdiction of that municipality.

Exhibit No. 7.—This is in regard to the unbecoming conduct of the Captain of Police in Cayey, and the persecutions of the Labor Press. On March 20 the police violently disbanded a meeting, clubbing the people. A local representative of the Federation was arrested after being taken down while he was speaking. The annual labor convention which was in session at the Baptist Church was closely watched and disturbed by police. The labor press men were also arrested for protesting against the brutality of the police officials. The same kind of brutalities of the police and violent dispersion of labor meetings occurred at Anasco, San Lorenzo, Bayamon, Humacao, and other places. Public roads were illegally closed to the agricultural strikers in order to prevent them from going from their homes to towns and vice versa. Contains the original letters and telegrams of mayors, prohibiting the free exercise of the right of meeting.

Exhibit No. 8.—Is to prove the conspiracy of the employers trying to destroy the A. F. of L. in Porto Rico, and how to place discredit upon this labor organization.

The Sugar Growers' Association have issued a circular relative to the creation of funds with which to form an association against strikes with the purpose to destroy the Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico, which is the state branch of the A. F. of L. The sugar men solicited checks of \$15 to be contributed by each member of the Sugar Growers' Association, and at the same time recommended the so-called "Liga Obrera" and "Federation Regional" as sister organizations to counteract the strikes brought on by the "Free Federation," and in order to carry on this work money is urgently requested of each member.

In another circular, pecuniary assistance is also asked of the rich merchants of the island, possibly with the same purpose of working against the A. F. of L.

The whole island was placed in the hands of the police and there occurred many dispersions of meetings, speakers taken down from stands and the entire sugar and tobacco fields were terrorized and workmen practically forced to go back to work.

The martial law was declared by the police, and attacks upon the people were accumulating rapidly to the discredit of the police who kept on terrorizing the country people.



When the House of Delegates was informed by one of its members that a meeting had been disbanded by the Insular Police in Ponce while I was addressing the gathering, the matter was in the first moment discussed and one of the members of the House moved that a special committee be appointed to investigate the facts and inform the House of the truth because one man who had been present in the meeting had been killed by the bullets of the police and some more seriously wounded. A resolution presented was as follows:

"Be it enacted that the most energetic protest of the House be brought to bear against the violation of the law of defending the rights of the people committed at Ponce by members of the Insular Police while they caused a man to come down from the speaker's stand or rostrum while he was in the full exercise of his rights of censure."

When President Gompers received the news by cable in regard to the strikers' conflict and the killing of men he called these matters to the attention of General McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and asked for information. He was informed that no information as to the killing or wounding of any one or that the constitutional rights of the people were invaded had been received. Then President Gompers requested General McIntyre to send a cable under his name to Iglesias, Porto Rico, when McIntyre said he would take pleasure in doing it. Mr. Gompers could not get my answer because the government declared it was not in strict accord with facts.

Governor Yager was requested to appoint a commission to investigate the incidents of the strike. All we wanted was an opportunity to present publicly and impartially the facts. The reasons we had for insisting upon the appointment of this commission was that we were firmly convinced that in no other way could the government obtain the absolute truth of the deplorable facts of tyranny and oppression brought about by the public officials of the government during the strike.

After our appearance before the Commission on Industrial Relations, upon our request, President Gompers and Secretary Morrison introduced us at the White House, helping the people of Porto Rico by handing to President Wilson through the courtesy of Secretary Tumulty the memorial which we had prepared portraying the deplorable situation as it exists in Porto Rico.

#### *Congressional Investigation*

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Philadelphia, Pa., was adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved by this convention of the A. F. of L. assembled that the President of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the President of the United States or the Congress, or both, to appoint a commission as soon as possible with authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the island, especially in the questions affecting education, health, and sanitation, economic and living conditions of the working masses of Porto Rico; land and financial resources, and to ascertain if it is true that the federal, as well as the organic law has been continually violated by the big corporations which exploit the people of the island."

It is the earnest wish of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico that such commission may visit our island to make a thorough investigation as the resolution urges; that the commission may be composed of men who will not, as several commissions in the past have done, accept mere courtesies and official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their attitude, but that the commission be composed of men who will go to the heart of things, to get the real points and views of men of labor, of business, who know, who feel, who understand.

#### *Organic Law and Citizenship*

That a new organic act or constitution for Porto Rico is necessary, all Porto Ricans agree, and all who studied the subject recommend. It is therefore respectfully urged that a new organic act or constitution for the government of Porto Rico should be recommended to Congress and enacted, and it is urged that whatever form the new organic act should



take, great consideration should be given regarding the power, the influence, and the capacity of which the working people of the island are capable. The existing political vices, the pernicious effect of false system of education by which the children of the poor are impressed with the idea that they occupy an inferior position in society, the overt conduct of employers, should be considered and indeed under every circumstance the almost defenseless position in which the laborers of Porto Rico are now placed should be regarded as a feature for the consideration and protection of the law and its administrators. The workers should be given the fullest assurance and guarantee of protection in the enjoyment and exercise of constitutional rights equal with those of other citizens of Porto Rico.

At present the people of Porto Rico occupy an anomalous position. We belong to the United States and yet are not citizens of the United States. We are a people belonging to the Island of Porto Rico, part of the United States, and yet are a people without a country. Citizenship should be conferred upon the people of Porto Rico, not individually but *en bloc*, collectively, and thus make for a more complete Americanization of the people of Porto Rico, in full touch, sympathy, and co-operation with the people of the United States. The possessors of capital should be obliged to pay their full share for what the government needs for public education, for sanitation, for roads, and for improvements on the island, as well as the security of justice for all.

#### Organization

Last year were organized twenty-six local unions of different crafts in this country. We have now the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico with 121 local organizations. We have one daily and three weekly labor papers.

A general assembly of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico took place at the House of Delegates, in San Juan, with delegations from 113 trade unions of the various localities of the island, representing about 10,000 laborers and passed resolutions protesting against the unjustifiable raising of the prices of foodstuffs by the merchants, and also discussing the unemployment problem, and other labor matters of great importance.

At that time the big labor parade was organized by us in San Juan to present our bill of grievances to the Governor. More than 10,000 people took part in this imposing demonstration. Also the eighth annual convention of the Federation took place at Cayey, March 18 to 24, 1915.

The principal matters considered and favorably resolved and adopted in behalf of the organization of workers and the defense of their social and economic rights, were to help the declaration of another strike in the agricultural fields if it was of absolute necessity to better the conditions of the men, women, and children, and to raise funds to defend before the courts the hundreds of workers that are being persecuted and jailed by the oppression and tyranny of the employers and the government. The labor convention also protested against the crimes committed by the police and the government during the last agriculture strike.

During the sessions of legislature the message of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico was solemnly discussed and was ordered to be printed.

A circumstance worthy to notice is the fact that after all, never before in the history of this island has there been introduced such a large number of bills tending to protect the laboring people, nor were the problems affecting the country workers discussed with such a great interest and enthusiasm throughout the island. This goes to show most splendidly the degree to which Porto Rico, through the action of the Free Federation has advanced, aided by the American Federation of Labor.

Of course, all the labor bills died in the committees except an important measure enacted by the legislature, the substance of which is to provide for the sale on easy terms to the Porto Rican laborers of small parcels of land. Such a law, nevertheless, has not been put in operation at this time since its enactment last February.

#### Labor in Cuba

In spite of the continuation of the European war, it is my belief that affairs in Cuba are now being carried to their normal state and that conditions of business on that island are rapidly becoming normal, due to the fact that sugar will maintain the high prices.

A report on the Cuban situation that had been prepared by labor leaders of Habana, described conditions as to lack of proper unification and direction among the workmen

which still persist and will continue, until the American Federation of Labor shall establish a federation throughout that country, uniting all groups and giving them the necessary strength and influence to obtain permanent, immediate, and practical improvements.

I think this is the proper time to initiate a campaign of systematic work for a good and practical organization in Cuba. There is lack of combination and concentration, and proper direction of purposes. The radical and political are causing a division to be made among workmen more and more.

An agricultural strike was declared for more wages in various sections of the Island of Cuba. More than 15,000 workers went to strike for more wages. The government took repressive measures against the strikers and several casualties occurred. Five labor leaders were expelled from the country by order of the government accused of being "anarchists." One of these men is now working for the Free Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, and after being several months in the Island of Porto Rico, he was arrested by order of the authorities of Washington under the same accusations brought about by the government of Cuba of being an "anarchist." The case was investigated by the Commissioner of Immigration of Porto Rico and by the U. S. Department of Labor. Secretary Wilson countermanded the order for his deportation.

### *Mexican Situation*

General Carranza and his party, as appeared in the manifestos that we have received and read, has promised many good things for the workmen for their protection, for their elevation and progress, but I fear that when the revolution is ended, if then workmen have not enough organization and power to protect and defend their position, and to see that these promises are made good, the labor people of Mexico will find themselves in the same position that they were in before the revolution.

General Carranza and his party offered to the labor organizations, represented by the General Federation of Labor, the following government grants:

"The liberty of the wage working class to organize and to strike is recognized by our constitution which declares that nobody may be prevented from associating peacefully for any legal purpose. If it is legal for capital to associate I do not find any reason why it should be illegal for labor to organize."

"The constitutionalist government will distribute the national lands and will recover for distribution those tracts of which private individuals and communities have been illegally dispossessed, as well as acquire by purchase and other legal means more land should it be necessary for the solution of the problem. It will also place the agriculturist in a position to acquire farming instruments and to withstand the loss of crops by means of a system of agricultural credits."

"To better the condition of the working class a maximum time of labor and a minimum wage will be fixed by law. Special measures will be enacted to regulate the labor of women and children. Labor organizations that comply with the law will be recognized by the government. An accident indemnity law will be enacted to protect workmen and due care will be taken for the hygienic life of the workmen in the factories, shops and in general in all the centers of industry."

"The complete abolishment of labor as a means of paying debts is one of the conquests already realized by the revolution—a conquest that has won us our most numerous and stubborn enemies."

"Reforms of a social and economic character rather than those of political character. A change in the personnel of the government or the realization of political reforms is of small importance."

"I am in favor of universal suffrage without any more restrictions than those absolutely necessary to make effective the vote of every citizen."

### *Pan-American Labor Convention*

In view of the close relations that are being cultivated by the big financial interests of the country through the governmental authorities of Washington among the various governments and financial corporations of the Spanish speaking republics, it seems both wise and necessary that the A. F. of L. should invite the labor federations of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, and of the other southern as well as central American republics to meet together in a great Pan-American Labor Convention, which should be

held in Washington for the purpose of considering the economic problems that are to confront in the near future the various labor people owing to the fraternization and combination of the biggest capitalist representations of Wall Street and those of the said republics, which are ready to be mutually helpful to themselves, and to control as much as possible the business of those countries. That is to say, shipping companies, railroads, mines, banks, telegraphs, telephones, and the general combination of industrial, commercial and financial interests.

The masses of the people of those republics know very little about these great schemes and the working classes of these countries can not see now what the result will be. It seems to me that as bankers, financiers and manufacturers of the United States and the government officials of the various countries and merchants called and held a conference of all financial and political interests, the A. F. of L. should call a conference of the representatives of all the Pan-American Labor Federations in order to meet the new conditions in a comprehensive manner and in behalf of the common ideals of liberty, justice, and the development of the spirit of the true American and true to the service of mankind.

### *Conclusion*

In 1901 all the importations from the United States to Porto Rico amounted to \$8,918,136, and in the year 1915 the importations amounted to \$33,884,296.

The exportations in 1901 amounted to \$8,583,967, while in the year 1915 the exportations amounted to \$49,356,907; being in total the bulk of commerce 1901, \$17,502,103, while in 1915, \$83,241,203.

This leaves a supposed balance of trade in favor of the island, amounting to \$15,471,611 as compared with \$6,695,975 for the last year previous.

Nevertheless, the wages in Porto Rico for the agricultural workers who produced those millions of dollars, range about as follows: Children working ten hours a day, 1901 to 1915, 15 cents; women, 30 cents; men, from 45 to 55 cents per day, for a workday of ten to twelve hours. The cost of living went up 40 per cent.

On the other hand oppression and brutality terrorized the workers. There have been committed against the people social crimes that were unknown before.

Daring onslaughts have been attempted and carried out against the aspirations of the people.

The corporations have been given all the power that could be given to them to exploit the masses of laborers.

The right of free speech and assembly had been almost practically abolished at the time of the strike, and all sorts of abuses have been resorted to against the workers, whose aim is to live like human beings and not like animals.

Under "self-government," or rather its pretense, the gravest of conspiracies has found expression, both publicly and privately against popular education.

An attempt has been made to minimize the teaching of the English language in the public schools, and there has been a desire for demoralizing vocational education, such as trying to make the pupil hate the American methods of teaching and even to hate the American teachers.

More than 200,000 children of school age have been left without school accommodation.

About three hundred teachers have been dropped from the teaching force because the school appropriation had been cut down last year.

Increased school appropriation is badly needed to such an extent that the children of school age (404,211 in 1914, and of whom about 160,000 could be admitted at this time into the schools) may receive the benefits of a public school education.

The government of Porto Rico is borrowing money in the United States at the rate of 4 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for public works, but in Porto Rico the rates of loans to the people are 12 to 20 and in some instances even 100 per cent interest for the poor people. The government should stop the system of usury and financial exploitation against the people of Porto Rico.

In conclusion: The enormous wealth produced by the agricultural and industrial workers of Porto Rico is taken over the seas or is kept in strong boxes in the shape of rents and earnings, to be expended, perhaps, in other more fortunate communities. It is estimated that 60 per centum of the earnings derived from the work of the producers in the country periodically finds its way to foreign countries while the island remains an open factory producing new earnings and accumulating new fortunes that are not to benefit the island and still less the hard-working peasant producers.

## CANADA

Mr. P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, made the following report for the year:

An industrial depression preceding the declaration of war, and a state of war during such industrial depression, have made it impossible for the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to give the encouraging outlook respecting the future of the labor movement that otherwise would have been anticipated by the delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is the consensus of opinion that orders for war munitions have tended to improve industrial conditions, and had it not been for the improvement in the clothing, agricultural and particularly the metal industries, the industrial and commercial depression would have been much more acute. Apart from the state of war in which Canada now finds itself, there were symptoms of the approaching depression manifest during the latter part of 1913, and towards midsummer of last year, 1914. The acuteness of these symptoms made a depression an actuality. This depression is largely the result of speculative investments in unimproved land, where the productive value of labor did not accompany the speculations. This applied particularly to the western part of Canada, where the borrowings from other countries had contributed materially in burdening the country with an annual interest debt of over \$150,000,000. Only productive labor could support such borrowings, and when that was not employed, the logical outcome was a serious financial and industrial depression which was reflected in the conditions in all parts of the Dominion.

During the latter part of 1914, and the early part of 1915, there was a very serious unemployed problem in all parts of Canada, and had it not been for the call for recruits to join the army, and for workmen in the metal, clothing, and other trades to man the factories, this problem could only have led to a social upheaval that would have evidenced the serious discontent of men and women who had been denied the right to live by their own labor. The conditions forced the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, through its executive officers, to make representations to the federal government favoring the extension of the principle of the moratorium to mortgages on the homes of the workers, financial assistance to municipalities to provide relief-work for the unemployed, financial assistance to workers anxious to return to the United Kingdom and assured of employment, increased control over the banking institutions, to force extension of credit to industries willing to keep their workmen employed, if such credit was extended, and the commencement and completion of public works in all parts of the country, to provide work for the unemployed. The question of extending the principle of the moratorium to mortgages on workmen's homes was referred to the provincial (or state) legislatures, and a measure of relief along that line was given in several provinces. The banking institutions were given privileges, under the Banking Act, to enable them to facilitate production, by extending their credit, but did not accept the opportunity given them to produce the maximum of benefit in the interest of the unemployed, doing nothing to assist workmen to get back to the United Kingdom. The early part of this year the British government furnished financial assistance to men in the metal industries who were competent to fill vacancies in similar industries in the United Kingdom. Fully one thousand men availed themselves of the assistance offered.

While the Trades and Labor Congress was giving its attention to matters affecting the whole Dominion, provincial executive committees of the Congress were active in pressing for provincial assistance for the unemployed, and local trade and labor councils were securing splendid results in forcing municipal councils to provide work for those who needed it. Several attempts were made to establish lower rates of wages for this relief work, but the influence of Labor's representatives on these councils, with the co-operation of the central labor bodies, was sufficient to prevent the stampede towards the low-wage rate.

To meet the situation in a more comprehensive way the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada urged the federal government to appoint a federal commission to investigate conditions in the Dominion and to recommend measures to relieve the situation immediately. Other organizations suggested different means to meet the issue, but three months ago a conference of the mayors of the cities in all parts of Canada memorialized the government to adopt the course suggested by the Trades Congress, and the Premier has now asked for information from the provinces and municipalities to justify the appointment of such a commission.

There has been an insistent demand from many parts of the Dominion that all encouragement of immigration be discontinued until the industries of the nation have assimilated those who are out of employment. With over 150,000 men enlisted for the war, and orders for war munitions totaling \$150,000,000 on hand, the outlook has been made a little brighter, industrially, but the approaching winter bids fair to exceed the winter of 1914-15 in its bitter experiences for the workers who have been either unemployed or only partially employed during the summer. Workmen in the building trades are the greatest sufferers owing to the refusal of the banks to extend their credit to builders, and owing to the increased number of vacant houses which make building unprofitable for the builder.

Owing to war conditions the governments of the various provinces have not been very sensitive to the appeals of organized labor for improved social legislation and few legislative changes have been made that will directly benefit the workers during the present year. In the enactment of legislation improving the Workmen's Compensation Acts now in force the Province of Nova Scotia has taken a step in advance of the position it has held for many years, and an act is now in force that gives a greater measure of justice to the worker and his or her beneficiaries. In British Columbia, workmen's compensation has been a live issue, and the organized labor movement is pressing for changes that will guarantee more liberal compensation in the event of accident, death, or sickness to a larger number of the toilers. Organized labor in Manitoba is also pressing for improvements since the benefits of the act now in force in Ontario have been made known.

It has been left to the labor organizations in all parts of the Dominion to hold on, as best they can, to what they have, and notwithstanding the reduction in membership, owing to the enlistments for the war and the large number of unemployed, the movement generally displays signs of vitality that predicts an early revival at the close of the war, when the country has recovered the financial and commercial balance it maintained previous to 1913. Legislative demands for the shorter workday, mothers' pensions, old-age pensions, minimum wages, etc., must stand during the war, but the organizations of the organized workers that have for their object the obtaining of working class legislation, will continue their efforts with greater aggressiveness and persistency when the minds of the legislators are more susceptible to the reasonable claims of those who voice Labor's demands.

A commission, appointed by the government of the province of Ontario, to investigate the causes of unemployment in the province, and upon which organized labor has representation, has recently presented an interim report in which it strongly recommends the establishing of a Labor Department as a separate department of government, or a branch of some already existing department with a minister. The commission also recommends a number of employment bureaus in the leading industrial centers of the province, to assist unemployed workingmen and working women to obtain available positions without being exploited by the private employment agencies, which are scrupulously unscrupulous, some times, in their dealings with men and women out of work.

Owing to the financial and industrial depression there have been few strikes during the year, and in the majority of cases, where agreements have expired, there has been a renewal of the previous agreements without change. It has been remarkably encouraging to organized labor to note that where there were agreements between employers and workmen there have been few demands from the employers for a reduction in wages, and in the metal trades, where war munitions are being made, the tendency has been marked towards a higher wage rate. The machinists' organizations are in a healthy condition and demands for increased wages have been met without disagreements. Employers have admitted that the government is paying good prices for war supplies, and therefore the workers are just in their demands for a better share of the profits.

## SECOND DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, November 9th, in Eagles Hall, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Conway, Corbley, Feeney, Galvin, Hammerschlag, Riley.

President Gompers asked the pleasure of the convention in regard to completing the reading of the abstract of the report of the Executive Council, begun by Vice-President Duncan before the close of the preceding session. He stated that printed copies of the complete report of the Executive Council had been distributed.

The convention decided to dispense with the further reading of the abstract.

The Committee on Credentials presented the following supplementary report, read by Chairman Moser:

November 9, 1915.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Credentials from the following organizations have been presented and we recommend that their delegates be seated:

Vancouver, B. C., Trades and Labor Council—Harry H. Spear, 1 vote; United Laborers' Union, No. 14,113—F. P. Lamoreux, 1 vote; Flat Janitors' Union, No. 14,332—William Quesse, 1 vote; Cemetery Employees' Union, No. 10,634—John Sullivan, 1 vote; Astoria, Oregon, Central Labor Council—H. M. Lornston, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER,

Chairman;

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) asked if a protest had been presented against the seating of Frank Broden, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

President Gompers stated that as a delegate from the Cigarmakers' International Union he had received a copy of a resolution from the Cigarmakers' Union of Indianapolis, and had asked the delegates of the Cigarmakers' Inter-

national Union to meet for the purpose of determining the course necessary to pursue.

### Appointment of Committees.

The following committees were announced:

**Committee on Rules and Order of Business**—Thomas A. Rickert, J. M. Tobin, E. Wm. Weeks, J. D. Cannon, Samuel Grimblot, Edward Menge, E. H. Slissman, R. C. Schneider, S. Polakoff, Frank Butterworth, John Sullivan, James H. Hatch, Geo. J. Schneider, Alfonso D'Andrea, J. N. O'Brien.

**Committee on Report of Executive Council**—T. W. McCullough, Andrew Furuseth, James Wilson, Owen Miller, T. W. Rowe, Martin Lawlor, T. V. O'Connor, Thos. F. Tracy, Thos. Kearney, Frank X. Noschang, Jere L. Sullivan, Homer D. Call, Geo. L. Berry, Wm. L. Hutcheson, W. D. Mahon.

**Committee on Resolutions**—James Duncan, John P. Frey, Matt Comerford, G. W. Perkins, B. A. Larger, E. M. Ware, J. Fischer, J. A. Franklin, Hugh Stevenson, A. P. Sovey, John A. Voll, J. W. Morton, Edw. J. McGivern, J. J. Deviny, J. J. Glass.

**Committee on Laws**—John B. Lennon, Daniel J. Tobin, John Moore, J. W. Kline, S. G. Heberling, Hugh Frayne, P. H. McCarthy, Henry J. Wessel, Thos. F. Flaherty, E. W. D. O'Dell, F. J. Kierman, Chas. P. Ford, Timothy Healy, Robert Baxter, Ford A. Allen.

**Committee on Organization**—Frank Duffy, A. J. Kugler, Michael Casey, Frank J. Hayes, Benjamin Schlesinger, A. Hinzman, Thos. S. Farrell, John T. Taggart, O. M. Partelow, Herbert R. Schneider, Leonard Kraft, P. W. Dowler, Wm. J. Brennan, Jos. V. Maresch, James Roberts.

**Committee on Labels**—Max Zuckerman, Victor Altman, J. Mahlon Barnes, J. Goldstone, P. A. Scoby, Max. S. Hayes, Thos. J. Mahoney, Geo. Abernathy, M. F. Greene, John A. Metz, P. F. Ryan, James P. Brock, A. Letroadee, Philip Bock, J. Thomas Beasley.

**Committee on Adjustment**—James O'Connell, John Golden, John H. Tobin, J. C. Shanessy, Rezin Orr, H. J. Conway, D. A. Carey, E. Lewis Evans, John T. Smith, Chas. Anderson, Edward Flore, John P. Duffy, R. H. Curren, Maier Schwarz, James Smart.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**—H. B. Perham, H. S. Marshall, J. J. Barry, Em. Koveleski, Andrew J. Gallagher, Chas. W. McFarland, S. B. Marks, F. C. Hanson, Wm. MacPherson,



John A. Dunachie, P. H. Triggs, Chas. A. Gunther, Jas. G. Brown, Jas. A. Short, Thos. Clohessy.

**Committee on Education**—Joseph F. Valentine, C. C. Shay, M. M. Donoghue, Matthew Woll, John H. Ferguson, Margaret C. Daley, Joseph Obergfell, Chas. A. Sumner, E. B. Boyden, A. J. Howlett, John O'Hara, John J. Sullivan, H. L. Morrison, John J. Fitzpatrick, Frank W. Cotterill.

**Committee on State Organizations**—John R. Alpine, Stuart A. Hayward, John H. Walker, Frank Spiegl, Ed. S. Alden, Hugo Ernst, John T. Dempsey, Sam Tobin, R. L. Woodmansee, P. J. Ryan, John F. McGrath, H. G. Alexander, Frank M. Coffey, Fred L. Bourne, Harry P. Corcoran.

**Committee on Boycotts**—D. A. Hayes, Jas. J. Freil, John M. Gillespie, Wm. H. Johnston, T. M. Daly, W. W. Britton, C. M. Feider, A. A. Myrup, Thos. O'Hare, John Rader, Wm. Christman, Phil. H. Mueller, W. L. Funder Burk, Henry Altman, Joseph Cozzolino.

**Committee on Building Trades**—Thos. J. Williams, F. J. McNulty, Geo. Hedrick, D. A. Post, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. E. McClory, Domenick D'Alessandro, Jas. O'Connor, Chas. Rau, Sam Griggs, Frank Feeney, John J. Hynes, Jeremiah T. Hurley, J. M. Gavlak, Geo. E. Blakeley.

**Committee on Ways and Means**—John P. White, J. C. Skemp, A. O. Wharton, John Donlin, Chas. E. James, Newton A. James, John H. Kennedy, W. F. Kramer, A. M. Swartz, Thos. J. Dolan, John Kean, H. Irwin, Jas. Moriarty, Schuyler Lent, Wm. Kent.

**Committee on Shorter Workday**—Wm. Green, John Williams, M. G. Scott, C. L. Baine, Chas. R. Case, Henry Abrahams, Geo. Leary, Thos. Redding, M. J. McGuire, John F. Hart, J. H. Baker, Wm. Taber, John Carney, D. G. Ramsay, C. W. Woodman.

**Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building**—Geo. L. Berry, J. C. Skemp, Jas. G. Hannahan, C. L. Shamp, Wm. W. Campbell, William P. Clarke, Edmund Raleigh, J. B. Etchison, Chas. MacGowan, Chas. H. McKenna, C. F. Foley, J. A. Taylor, J. M. Suarez, M. E. Decker, Jas. L. Forrest.

**Committee on International Relations**—Geo. W. Perkins, Jas. Duncan, C. L. Baine, D. J. Tobin, J. H. Walker, B. A. Larger, Jas. O'Connell, Max S. Hayes, J. P. Frey, T. F. Tracy, T. V. O'Connor, G. L. Berry, Jas. Wilson, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, Martin Lawlor, Andrew Furuseth, Samuel Gompers.

The Committee on International Relations as read by the Secretary contained seventeen members. Vice-President Duncan moved that the name of President Gompers be added. The motion was seconded and carried.

The committees appointed by the President were confirmed by vote of the convention.

The following references of subjects

contained in the report of the Executive Council were read by the Secretary:

# Reference of Subjects in Executive Council's Report.

"Introduction"—Committee on Education.

All reference to finances—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"International Peace and War"—Committee on International Relations.

"International Federation of Trade Unions"—Committee on International Relations.

"British Trades Union Congress"—Committee on International Relations.

"Protection of American Citizens' Rights"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Pan-American Labor Relations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"A. F. of L. Exhibit"—Committee on Education.

"City Central Bodies—State Federations of Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Organization of Women Wage-Earners"—Committee on Organization.

"History of the A. F. of L. Departments"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Affiliation of International Trade Unions"—Committee on Organization.

"Labor Forward Movement"—Committee on Organization.

"A. F. of L. Organizers"—Committee on Organization.

"Shorter Workday"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Labor Day"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Colorado Mine Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Hatters' Case"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Detective Agencies and Pseudo Employment Offices"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Dick Military Law, Report on"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"New Legal Opinion of Eight-Hour Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Panama Canal Rules and Regulations"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Report on Legislative Progress"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Anti-trust and Injunction Limitation Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Seamen's Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Public versus Private Construction of Naval and Other Vessels"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Bureau of Labor Safety"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Employer's Liability—Workmen's Compensation for Injuries"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Political Liberty of Civil Service Employees"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Eight-Hour Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Model Anti-trust Injunction Limitation Law for State Use"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Convict Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Child Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Piece Work—Taylor System—In Government Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Immigration"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Amendment to Hours of Service Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Minimum Wages for Federal Employees"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Industrial Education—Vocational Training"—Committee on Education.

"Prevention of Accidents Among Longshoremen"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Prohibit New York Boat Owners from Compelling Captains' Families to live on Boats and Barges"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Government Ownership of Mount Vernon and Monticello"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Old Age Pensions for Government Employees"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Popular Government"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Amendment to Postal Savings Bank Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Citizenship for Porto Ricans"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Proposed Welfare Amendments to State Constitutions"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Municipal Housing"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Denatured Alcohol"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Manufacture of Stamped Envelopes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Suffrage in the District of Columbia"—Committee on Education.

"Teamsters in Post Office Employ"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Locomotive Inspectors"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Bureau of Mines"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Safety Appliances and Regulations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Impeachments"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Agricultural Credit Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Post Office Clerks—Night Work—Salaries, etc."—Committee on Resolutions.

"Summary of Legislative Measures of Interest to Labor which Failed to Pass During the Last Session of Congress"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Mother's Day"—Committee on Education.

"A. F. of L. Office Building"—Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building.

"Registration of Titles and Labels"—Committee on Labels.

"Journeyman Tailors' Union"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carpenters-Brewery Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Cigarmakers-Stogiemakers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Carpenters-Sheet Metal Workers-Building Trades"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Carpenters and the Building Trades"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Chicago Building Trades Council Appeal"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Tunnel and Subway Constructors-Compressed Air Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Blacksmiths-Tunnel and Subway Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Proposed Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Proposed Miners' Amalgamation Failed"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Flint Glass Workers and Machinists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Machinists-Carpenters"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Machinists-Elevator Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Plumbers and Steamfitters-Machinists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Brewery Workers-Coopers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Teamsters-Brewers-Bakers-Laundry Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Engineers and Longshoremen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Steam Shovelmen-Steam Engineers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Lithographers-Lithographic Press-feeders-Printing Pressmen-Photo-Engravers-Poster Artists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Jurisdiction Over Single Wrapping"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Hodcarriers-Cement Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers-Seeding Local Unions"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Bridge and Structural Iron Workers-Boilermakers-Hodcarriers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Dock Builders of New York City"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Painters-Carmen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carpenters-Railway Carmen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carriage and Wagon Workers-Blacksmiths-Upholsterers-Machinists-Metal Polishers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Electrical Workers-Theatrical Stage Employees"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Application of Retail Clerks for Change of Title"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Metal Lathers-Plasterers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Amalgamation of Glass Workers with the Brotherhood of Painters"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Longshoremen-Marine Warehousemen"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"United Hebrew Trades"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Capmakers-Hatters and Straw Hat Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Marble Workers and Slate Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Marble Workers"—Committee on Building Trades.

"The Coopers and Barrel-Stave Industry—Resolution No. 80"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"The Holt Manufacturing Company"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Detroit Cigar and Tobacco Trust"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Resolutions 79, 92, 154 and 161 (Abraham S. Cox Stove Company, Victor Talking Machine Co., U. S. Broom and Brush Co.)"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Ward Baking Company"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Telegraph Companies"—Committee on Organization.

"L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Co."—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Firemen-Engineers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"American Federationist"—Committee on Education.

"American Federation of Labor Newsletter"—Committee on Education.

"Labor Press"—Committee on Education.

"Organization of Teachers"—Committee on Organization.

"Educational Activities"—Committee on Organization.

"Democratization of Schools"—Committee on Education.

"Report of United States Commission on Industrial Relations"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Board of Mediation and Conciliation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Unfinished Business"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Conclusion"—Committee on Education.

#### Appendix.

"Building Trades Department"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Metal Trades Department"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Union Label Trades Department"—Committee on Labels.

"Railway Employees' Department"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Mining Department"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Puerto Rico"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Canada"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Secretary Morrison read the following supplementary report:

Supplementary Statement to the Executive Council's Report—Page 125:

"Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics."

Since this section of the report was prepared, information has been given us by President P. H. McCarthy of the California State Building Trades Council that the Carpet Mechanics' Local Union of San Francisco has been unseated, and deprived of representation in the organized labor movement until it shall have become a part of the Upholsterers' International Union, the body under whose jurisdiction it rightfully comes.

Secretary O'Connell of the San Francisco Labor Council, speaking for the Entertainment Committee, announced that invitations had been received from the Fraternal Order of Eagles and from the Knights of Columbus tendering the use of their club rooms to the delegates. Secretary O'Connell further announced that at two o'clock sightseeing cars would reach the convention hall to convey all the delegates and visitors on a sightseeing tour through Golden Gate Park, to the Presidio, Cliff House and the business section of the city.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.) moved that prior to adjournment all the delegates arise and stand in silence for the space of one minute in memory of the de-

parted members. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram and telegrams:

Vera Cruz, October 25, 1915.

Secretary General of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

The Confederation of Labor Syndicates of the Republic of Mexico fraternally acknowledges the interest taken for the Union Labor of this great Republic in the recognition of constitutional government, being the incarnation of our ideals of liberty, union and emancipation.

AUSTIN GONZALEZ,

Secretary General.

E. A. QUINONES,  
Secretary of the Exterior.

New York, Nov. 8, 1915.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Heartiest congratulations to your thirty-fifth convention. Sorry can not be represented. Wishing you success in your deliberations to further the cause of the laboring class.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS'  
UNION OF U. S. A. & CANADA.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 7, 1915.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

I regret that it is impossible for me to attend. Accept my best wishes for the success of this convention in the interest of the labor movement of America and the emancipation of the workers of the world.

Fraternally, ANDRIES MEYER,

President Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 7, 1915.

Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L. Convention, Hall, San Francisco, Cal.

To the delegates in session, greeting. Joint Board of United Garment Workers of America of Baltimore in regular session extends to your honorable body hearty congratulations and best wishes and hope you will uphold the loyal Garment Workers against those who are destroying the good work accomplished for organized labor.

JOSEPH GILLIS, Secretary.

New York, Nov. 7, 1915.

American Federation of Labor Convention, San Francisco.

To this Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor I extend fraternal greetings and good wishes to all in attendance. Congratulate your officials on their wonderful achievements during the past year in improving the conditions of all the toilers. May that power for good never cease.

H. WAXMAN,

General Treasurer United Garment Workers of America.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from Mayor Joseph H. Gainer, Provi-

dence, R. I., and from the Secretary of the Providence Central Federated Union, in which a cordial invitation was extended the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

Letters containing an invitation to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in the city of Baltimore, Md., were read from the following bodies: Merchants & Manufacturers' Association of Baltimore, Maryland (Charles H. Falconer, President; Robert J. Beacham, Secretary); Bureau of Conventions, Baltimore (Robert E. Lee, Director); James H. Preston, Mayor of Baltimore, and Hon. Phillips Lee Goldsborough, Governor of Maryland.

Letters from the Conventions Bureau of the City of St. Louis (F. L. Schlicher, Acting Secretary-Manager); Associated Retailers of St. Louis (K. F. Niemoeller, Manager); Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis (Roger E. Annan, Jr., President; Eugene Smith, Secretary); and from Mayor Henry W. Kiel of St. Louis, were read. All the letters contained invitations to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in the city of St. Louis.

Delegate Altman (V.) announced that articles made by members of the organization he represented, The United Garment Workers of America, could be purchased in San Francisco in all grades, and all bearing the union label; that the members of this organization on the Pacific Coast were well organized and enjoyed union conditions. He stated that an exhibit at the Exposition bearing the title "Koveralls" was composed of articles not made under union conditions.

President Gompers said: The delegates and the friends of our movement will, of course, give their patronage as far as possible to the men and women who are making the fight for better conditions and who have to bear the responsibilities and make the sacrifices. We owe it to ourselves and to each other to help wherever we possibly can by the purchase and patronage of union-label products, shop cards and buttons.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to assemble here for the entertainment

this afternoon, and adjourn the convention to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate McGuire: I would like to announce that the San Francisco Examiner is on the unfair list of our Central Labor Council here, and I sincerely hope no delegate to this convention will purchase a copy.

President Gompers: A motion has been adopted unanimously that we arise and remain standing for a moment in memory of the dead,—the men and the women who have taken their leave from the ranks of labor; the men and women, big and little, occupying positions of trust and honor, and those unknown to us by name but who have played their part in this great world struggle for justice and liberty and humanity.

All the delegates and visitors arose and remained silent for the space of one minute in memory of the dead.

Announcements of committee meetings were made by the various chairmen.

The following resolutions were introduced and referred by the President to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:\*

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, The then Attorney General, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy; and

WHEREAS, Since this decision the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., the best-paid and provided-for enlisted band in the world, has continued to practically monopolize the music business of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the District of Columbia, to the detriment of the musicians of the whole country, by offering its services for expositions, state fairs, and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various states from such employment; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band, or sections thereof, is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political

and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties as every other enlisted band is; and

WHEREAS, It is within the prerogatives of the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, respectfully requests His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue the necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians, either in or out of the District of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a decision of the then Attorney General of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Federation, in conjunction with an official of the American Federation of Musicians, endeavor to secure a personal interview with the President to lay this matter before him.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The civilian musicians of the United States of America have for the past 25 years made every possible effort to secure legislation which would absolutely prohibit the enlisted musicians of the army and navy of the United States from entering into the competitive field, and more particularly the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, In this effort the civilians were supported by the National League of Musicians, which has since developed into the American Federation of Musicians, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and after 25 years of agitation a bill approved May 11, 1908, was passed by Congress prohibiting enlisted musicians in either the Army or Navy from competing with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, When this bill was approved and about to be enforced the commander of the Marine Corps did not apply it to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, This being a question of law, was referred to the then Attorney-General of the United States, Charles Bonaparte, who in June, 1908, took the matter under advisement and did not come to a decision until the day after the general election, November of that

year, and then he made the astounding decision that the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., was not a part of the Naval Service of the United States, which decision resulted in this band, which was really the objective point to be reached by the law, being allowed to continue in the competition with the civilian musicians of the country; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the absurdity of such a decision, the American Federation of Musicians, through its proper officers, made an appeal to the President of the United States to have the matter again referred to the Law Department of the United States, with a view of exactly defining the relationship of the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., to the United States Government, which decision was by the President referred to the Attorney-General, and to which no answer has to this day been received; and

WHEREAS, To forever settle this question, a joint bill was introduced in the House and Senate, which, if passed, will forever end the competition of enlisted musicians in the United States service in any capacity with civilians, to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment of local civilians in their respective arts, trades or professions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby records and declares itself in favor of the said bill, as appended to this resolution, prohibiting the said enlisted musicians from competing with civilians for civil employment and instructs its Legislative Committee to do everything in its legitimate power to have the said proposed legislation enacted.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION.

In Reference to the Employment of Enlisted Men in Competition with Local Civilians.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter no enlisted man in the service of the United States, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire, or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in their respective arts, trades, or professions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The machine has finally invaded the field of music, and today there are concerns manufacturing machines that are displacing musicians all over the United States and Canada. In many instances such machines have displaced orchestras of as high as fifty musicians, and the American Federation of Musicians has determined to do as the printers did with the Mergenthaler machine when it was introduced, namely, control it; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians passed a resolution at their convention, held in San Francisco, Cal., May, 1915, to the effect that all Locals of the A. F. of M. were instructed to resist, not the use of these machines, but their displacement of musicians. The American Federation of Musicians has absolutely no more objection to the music machine than the printers had to the Mergenthaler, but have decided that wherever these machines are placed that they shall be operated by members of the A. F. of M., and that they shall not be permitted to displace musicians; that is to say, where the rule is that a certain minimum number of musicians shall be employed, that minimum shall not be ignored; and

WHEREAS, These machines are being placed, more generally in picture and vaudeville houses. In many instances the regulation in picture houses is but one musician; from that on up, according to the size of the building, seating capacity and price of admission; and

WHEREAS, In this critical moment, the A. F. of M. needs the support of organized labor; therefore, recognizing that their demands are just, be it

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extend every possible assistance to the American Federation of Musicians in enforcing their demands on the employers of music where machines are placed.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 4.—By the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many Unions at the present time are unable to properly protect the interests of their members or protect their cause, and

WHEREAS, The introduction of modern machinery and methods of doing work is rapidly bringing a number of the crafts so closely together that it is practically impossible to define the line of demarcation in relation to the jurisdiction of said crafts, and

WHEREAS, Federation by affiliation, as under the present system, will not solve the problem, but only by amalgamation of all trades into groups that can be known as the Mason Group, Iron Group, Pipe Trades Group, Building Finishing and Wood Working Group, Print-



ing Trades Group, Tobacco Industry Group, and the Leather Industry Group, etc., can this condition be met and the solution found, and

WHEREAS, This amalgamation should be brought about without undue friction, but by mutual consent; all trades amalgamating to cover jurisdiction and members, ip, and

WHEREAS, Said amalgamation can be perfected by establishing a district or divisional form of organization, working under one general constitution and one set of general officers and by granting to each division the right of self-government to the fullest extent, subordinate to the constitution of the division of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the twenty-third annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, assembled, in Superior, Wis., recommend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held during the year 1915, that the General Executive Board be instructed to take this matter up with all affiliated International Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of any organizations being agreeable to said plan of amalgamation, the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor shall proceed to work out such plan of amalgamation with the favorable organizations at the earliest possible date and that all affiliated organizations be requested to support said amalgamation whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate James Roberts of the Western Federation of Miners:

Amend Section 11, Article 9, Constitution, as follows:

On line 5, page 15, before the word "Work" insert the words "go to" and after the word "work" strike out the word "at" and insert the following words, "in the jurisdiction of".

The full paragraph will then read as follows, from line three:

And it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union, go to work in the jurisdiction of any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the Union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are approximately 220,000 Butcher Workmen in this country who are unorganized and whose

working conditions are deplorable; and

WHEREAS, The A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. have since the 1904 strike been waging an unequal struggle with this most powerful combination ever known in history (The Meat Trust) to reach and organize their men but without avail; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the present gigantic European struggle, which is creating a large demand for meats of all kinds, both for home and export trade, we feel that the present is the opportune time to effect a more thorough organization of the people working in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to assign some one organizer to devote his entire time and energy to this work and to confer with the Executive Council of the International A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. and outline a policy to be followed until success shall crown their efforts.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are now certain organized crafts that are opposing the efforts of the Butcher Workmen, in some localities in their efforts to secure the closing of Meat Markets on Sunday; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at several conventions gone on record as favoring one day's rest in seven; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure the Sunday closing of Meat Markets in all localities and pledge them their moral support in their efforts.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose charter of affiliation was granted in the year 1897, has jurisdiction over all persons employed in the meat industry; and

WHEREAS, There are at the present time small dual organizations posing as Butcher Workmen, to the detriment of the labor movement as a whole, in violation of the recognized and admitted jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and which is injurious to the welfare and progress of the men

engaged in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the International Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America is the only organization having jurisdiction over the Butcher Workmen, and recommend to all men engaged in the trade to affiliate themselves with their fellow workmen by becoming members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify the general and special organizers of the federation to organize the men in the meat trade into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate F. H. Ainsworth of Federal Labor Union 14,374:

WHEREAS, It is a fundamental principle for which democracy has long struggled against the powers of autocracy, that no one man might decide the right of another man in matters pertaining to life, liberty or property; and

WHEREAS, This principle finds expression in our courts of equity and criminal procedure by the provisions for appeals from the decision of any tribunal of original jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the military branch of the Government, findings of courts-martial are subject to review and appeal by superior independent authority; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law is found the only organization wherein the members may be deprived of the fruits of years of faithful and valuable service by the judgment of one man; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law there is no appeal from the decision of the head of the Department reducing or dismissing any subordinate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the principle of appeal in any case of decision or ruling affecting the welfare of any public employee; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor are empowered to take such steps as they may deem advisable to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to the end that an appellate tribunal, upon which the employees shall have representation, be created for the purpose of reviewing appeals from the decisions of Department heads in demoting or removing public employees from office.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Fred L. Bourne of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is a well recognized fact that organization of the workers in the industrial field is a necessity; and

WHEREAS, Such organizations of the workers have to contend with powerful industrial organizations of employers for the just portion of the product of their members' toil; and

WHEREAS, This continuous struggle makes imperative the most strong and efficient and non-frictional organization among the workers; and

WHEREAS, The development of our modern industries, and the activities of employers' associations makes the craft union, with its jurisdictional problems and the possibilities therein for the employer to array one set of craftsmen against another set or sets of same, inoperative in many instances, and slow of results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the State Federation of Labor, That this Convention instruct its delegate to petition the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in San Francisco, 1915, to elect a committee of twelve representative men of labor, whose duty it shall be during the period elapsing between conventions of the A. F. of L. held in 1915 to investigate the feasibility of Industrial Unionism vs. Craft Unionism to get the sentiment on this question insofar as possible, of the individual unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and if said commission finds Industrial Unionism is practical and popular with the general membership of the A. F. of L. it shall devise ways and means whereby the A. F. of L. may gradually change from a Craft Union organization to one of Industrial Unionism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate H. O. Gossett of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The union label is a mark of distinction "union made" and should not only be requested but demanded on all articles of our purchase and use; and such demand and purchase should not be confined to any special few of any personal choice, but to all union-made articles of whatever craft and kind, and

WHEREAS, The universal purchasing power is compiled through the individual demand and purchase and as, approximately, ninety per cent. or more, of our membership do not know the designs of all the various union labels, and, for the want of such knowledge, the concentration of our universal purchasing power is but a small per cent. of what it should be, and

WHEREAS, We, the American Federation of Labor, as a unit for the universal good and betterment of unionism and mankind, believe that simplified aid should be given to utilize a progressive universal purchasing power among all trade unionists and friends; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the adoption of a Universal Monogram Label for all union-made goods and that the Label Committee submit an appropriate design of such a label for the adoption of this convention.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in this condition: men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employees is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the position taken by previous Conventions by indorsing the efforts of affiliated civil service bodies to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Government workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist representatives of affiliated civil service employees in calling the attention of the Sixty-fourth Congress to the urgent need of this legislation.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postoffice clerks throughout the country are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks is endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the

postal service by securing a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m. for postoffice clerks and letter carriers—a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor indorse the efforts of affiliated postoffice clerks to effect a reduction of night work in the postal service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in seeking legislative relief from the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, Local officers of unions, and of the Central Federated Unions, are versed in conditions and affairs pertaining to their respective local communities, and are in possession of knowledge relevant to the well-being and welfare of organized labor, which a visiting brother could not be aware of; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make it a law or rule of the American Federation of Labor, and also that the said American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and Federal unions affiliated with them that all officers and organizers of the aforementioned bodies be instructed, when making more than a temporary stay in a town or city, to seek the officers of the Local Central Federated Union and find out the condition of affairs existing in that city. Also that all national and international unions, when planning to hold a convention in a city or town, be instructed to get in touch with the local officers of the Central Federated Union of said city or town. This would prevent the possibility of patronizing hotels, halls or places of industry or business that are unfair to organized labor.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates E. William Weeks, E. M. Ware and W. J. Adames of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen:

WHEREAS, The men engaged in the repairing and building of cars, trucks, and other railway equipment, are compelled to work a large part of the time in rain, heat and other inclement weather because of inadequate shelter to protect them from same; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are injurious to the health, safety and comfort of such employees; and

WHEREAS, In several states in the Union efforts have been made to have remedial legislation enacted, requiring

railway companies to provide adequate shelter for such employees, and have failed because of the combined opposition of the railways; and

WHEREAS, The railways are Interstate Concerns; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we in Convention instruct our President and Legislative Committee to have introduced in Congress a bill requiring the railways to build adequate buildings over their repair tracks for the protection of the men engaged in the repairing or building of cars, trucks and other railway equipment.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, An increase in dues among the labor unions is a dire necessity, due to the growing expansion and importance of the Labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and federal unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that whenever a subordinate union obtains an increase in wages, that they cause to be put into operation an increase in their dues amounting and equivalent to 10 per cent. of said raise in wages.

Referred to Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Charles W. McFarland of the Wallace (Idaho) Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, We have no State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The State of Idaho is a fertile field for the work of skilled organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to transfer one or more organizers to this district; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in this work of organization to the full extent of our ability.

Referred to the Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 18—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of our nation depends upon the welfare and progress of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of Labor are best promoted by a thorough organization of the workers into trade unions as chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such organization would be given a decided impetus by the establishment of labor newspapers containing

telegraphic news and a correct interpretation of current events and world happenings (particularly of those directly concerning Labor); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity in regular meeting assembled October 22, 1915, that it petition the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, to direct its Executive Council to, as soon as practicable, organize and establish an International Labor Press News Service, said service to be owned and controlled by a corporation whose stock and bond holders shall be confined to labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation, and papers and journals published and owned by same, and having in its articles, of incorporation a provision making it impossible for any one such organization to control the physical properties of the corporation or its policy.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 19—By the San Francisco Labor Council:

RESOLVED, By the San Francisco Labor Council, that it hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coastwise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; and further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, California Metal Trades Association, California Foundrymen's Association and the Press.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 20—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity, in an effort to abolish involuntary unemployment in Oregon, has drawn up for submission to the people thereof by the initiative

and referendum a measure designed to accomplish this purpose and make the land and natural resources accessible to the people, said measure being known as the "People's Land and Loan Measure;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to aid us in placing this measure on the ballot and passing same at the coming general election, as follows:

(1) By commending the measure to the workers and producers of Oregon and urging their undivided support of same.

(2) By recommending to all affiliated organizations voluntary moral and financial assistance.

(3) By instructing the organizers of the American Federation of Labor who may be in Oregon during either campaign to aid us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

(4) That the convention urge all affiliated internationals to aid us by instructing organizers and officers when in Oregon to co-operate with us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21.—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, On July 24th, 1915, the excursion steamer "Eastland," her decks packed with human beings, capsized while lying at her dock in the Chicago river, drowning nearly 900 men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, Four officials of the Chicago-St. Joseph Steamship Company, owner of the vessel, are named in an indictment returned by the grand jury in Cook County, said indictment containing five counts charging substantially the following:

1. That they knew the "Eastland" was unseaworthy and had no stability.

2. That they permitted 2,500 passengers aboard the vessel, which is more than its carrying capacity.

3. That they were negligent in hiring an incompetent engineer, and that because of his lack of skill he was unable to control the boat properly.

4. That there was not sufficient help on the ship to manage and control her properly.

5. That the ballast tanks were allowed to be out of repair, and not filled with water.

WHEREAS, The United States Steamboat Inspection Service, a bureau of the United States Department of Commerce, is, under the law, charged with the duty of correcting the very faults mentioned in every one of the five counts; the officials of the inspection service are required by law to examine into the sea-

worthiness of such vessels; they are required by law to determine the maximum number of passengers to be allowed on board; they issue and may revoke the licenses under which the engineers and the master serve; they are required by law to determine the number of crew in the deck and engine departments of such vessels; and it is their duty, under the law, to see that the vessels are kept in proper repair; and

WHEREAS, It is proper that the owners should be brought to the bar of justice to answer for the terrible loss of life, but the government bureau which permitted the owners to operate the vessel under such dangerous conditions should also be made to answer for its negligence; particularly since it is the same laxity and disregard of the law made possible the terrible disaster in New York some years ago, wherein about 1,000 persons lost their lives in the burning of the excursion steamer "General Slocum"; it is the same bureau, with exactly the same personnel, whose disregard of the law was admitted by its officials after the disaster on the Great Lakes in November, 1913, when twelve ships were lost with every person on board; it is the same bureau that remained inactive while many other disasters have occurred; and

WHEREAS, The uselessness of the Steamboat Inspection Service cannot be justly charged to underpaid subordinates, but must be laid at the door of the higher officials, particularly to those whose decisions have affected the actions of the subordinates; and

WHEREAS, The law is such that the higher officials cannot be reached under the criminal statutes; and

WHEREAS, It has been announced by the Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, that as soon as Congress convenes steps will be taken to bring about a general and thorough investigation of the entire United States Steamboat Inspection Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois be requested to insist upon the selection of an impartial commission to conduct such investigation, and to oppose the creation of any alleged investigating body having in its membership any official of the inspection service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 22.—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

RESOLVED, That this convention reiterates the position taken at the Philadelphia convention in the following resolution which was there unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The registration laws have been so altered as to permit foreign vessels to come under the American flag and to sail for two years without inspection, and for seven years with officers not citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels so admitted thereby become able to sail with no inspection whatsoever, to the danger of human life and property; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels have no rights, other than those mentioned, that they would not have enjoyed under any foreign flag; and

WHEREAS, That part of our registration laws which prohibit foreign-built vessels from being engaged in the coast-wise trade acts as a deterrent on the building of American merchant marine; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the United States as licensed officers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 23.—By Delegates John B. Lennon and James O'Connell:

#### COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

A Committee on Industrial Relations has been organized to act as the agency through which all who agree to the fundamental principles embodied in the main report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and who desire to see its recommendations carried into effect, can act to the best advantage.

The final report of the Commission, which expired August 23rd, by statutory limitation, will be laid before Congress when it meets in December. Congress and the nation then, for the first time, will be officially advised of what many citizens have known for a long time: that vast numbers of the nation's workers receive wages too low to maintain a decent existence for themselves and their families; that the economic power of the employer in industries where the wage earners are unorganized either has made him the political and social dictator, as well as the industrial dictator, or has left the workers with a political freedom of little immediate value, and in glaring contrast with their economic subserenity; and, finally, that only through organization among themselves, and with their own leaders, can the wage earners rescue not only themselves but the community from a situation that is repugnant to and subversive of American ideals.

Because of the wide public interest in

the hearings and proceedings of the Commission, which in every instance has shared with the public the evidence and disclosures on which its report is based, there now exist probably a larger body of citizens than ever before who are alive to the need of improving our industrial situation as regards the well being of the men and women wage earners. Both before and during the life of the Commission on Industrial Relations, it became evident that a very large proportion of the country's citizenship was awake to the injustice, dangers and cruelties of the prevailing industrial order, and prepared to support, with zeal and enthusiasm, any movement that, to them, gave assurance of substantial results.

The Commission's conclusion is unanswerable, that genuine and lasting improvement must be achieved through the collective action of the workers themselves—the toilers and producers in field and factory, and elsewhere. This committee bases its existence on that fact. But we believe, also, that there exist many opportunities for the general citizenship to aid in the working out of a solution for this most important and pressing of all our social and political problems. On the public as a whole must be laid the important duty of removing governmental obstacles to the efforts of the wage earners to organize, and of insisting that wage earners and their representatives have a fair and free field. We believe that the best public opinion of the nation has failed of effective expression in regard to the industrial problem chiefly because it has never yet done justice to the importance of the labor union as the only effectual means yet devised by which the principles of democracy can be realized in the political field, and extended to the industrial field. Trade unions, economists, sociologists, public officials, and the disinterested public in general, long ago accepted the principle of collective bargaining. But in the application of this principle, we too often have strained at gnats in finding reasons for either opposing a particular union, or for withholding influence and support during a specific struggle for industrial democracy.

The Committee on Industrial Relations asserts that no alleged or actual altruism of more fortunately circumstanced classes will avail to remove existing injustices and to lift the workers to the place to which they are entitled within the circle of those who enjoy the fullest possible measure of freedom and well being. It condemns the doctrine that an economically superior class should justify and perpetuate its existence by assuming and discharging the responsibility of benevolent control. It shares labor's distrust of so-called welfare work where such work is not in the hands of men representing the interests of the workers and directed primarily to fitting the workers to exercise an ever-increasing measure of control over the industry in which they are engaged. It repudiates,



as a contradiction of the fundamental principle of democracy, the conception that any group of wage earners is unfit to exercise a voice in the management of the industry, and holds that only through exercise of the power of political and industrial self-government can the capabilities of the workers as citizens of a democracy be developed.

The committee declares that government intervention to control, or at all to affect, industrial relations, is warranted only to prevent special privilege, and to prevent the undue use of usurped governmental powers on behalf of special privilege and the wrongfully organized accumulations of wealth. It asserts that in industrial facts, as well as in political forms, government must wield only, in Jefferson's phrase, "the arm of the people." With government exercising only its own proper function, the committee believes that the problems of industry, or of capital and labor, are not largely problems of legislation, but are to be adjusted by the voluntary action of the people themselves. The few laws that the committee will press on Congress, and at various times on the State legislatures, are for a fair field to labor and to the producing farmers. They are as nothing in number to the great welter of rules and laws annually enacted and constantly urged alike by politicians, special interests and bureaucratic "experts."

The Committee on Industrial Relations recognizes the need for constant striving after improvement inside the unions. It sees the organized labor movement as the rise of a democracy in the field of industry, a democracy with some of the faults of other democracies, but nevertheless, as the medium through which the vital idealism of the age is finding expression, as the movement that in this century is to be the most potent factor in the upward progress of the race, translating democratic ideals into realities. This Committee is prepared to give its whole hearted support to a labor union in any contest where the existence of the union is at stake.

A chief duty, as it comes home to us, after studying the evidence and findings of the Commission, is to insist that any struggle between employers and employees be accurately and fairly reported by the press; that the public authorities, including police, courts, administrative officials and militia, act with absolute impartiality as between capital and labor, and that the importation of armed guards, gunmen and strikebreakers be prohibited.

We believe that non-participants who discharge this duty will be called upon more often than not to combat an unconscious but strong and persuasive caste feeling, or class consciousness on the part of the great body of comfortable and well-to-do citizens, a prejudice rooted in misunderstanding and lending itself to the success of attempts to foster this very prejudice by the use of such catch words as "outside agitators" and "ignorant foreigners," and under it to pervert the use of governmental power.

In pursuance of the principles we have

adopted, the Committee on Industrial Relations will give its support to every effort made by Trade Unions and individuals to extend the benefits of organization to the unskilled and the unorganized, and more especially to the vast number of wage earners in this category in the employ of the great corporations that conduct our basic industries. The greatest obstacle to the organization of the employees of large corporations is the feudalistic control which such corporations exercise over the communities in which their plants are situated. Through their suppression of free speech, of orderly assemblage of citizens, through their all-pervading spy system, through their power and practice of ejecting from the community any persons whom they deem undesirable, or of procuring their commitment to jail on false or trumped up charges, through their power of arbitrary discharge, they have made it difficult, or even impossible for organizers to work effectively in such communities. The aim of this Committee will be to break down the feudalistic power of the corporations, to expose every case of abuse, and to work unceasingly to protect the rights of those who carry the message of organization to such communities. The Committee hopes to aid also by calling attention to the economic as well as the political evils that exist in those communities, in which the poorly paid individual wage earner pits his feeble and entirely negligible bargaining power against that of the huge corporation.

#### PROPOSALS FOR ACTION.

Those recommendations of the Commission on Industrial Relations contained in the report of Basil M. Manly, director of research and investigation, that have been adopted by the Committee as the most immediately practicable and urgent, are all designed to aid the efforts of organized labor, rather than to substitute governmental action for such efforts. They are in line with the conviction of leading economists that, in the words of Prof. Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, "Any effective attack on the evil of poverty means, first of all, a decided revulsion of opinion toward trade unionism."

1. More important than any program of legislation is the accomplishment of this "revulsion of feeling" on which Prof. Hollander insists. Therefore, the first effort of the Committee will be to urge the printing and distribution, free of charge, of final reports of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and also of the testimony taken at public hearings. It believes a reading of these reports by the vast number of men and women who already are vitally interested in the industrial problem would go far toward the creation of the understanding that is necessary if public opinion is to do its share in the great task of translating our democratic ideals into reality.

2. The Committee believes there is unusual need this winter at Washington

for cooperation with the Trade Unions, and all organizations and persons favorable thereto through which democratic thought on industrial problems can make itself felt. The subject of national preparedness is to the forefront, and many powerful influences are at work to create an enormous military organization and to increase the prestige of the kind of force represented by a large military establishment. The Committee, while taking no part in the discussion regarding the size of the army and navy, will endeavor to keep to the forefront certain fundamental principles that should govern in any program for preparedness. These are:

a. That all munitions, warships and military supplies should be manufactured, as far as possible and as soon as possible, in government plants, except in cases of emergency. Apart from the evidence that such manufacture can be more cheaply performed and under better industrial conditions in government shops, the removal of private profits in this field strikes down the strongest single militaristic interest.

b. That the militia system or any new system of citizen soldiery be organized on a democratic basis, with equal opportunity for wage earners and those without means to obtain commissions on a merit basis, and that the use of these forces shall be confined to purposes of national defense, and shall never be used against workmen on strike. The importance of these provisions to labor and the rights of citizens generally is obvious.

c. That a healthy, well-organized, well-paid industrial force be insisted upon as a paramount factor in any plan for national preparedness, that the dangers inherent in an unorganized and underpaid labor force during times of national danger be kept in mind at all times, and that the service of the labor union as the most potent force for training immigrants in collective action and enlisting them as responsible, capable and loyal citizens be emphasized at all appropriate times. The European war has demonstrated sensationally not only the military importance of the condition of the industrial workers, but also the absolute necessity for strong labor organizations as the basis for effective cooperative action in the workshops of the nation, and as a means of enlisting the intelligent support of the workers.

3. To urge that, if additional revenue is required for the needs of the government, it shall be secured by the passage of an inheritance tax, as outlined in the report of the Commission, or by making the income tax more effective, and not by heavier taxes upon the necessities and small luxuries of the workers, such as sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and the like.

A scheme of taxation which burdens labor and discourages enterprise is wrong. It is part and parcel with the control of money and credits by banking monopolies and "captains of finance." It is

bound up inextricably with the bad distribution of wealth and the control of economic power by the favorites of special privilege. But until a radical readjustment of taxation and of wealth control is reached the true test of taxation is the ability to bear the burden. Upon the workers, already groaning under the weight of an ever-increasing cost of living, and the burden of indirect taxation, which is multiplied fourfold in being transferred to their backs by merchants and manufacturers, heavier taxes should not be imposed.

4. To secure the passage by Congress of a statute, or, if necessary, the initiation of a constitutional amendment, providing specifically that the courts shall exercise only the powers granted by the Constitution, and shall not be permitted to declare laws unconstitutional.

To every believer in true democracy, the veto by the courts of legislation through the unwarranted assumption of the power to declare laws unconstitutional by a bare majority vote, must stand as the great barrier to progress and as the greatest bulwark of privilege. Through this judicial veto the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted as the supreme protection of personal liberty in the United States, has been used almost uniformly to protect property rights to the detriment of the rights of men. In thirty-nine out of fifty-five cases before the Supreme Court, private corporations sought and received protection under its cloak. With the sole exception of cases involving the rights of negroes in jury cases, the Fourteenth Amendment has not acted to secure or protect personal rights, but only as a shield for property and privilege. In all the other numerous cases in which the Fourteenth Amendment was invoked to protect personal rights, the attempt failed. It stands today as the Magna Charta of accumulated, organized, predatory wealth.

Through this judicial veto, assumed by the Supreme Court and later transmitted even to the lower courts, judges appointed for life, and removable only by the slow process of congressional impeachment, have become the real rulers of the nation. The blow which will restore the rule to the people and their representatives, must be struck directly at the source of their power.—the unauthorized and unwarranted veto of legislative acts.

5. To secure the passage of laws providing for the selection of juries by an impartial method from a list containing the names of all qualified voters.

The demand for a democratically chosen jury is fundamental, and rests upon two great considerations. First, in a civilized community, the decision of the jury is the final arbiter of every man's freedom. An universal suffrage is essential to the democratic making of laws and the preservation of the rights of the people as a whole, so a democratically chosen jury is essential to the just enforcement of laws and the protection of the rights of the individual. In a democracy the privilege and duty

of jury service must be co-extensive with the suffrage, or justice is a mockery. The present jury system based upon property qualifications, upon selection from among the acquaintances of the judge, or upon selection by the sheriff of whom he pleases, must be done away with. Second, in important labor cases the life and freedom of the accused has depended solely upon whether the jury was democratically chosen and representative of the sympathies and opinions of the people as a whole or was selected either deliberately or by the provisions of the existing law to represent an antagonistic class.

Democratic requirements for empanelling juries exist in only a few communities. In Chicago there are about 200,000 mechanics belonging to the different labor organizations, yet out of 3,440 jurors only 350 mechanics and laborers were drawn, or about ten per cent., when the percentage ought to be about 70 per cent.

The most foul case of injustice now in the public mind, the sentencing of John R. Lawson to life imprisonment in Colorado for his activity in leading the coal miners' strike, was possible only because of the use of a jury picked by a sheriff subservient to and acting as the agent of the coal companies. All the unjust rulings of a prejudiced and unfit judge, all the machinations of the special attorneys furnished for the prosecution by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., all the specious testimony of the Baldwin-Felts detective-spies, would have been unavailing if Mr. Lawson had had the protection of a jury truly representative of the county in which the trial took place.

A list of the other cases in which the life and liberty of men have been sacrificed in the fight for better industrial conditions as a result of an unfair jury will suffice to show the tremendous importance to labor of the method of jury selection. You who are enlisted in the fight for a better day—your own name may conceivably be added to this list, if action is not taken to provide for the cornerstone of justice—a jury chosen impartially and representative of all the voters.

6. To secure the enactment by Congress of laws prohibiting the interstate shipment of armed guards, and of cannon, machine guns, and other similar weapons; except when consigned to the military authorities of the State or nation.

One need but recall Homestead, Pullman, West Virginia, Colorado and Roosevelt to appreciate the pressing need for such legislation.

7. To secure the passage of an act requiring the Federal Trade Commission to consider as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The Secretary of Labor to be expressly authorized and directed to prosecute such cases before

the trade commission, either on his own initiative or upon the request of any organization or individual.

The Federal Trade Commission was created to prohibit or regulate "unfair methods of competition" between corporations. The Commission was created and regulations have been drawn up for administering the Act, with the idea, apparently, that the injury through unfair methods of competition falls either upon competitors or upon consumers.

The most cruel, unfair, and socially dangerous form of unfair competition,—the exploitation of labor,—was entirely overlooked. Neither Congress nor the Commission, apparently, sufficiently understood the workings of the industrial world to provide for either the regulation or elimination of such exploitation.

Congress must do two things to remedy this grievous omission:

First, direct the Commission to interpret as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The recognition by Congress of the fact that labor exploitation is unfair competition, would, alone, be a great step forward.

Second, authorize the Secretary of Labor to present and prosecute such cases before the Trade Commission, either on his own initiative, or upon the request of any labor organization or individual employee.

The Federal Trade Commission, created to deal specifically with commercial problems, is not the ideal tribunal for the consideration of the exploitation of labor. Nevertheless, the value of recognizing labor exploitation as the cruellest form of unfair competition, and the value of having a forum where the Department of Labor can present such specific cases of exploitation, seem to far outweigh any disadvantage due to its organization and character. The big necessity is to keep the evils of modern industry vividly before the public. The Commission on Industrial Relations offered such an opportunity; it has dissolved, but the Trade Commission seems to offer a real opening for keeping this big issue alive in the public mind.

Mention may be made of two striking cases of such unfair competition which might with great propriety be presented to the Trade Commission; first, the competition of non-union garment manufacturers and sub-contractors, which is a constant menace, not only to the lives of their own employees, but also to the existence of the Protocols, which have helped to raise the sweat-shop workers of ten years ago to a plane of some comfort, some leisure, and a measure of independence. Second, the competition of the operators in the non-union coal fields, not only undermining the safety, health, and welfare of all workers in the bituminous field, but has been di-

rectly productive of the dreadful labor wars of West Virginia and Colorado.

8. To resist the repeal of salutary labor legislation, such, for example, as the Seamen's bill.

9. To keep the grievances of unorganized workers, such as the Pullman and Western Union employees, which were brought to light by the Commission, constantly before the officials and directors of those companies and before the public, until they are redressed.

10. To keep the nation informed through the daily press and the magazines of all important developments affecting industrial relations.

There is hardly a month that passes in which a forceful, accurate exposure of specific cases of unjust and oppressive treatment of labor would not result in both a measure of immediate relief, and also a better understanding on the part of the public of the wrongs under which the working men, women and children of the nation patiently bear, or against which they revolt in sheer desperation.

There is every indication that the next few years will be critical years in the history of American labor. Whether labor shall be ground down by the pressure of rapidly concentrating capital, or whether, from the bitter travail of the nations, labor shall achieve, in some degree, the freedom, comfort and leisure to which it is entitled, before any other class, will be determined. The Committee on Industrial Relations will bend every effort and use every means to enable labor to reap the harvest of its ages of fruitless planting, with absolute assurance that the result will be a happier, stronger and more truly civilized nation than the work has ever conceived.

#### COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS,

Frank P. Walsh,	Austin B. Garretson,
James O'Connell,	John F. White,
Frederick Howe,	Bishop Charles D.
Amos Pinchot,	Williams,
Helen Marot,	Agnes Nestor,
John Fitzpatrick,	Dante Barton.
John B. Lennon,	

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at San Francisco, that we most heartily indorse the work of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, and pledge our support and cooperation in every way possible in harmony with the fundamental principles of trade unionism to further the securing of legislation by Congress as set forth in the foregoing declaration of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Oscar Joss of Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861:

WHEREAS, On account of certain resolutions passed by the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of

San Francisco, Cal., all dairies were removed from and out of the city limits; and

WHEREAS, On this account Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861 is unable to control the membership throughout the State of California without the assistance of its parent body to effect a thorough organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled this . . . day of November, 1915, pledges its fullest support morally, and if necessary, financially, to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Organizer of the A. F. of L. of this district be and hereby is instructed to give all assistance possible to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 25—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Shipowners and their associates insist that they cannot operate vessels under the American flag in competition with vessels under the flag of some other nation unless they be permitted to run their vessels in their own way without being hampered by laws and rules that exist for the purpose of protecting the freedom of the seamen and the lives of passengers; and

WHEREAS, After more than one century of practically such condition, the United States, at the opening of the present war in Europe, found itself with very few vessels in the foreign trade and practically no native or naturalized seamen in any trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we favor the so-called McAdoo shipping bill and urge its enactment into law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; to the proper committee of Congress, and to the press.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 26—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The shipping on the Sound now centers in such manner as to make the City of Seattle the most convenient port to be reached by any seaman who is sick or injured; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the petition of the International Seamen's Union of America with reference to the establishment of a Marine Hospital in Seattle, Washington.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27—By the Delegates

of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Recent events have again conclusively demonstrated that in practical application there is one criminal law for the rich, and another criminal law for the poor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at San Francisco, California, that we earnestly and solemnly warn the judiciary and the entire legal fraternity against the obvious grave consequences of a prostituted justice which sends an innocent workman like John R. Lawson to the penitentiary for life and permits a guilty, degenerate millionaire like Harry Thaw to purchase his way to freedom by liberal use of mammon; and be it, further

RESOLVED, That for the sake of free republican institutions, which cannot possibly be maintained except through a free and untrammelled judiciary and an impartial administration and enforcement of the law against rich and poor alike, we earnestly plead with all liberty-loving men and women to protest against the incarceration of John R. Lawson and to insist upon even and exact justice for every man, no matter how lowly the accused may be, and no matter where the trial may be held.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 28.—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union, and Delegate M. E. Decker of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

WHEREAS, Asiatic Immigration and the resultant competition has for many years past been a menace to the industrial welfare of our people, especially in California and the Pacific Coast States, and also affects in no small degree certain other localities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Because of this menace, it is the duty of the people to refrain from patronizing or employing Asiatics in any manner, as well as to demand extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all Asiatics; and

WHEREAS, A sufficient appropriation by the Congress of the United States is needed for the purpose of registration and identification of Asiatics in order that exclusion laws may be properly enforced, thereby preventing illegal entry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in thirty-fifth annual convention assembled, reaffirm its former position, to the end that every effort be put forth to secure extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all other Asiatics; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the

United States be also requested to set aside such an appropriation as will permit of the establishment of a system of registration and identification for the enforcement of Asiatic exclusion, thereby preventing illegal entry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention opposes the patronizing or employing of Asiatics in any manner.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 29.—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The International Photo-Engravers' Union has sought to enter into the jurisdictional controversy now existing between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, We believe their entrance into the jurisdictional controversy has very largely added to the difficulties and confused the issue; and

WHEREAS, Photo-lithographic plates and the making up of transfer plates are the questions at issue between the Photo-Engravers' Union and Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The method classed as photo-lithographic plates and transfer plates has been in existence many years before photo-engraving, as now conducted, was known, and which is recognized everywhere; and

WHEREAS, The difference between a photo-engraving plate otherwise known as relief surface, and the difference between photo-lithographic plates, also including transfer plates and known as flat surface plates is very easily distinguished; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize the Executive Council either as a body or by the appointment of sub-committee whose duty it shall be to visit a lithographic plant and a type printing plant, and to then observe the difference in the two methods; and that representatives from the Photo-Engravers' Union be requested to be present with the committee from the Executive Council in order to demonstrate the wide difference between the two processes involved.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 30.—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The representative of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association had offered a resolution at the Seattle Convention, and which resolution referred to the action of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union in employing non-union lithographers to act as instructors in the technical school of Printing Pressmen, and that these non-

union lithographers as instructors were engaged to instruct type printing pressmen to operate a lithographic press; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union was a direct encroachment upon our rights and privileges as guaranteed under our charter granted by the American Federation of Labor, said resolution was approved by the convention and referred to the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, This matter has now been more or less in the hands of the Executive Council without in any manner being adjusted or removing the wrong inflicted upon the lithographers; and

WHEREAS, The injustice as charged against the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union has not been denied, but to the contrary, openly admitted; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers have offered the most substantial evidence not only as to the charges made, but also to the fact that the offset press, the jurisdiction over which is the main question at issue, is being operated by lithographic pressmen throughout the country, with possibly a few exceptions. This evidence is in possession of the secretary of the Executive Council and shows conclusively the justice and equity of our claim; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the contention of the lithographers has been satisfactorily proven, that the wrong committed on the part of the printing pressmen is an injustice, that it be the sense of this Convention that the offset press be classed a lithographic press, and that the Printing Pressmen Association, through their executive officers, be instructed to discontinue their actions where it relates to jurisdiction over the offset press, and their continued instruction of apprentices at their school in Rogersville, Tenn.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:**

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had

granted a charter to the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, granting charter rights to organize and maintain organization in the lithographic industry; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association were practically organized 100% in the different branches or crafts which they then had jurisdiction over; and,

WHEREAS, It was deemed advisable both by the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Lithographers' Association to include all employed in the lithographic industry, and who produce and complete lithographic work into one organization; and,

WHEREAS, A number of conferences had been held, some of which were called through the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor, who continually advised and encouraged amalgamation; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association having found it necessary, in complying with the wishes of such whom we sought to amalgamate with, that the title of the Association be changed to read "The Amalgamated Lithographers of America"; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, finding it to be for the best interest of all engaged in the lithographic industry and to follow the advice and encouragement given on the part of the Executive Council, then entered into amalgamation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the resolution be approved and that a charter be issued by this body to the workers in the lithographic industry under the title of the "Amalgamated Lithographers of America," carrying with it whatever change it makes in the jurisdiction, which, however, shall be confined to the lithographic industry.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

At 11:30 a. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Wednesday, November 10th.



## THIRD DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

San Francisco, Nov. 10, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, November 10, 1915, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

**Absentees**—Adams (B. A.), Anderson, Barnes, Bastes, Blakeley, Bock, Boswell, Boyden, Brennan, Brock, Castro, Coffey, Comerford, Corbley, Corcoran, Curran, Dolan, Doyle, Fletcher, Ford, Galvin, Gavlak, Garvey, Gesber, Hammerschlag, Hanley, Harris (W. W.), Harrison, Hart (J. W.), Hayes (F.), Holm, Jennings, Johnson, Kean, Keller, Kraneveld, Letrosdec, Mahoney, Mareschl, McGovern, McSorley, Miller (E. D.), Morrison (H. I.), Mueller, O'Brien, Pettit, Spiegl, Stedle, Sweck, Triska, Walker, Warden, Wessel.

Chairman Moser, of the Committee on Credentials, read the following supplementary report:

November 10, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

Your Committee on Credentials reports that the Farmers' National Congress has sent Mr. J. H. Patten as its fraternal delegate to this convention, and we recommend that he be seated.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER,

Chairman.

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

### Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Tobin (J. M.), Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

**Rule 1**—The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30.

**Rule 2**—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

**Rule 3**—Should two or more delegates

rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

**Rule 4**—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call to a point of order.

**Rule 5**—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

**Rule 6**—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

**Rule 7**—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention.

**Rule 8**—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

**Rule 9**—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

**Rule 10**—When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motion shall have precedence in the order named.

**Rule 11**—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

**Rule 12**—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

**Rule 13**—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

**Rule 14**—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

**Rule 15**—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

**Rule 16**—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

**Rule 17**—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

**Rule 18**—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 11th, without unanimous consent of the convention.

Rule 19—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21—Robert's Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Report of Regular Committees.
5. Report of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS A. RICKERT,  
J. M. TOBIN,  
E. WM. WEEKS,  
J. D. CANNON,  
SAMUEL GRIMBLOT,  
EDWARD MENGE,  
E. H. SLISSMAN,  
R. C. SCHNEIDER,  
S. POLAKOFF,  
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,  
JOHN SULLIVAN,  
JAMES H. HATCH,  
ALPONSO D'ANDREA,  
J. J. O'BRIEN.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

#### Report of Auditing Committee.

Chairman Moser read the following report:

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Nov. 8, 1915.  
To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, the undersigned, having been appointed according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to audit and examine the books and accounts of the American Federation of Labor for the term beginning October 1, 1914, and ending September 30, 1915, herewith submit for your consideration the following report:

The total receipts and expenditures during the year ending September 30, 1915, are given in the following tables:

#### RECEIPTS.

Per capita tax.....	\$176,372.31
Supplies .....	8,028.54
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued .....	\$90.53
"American Federationist" ....	36,731.27

One-cent assessment .....	121.71
One-cent Hatters' assessment.	15,655.53
Interest on deposits.....	2,340.00
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	5,373.95
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....	5,190.74
Initiation and reinstatement fees .....	5,804.47
Money received not receipted for .....	858.50
Defense fund .....	14,257.98

Total .....	\$271,625.53
Balance on hand October 1, 1914 .....	102,492.81

Gross total .....	\$374,118.34
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#### DISBURSEMENTS.

General .....	\$193,595.26
"American Federationist" ..	35,294.06
Premiums on bonds.....	5,052.66
One-cent Hatters' assessment.	11,982.43
Initiation and reinstatement fees refunded .....	145.35
One-cent assessment for organization of women workers .....	9,192.62
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions...	48,723.57

Total .....	\$303,985.95
Balance cash in banks.....	70,132.39

\$374,118.34

#### RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts for the year ending September 30, 1915..	\$271,625.53
To balance on hand October 1, 1914 .....	102,492.81

Total .....	\$374,118.34
Total expenditures during year ending September 30, 1915..	303,985.95
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....	70,132.39

Total .....	\$374,118.34
Cash balance in General Fund	12,744.56
Cash balance in Defense Fund	57,387.83
Loan to Building Trustees...	40,500.00

Total .....	\$110,632.39
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We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor safely disposed of as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Lennon in McLean County Bank of Bloomington, Ill., amounting to.....	\$ 50,000.00
One open checking account in McLean County Bank by Treasurer Lennon certified to by President of McLean County Bank .....	18,132.39
On deposit on open checking account by Secretary Morrison in Riggs National Bank .....	\$8,656.27
Outstanding checks ..	6,656.27
Loan to A. F. of L. Building Trustees from Defense Fund .....	2,000.00
Loan to A. F. of L. Building Trustees from Defense Fund .....	40,500.00

\$110,632.39

We audited the accounts of moneys received from the appeal issued by the

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor December 3, 1914, for the International Glove Workers' Union of America to assist the Glove Workers on strike in Gloversville and Johnstown, N. Y., the United Textile Workers to assist the Textile Workers on strike at Atlanta, Ga., and the Western Federation of Miners to assist in the legal defense of 39 members of the Western Federation of Miners in Calumet, Mich. We found that there was received at American Federation of Labor headquarters \$6,371.91 in response to the appeal. This amount was disposed of as follows:

Forwarded to the Glove Workers' International Union....	\$2,126.25
United Textile Workers.....	2,084.90
Western Federation of Miners	2,137.76
Refunded .....	23.00
Total .....	\$6,371.91

We have compared the printed statement with the amounts received and forwarded and found same to be correct.

#### OFFICE BUILDING FUND.

We have examined the account of the Office Building Fund, and find as follows:

##### Receipts—

Received from Defense Fund, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions .....	\$40,500.00
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##### Expenses—

Paid for lot.....	\$40,000.00
Resurveying of Building Lot .....	7.00
Title Fees and Expenses, \$143.50; less	
Accrued Taxes, \$42.00	101.50

Total expenses..... \$40,108.50

##### Recapitulation—

Total Receipts .....	\$40,500.00
Total Expenses .....	40,108.50

Balance on hand in Riggs National Bank, September 30, 1915 ..... \$ 391.50

We find that the above balance, \$391.50, on deposit at the Riggs National Bank, to the credit of Frank Morrison, Trustee.

The foregoing tables correspond in all detail with the books of the American Federation of Labor and we therefore pronounce them correct in all respects.

In conclusion, your committee takes occasion to say, that we found the books of Secretary Morrison in first-class shape, receipts having been given for all items of income and warrants are on file for all items of expenditure. The voluminous record necessary to the proper care of the financial affairs of the American Federation of Labor demands an efficient system which we find creditably installed.

We were extended every courtesy by Secretary Morrison and his efficient office force, thereby greatly facilitating

the work of your committee, which we appreciated greatly.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER,

Chairman.

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Vice-President Duncan: It has usually been arranged that a specific time was named to hear from the fraternal delegates. If it is agreeable to the fraternal delegates and to the convention we might hear them now or we might hear them this afternoon at 2 o'clock. I understand they are ready to proceed now.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.): I move that we hear from the delegates from the British Trade Union Congress. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan: The delegates composing this convention, excepting those who are here for the first time, know about the fraternal relations which have existed between the American Federation of Labor and similar organizations in other countries, especially with Great Britain, owing to fraternal delegates having come from them for many years and delegates from our country going to theirs.

There has recently been a break in connection with that arrangement because of affairs, over which we at least have no control, and it is a pleasure, I am sure, to the delegates assembled this morning to have with us the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. We are hopeful that their coming here will be the beginning of closer relationship between all the working people in Europe. In the troublesome times on the continent there seems to be among the different nations there but one paramount feeling of apparent brotherhood, or a link in that direction, as closely as men in combat can have relations of that kind, and that is the feeling of brotherhood which exists among labor organizations.

Just prior to the great conflict in Europe there appeared to be a feeling among all organized working men who knew anything about the conditions there, that the working people of Europe were becoming closer together than ever before. The old feeling which had existed

between Germany and France was being more quickly eliminated by the working people than by any other class of the people in either country and everything looked hopeful; in fact, it had been asserted that through the economic and political organizations of labor in Europe it was expected that those organizations might be helpful, through a general understanding common to organized workmen, even to prevent war. Nobody having that thought, however, even dreamed about the colossal war conditions which have occurred since then interfering with racial feelings, stirring up thoughts of national contest perhaps of the past; and the break occurred. It is hopeful to us, however, from the available information we have on the subject, that although they are still in conflict that the people of Europe look to the working people as being the militant associations who will most quickly weld together the old fraternal comradeship among labor organizations. It may be the beginning of a great era of peace when the present contentions among the people on the continent of Europe or elsewhere may be the means of instituting a condition of a pacific nature, which make their countries great through the cultivation and practice of the arts, sciences and industries rather than by and with the rule of force and the sword.

I am sure our fraternal delegates from Great Britain have not come here to talk war, but I thought a mention of these things by us who are not directly involved would not be amiss. We have no reports from delegates from this country to the British Trades and Labor Congress this year, but we now have these fraternal trade union ambassadors from Great Britain. It affords me great pleasure to introduce to you at this time Brother C. G. Ammon, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, a member of the Postal Clerks of Great Britain.

Fraternal Delegate C. G. Ammon: Mr. Chairman, Comrades and Friends—It is with peculiar pleasure this year, above all years, that as a representative of the British Trades Union Congress I bring you greetings from your brothers across the sea. I want at the outset, to express my appreciation of the hospitality and the kindness and the many things I have seen and learned during the few days I have been on your shores. Com-

ing from a little island of some account, one marvels at the distances one can travel in your land. I have looked upon what to me are the wonder cities of Denver and Salt Lake—reared, as it seemed to me, in the midst of deserts; and upon this city in which we are now gathered, but a few short years ago wiped away by a terrible catastrophe and now risen phoenix-like from its ashes more brilliant and beautiful than ever before. As I recite this I am reminded that, after all, great as these wonders are, without the skilled hand and brain of labor they would never be. The laborer of this land and all lands is the man and the woman who rears society, who will ultimately mold society, and in whose hands and in whose lap is the destiny of the whole world.

Since I have been on your shores I have heard it remarked that you did not expect there would be a representative from Great Britain this year. I venture to say, sir, that never before in the history of the whole of organized labor was it more necessary that a fraternal delegate should come from one country to another. At this time when nations are at war and ambassadors of all nations are in the courts of neutral countries, why should it be different in regard to labor? For my part, I see no reason why representatives of the working men from Germany, and Austria, and France, and all the countries, should not be gathered on this platform in neutral territory today.

I want to make it emphatically clear that whatever may be the causes that may sunder us for the moment, the British working men, like the working men of all countries, have no quarrel with their fellow working men, for the same forces operate in America as operate in the old country; it is necessary that some contradiction at least be given to the various false reports that I know have been circulated in your midst. The people who will traduce and attack the name and the cause of labor know no geographical boundaries, no racial separation; they are to be found in America, England, Germany—the whole world over. So when I hear that you have had reports about drunken workmen, so drunken they would not go on with their work, I tell you most emphatically there was never a greater lie forged on the devil's anvil than that. When they charged us with that the labor people said: "Very well, if drink stands in the way, let the nation take over the drink," but they did not rise to the challenge; the vested interests were too powerful.

The delay of munitions. None have spent themselves more, none have given more of their help than the working men. When mistakes are made by diplomats and by politicians an excuse must be found somewhere. You can fill the rest for yourselves.

Now the two strikes. I will only refer to them, because my colleague and myself have arranged to divide our address. He will deal more particularly with questions arising from the war. The strikes that have been waged over in the old country during the period of war,

have arisen out of the very highest and loftiest ideas of patriotism. They have been waged by men, not for selfish interests, but by men who have said: "If our country is in danger we will serve, but we are not going to work that more bloated profits shall be made out of the needs and necessities of our time." And the result has been that the government had to step in and take control and limit the profit made by the profit-mongers.

Voluntary service has not failed. It is essential to America that you should know this. More men than they want, more men than they can equip, more men than are necessary if we are to carry on industry can be found, and are found, under the voluntary system. Conscription is wanted, not for the war, but for the period after the war, so that a strangle-hold can be had on labor.

Labor has increased the pay of the fighting man in the trenches; labor has forced the government to make provision for the widows and children of the men who go down; labor has forced the government to set up tribunals of arbitration to deal with disputes arising between working men and their employers. Now the government has come to this, they have had to declare that "without organized labor we cannot go on," and they have had to come to organized labor to endeavor to bring the people together. We are learning lessons from the war, and there is this one lesson: At first when war broke out it was said no man, woman or child should want for the necessities of life. If that thing is good in war time it is doubly good in times of peace, and should not be lost sight of.

The Trades Union Congress of this year was held in Bristol and was the greatest on record. There were six hundred and ten delegates representing upward of three million workers. The two chief topics of discussion were conscription and the industrial or craft organization. The challenge was thrown down by the National Union of Railwaymen who, as you know, have the men in the railway yards, the office and the shop, but here and there are found scattered units very difficult to organize or even get in contact with. It was also found almost impossible for the management of the railroad companies to hear the representatives of the thousand and one different societies. The railwaymen claimed jurisdiction over all crafts working in the railway sheds or upon the railway. This was brought before the Trades Union Congress, and after a very strong and vigorous debate the craft organizations won by a very small margin. Sufficient to say that will not be the end of the matter.

Perhaps you would like to get some further idea of the strength of trade unionism in Great Britain. A day or two before I left I received the latest government report of those organizations which register under the Trade Union Act. It is not compulsory to register, but it gives certain assurances and safeguards, and many do. The number registered were 696. Of these 655 made

returns. They represented a total of 3,600,000. It is safe to say there are at least 4,000,000 organized trade unionists on the other side, roughly speaking, one-tenth of the whole population. The trade unions funds increased by some \$4,000,000 during the year. The total funds amount to \$32,500,000. The income for the year amounted to \$23,000,000. The expenditure for unemployment amounted to \$2,500,000; disputes, \$2,300,000; sick and accident, \$3,500,000; miscellaneous, \$2,500,000. So far the trade unions are fairly well fixed and well established and, believe me, they are needed for in years to come there will be a trial and testing of organized labor in all countries as well as our own which will put their funds and their organizations to the severest test.

Now while this war is going on, when the whole world seems to have run mad, it is well that we gather together in conventions of thoughtful men and women to give attention to the other questions and the other problems which are as vital and which are more enduring even than the most devastating war. The unending war between capital and labor still goes on and it will be well not to lose sight of it. If anything is necessary I will appeal to you, my comrades, that although for a time we are Sundered, we shall not allow by any means that the light of the International shall go out; we must keep alive the International if we would keep alive our organizations.

May I say in passing just a word of tribute to the memory of one who was a great figure in the International movement, and to whom the seeming collapse of the International movement brought death. I refer to Comrade Keir Hardie. I suppose there is nothing I value more in this life than the memory of a fairly close friendship with Keir Hardie. No man more traduced, no man more maligned, yet no man more faithful to the working class ideal, no man has kept his faith more untarnished, and there was no price this world could offer that could buy Keir Hardie. His memory, I hope, will ever be kept green, at least on the part of labor, as one who ever marched breast forward with his face to the foe fighting the cause of labor and those who struggle and toil.

Let us remember the war in which we are particularly engaged. Our foe—organized capital—knows nothing of sentiment, knows nothing of geographical or racial division, although they do know sufficient to use all of these as a means of dividing the workers when it suits themselves. But we need to be alive to see that under no circumstances and under no conditions shall we allow them to play us one against the other any longer. How long before the workers of the world realize that between them there is no difference? We are all of one flesh and blood, we are all striving for the same ends, the same ideals and the same aspirations are ours. Shall it not be that we shall sweep aside those

who would seek to divide us, that we shall

"Rise like lions after slumber  
In unvanquishable number,  
Shake to earth your chains like dew,  
Which in sleep have fallen on you  
Ye are many, they are few."

It needed the war to bring home to those in authority the truth and the power of many of the causes and the remedies we have been advocating for years. The nationalization of railways, for instance, was pronounced to be absolutely impossible. When a war broke out it was accomplished by a stroke of the pen. Munition factories, which were the monopolies of capitalists, were nationalized, and, best of all, the great healing art of the medical profession was also nationalized and taken over by the State. History has taught us that anything taken over by the State worth retaining never reverts to private enterprise; and it will be up to the labor organizations on our side to see that a good fight is put up and that these shall never again go back into private hands, but that as now, so in the future they shall be run in the interests and for the advantage of the whole community.

I should be sorry, and it would be discourteous and impertinent of me, to dare to make any suggestions to a gathering like this as to what you should do or what you should think, and I am not going to attempt any such thing, but I don't think it would be wrong if I were to say it is up to the men of America to be on guard, to see that you are not caught the same as the men of Europe have been caught. It is for democracy to keep clear vision and steady hand and brain unclouded, that those forces that have divided us shall not divide you, because you are careful to us on the other side. And democracy has in times past, not often, been able to sweep aside the machinations of diplomats and politicians.

I was interested the other day in reading in one of your libraries the "Life of John Bright." Therein I read again a part of the story of your great war between the North and the South. When the ports of the South were blockaded it brought destitution and sorrow to the men of my country, the men of Lancashire, of Manchester and the big cotton towns. We are all so linked one with the other! The politicians and the diplomats and the masters said: "Now is our opportunity, let us step in and while America is divided, seek to get our way." And the people of Manchester, three hundred and twenty odd thousand, led by John Bright—the people who suffered and were suffering—said: "No, in democracy's name we will not allow any such interference; we will starve sooner than interfere with a people struggling to be free."

And with all her faults and with all her mistakes and with all the crimes that may be laid to her charge, I would not be human if I did not recognize the great liberty that the old country whence I come has won for the world; but, in spite of all that, I want you to believe me—I am here for this purpose—that my heart goes out to the whole people, to

the whole working people of the world irrespective of geographical boundaries or languages. I look for the time, I long for the time when again we will gather together and confer one with another on our common difficulties and look forward with the hope of realizing our common ideals; hope for the time when again we will clasp hands, look into each other's eyes and think what a mistake it has all been; that we are still brothers and underneath the veneer of so-called civilization, underneath all the folly and wretchedness with which we are surrounded there still beat hearts high with hope, with a faith unquenchable, with a courage unconquerable that will still press forward to realize the ideals of humanity. I am looking for the time, and, America, we want you in this—

"When the war drums throb no longer  
And the battle flags are furled."

When the time comes to sit down to devise ways and means of peace it must not be left to the politicians, it must not be left to the diplomats; labor must be there, labor must demand its place in all the deliberations, in all that shall be done, to see if we cannot find a way whereby such folly and such wickedness shall be impossible in the days to come. America, yours is the place to help, to guide, to lead that way if you will. We appeal to you.

Now my message, my greeting to you I bring to conclusion. Let me tell you that over on the other side—we cannot hear from some of the countries—but no doubt in those other countries there are men who are saddened and sickened at heart, who realize they are in for a terrible business that must be gone through, but who are longing to return to the ways of peace and the ways of concord and the ways of comradeship, that again we will gather in our international gatherings and take part and lot in molding the destinies of men and nations; that the lessons we are learning, ay, that we have learned, shall bite deep into our hearts and our consciences and we will say: "Never again shall this thing be possible, never again shall civilization, humanity, our international, be outraged by such a spectacle as this." And who shall say the poet was wrong who sang:

There shall come from out this noise of  
strife and groaning  
A broader and a juster Brotherhood;  
A deep equality of aim postponing;  
All selfish seeking to the general good.  
There shall come a time when each shall  
to another  
Be as Christ would have him be—  
Brother unto Brother.  
There shall come a time when Brother-  
hood grows stronger  
Than the narrow bands which now con-  
tract the world,  
When the cannons roar and the trumpets  
blare no longer.  
The ironclads rust, the battle flags are  
furled;  
When the bars of speech, of creed and  
race which sever  
Shall be fused in one humanity forever.



Vice-President Duncan: It now affords me equal pleasure to introduce to you Brother E. Bevin, from the British Trades and Labor Congress, a member of the Dock Workers' Union, one of Ben Tillett's boys.

Fraternal Delegate E. Bevin: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Trade Unionists—I, too, want to endorse the remarks of my colleague in thanking the good people of America for your kindness to us since we landed in New York. We were rather elusive in arriving, and our letters arrived after us, due to the war; but still, since we have been in your country we have been surprised at the many kindnesses that have been shown us as we traveled across your continent. It is rather curious to note that it was my colleague of the same union who addressed you in San Francisco the last time your convention was here, my friend James Wignall.

On this occasion we find ourselves in a rather difficult situation. If we tear the mask away I am confident that every man and woman in this hall would like to hear all about the war. I know from the conversations with you privately that everybody is anxious to know the exact economic situation arising out of the great European struggle. I don't want to appear in any sense a propagandist, and I place myself absolutely in the hands of the chairman and you as a convention to pull me up in a moment if I go over the border of what ought to be said in a neutral country.

Vice-President Duncan: The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are the freest forum upon the face of the earth. He can say what he has a mind to say and say it in his own way and at his own length.

Fraternal Delegate Bevin: I thank the chairman for that. Another great difficulty at this moment is coming from a country whose relatives are wounded and whose friends are on the fighting line, it is very difficult to talk with one's head, one is apt to talk with one's heart. In the old country I know it is very, very difficult to coolly sit down and logically reason the great problems which face the labor movement, when all the time our own flesh and blood are out in those horrible trenches fighting. On the other side in the central empires the position must be very similar. Whenever one talks of the consequences of the war or what is happening during the war the one thing which rises uppermost is what is the best way to end the war in order that peace may be re-established.

The great issue—and it will arise in this country if ever you are faced with a great war, and if I may use a vulgarism, one never knows the future or your luck—the problem is that as labor grows stronger so its responsibilities get greater, and the very strength of our movement in Britain calls from the Trade Union Congress and from the

representatives of labor the exercise of the greatest responsibility that any labor movement has ever been called upon to exercise since its inception, as you will realize from the figures given by my friend Ammon, representing, as it does, 4,000,000 out of a population of 44,000,000.

When the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Federation Executive of the Labor Party and the Management Board of General Trade Unions, which now constitute the Joint Labor Board for the old country, was convened, representing this mass of humanity and further representing 96 per cent. of the men who would have to do the fighting, I ask you to imagine the serious and terrible responsibility that had to be exercised in that conference room before they decided to support the Government.

What was the position prior to this outbreak? I want to say to you, as American trade unionists, that we were coolly and deliberately planning for the perfection of a large organization in order that we could come to death grips with the great social problems of the old country. We had nearly completed our plans; and in spite of the war we have since completed an arrangement between the miners and railwaymen and general transport workers of Great Britain, in order to avoid long starvation strikes and at the same time be such a power in our country that those great problems which are the result of feudalism and the heritage of despotism, and other great problems arising from capitalism should be grappled with. We were tired of seeing the shoeless children; we were tired of seeing the maimed miner; we were tired of seeing the mutilated railroad man; we were tired of seeing children in the mills at the early age of thirteen. We were tired of all these things, and if the politicians would not legislate we determined to perfect our organization, and that compulsion should be behind legislation.

The aggregation of capital is growing, and it has grown even stronger, I believe, in the old country than it has in your country, because of the international character of our trade. The huge shipping federation with all its millions—the American Federation of Labor knows what that means, and so does Andrew Furuseth, because I venture to suggest that the greatest opposition to the Seamen's Act of America is inspired by that great shipping federation—that shipping federation is organized throughout the whole world, and is only one of the great capitalist organizations to contend with.

And then in the great London strike, and in the great miners' struggle of 1912, when the whole resources of the state was behind the employers, we came to the conclusion that the only way to grapple with these great social problems was by backing our demand by the strongest industrial force that the human mind could conceive. Then again, in spite of all that, in spite of all the opposition, we had accomplished something. Previous fraternal delegates

must have told you of the advance we had made in the recognition of labor in the old country. We had made secure our position from the point of view of picketing under the Trades Dispute Act; we had enacted the old age pension scheme, national health insurance scheme, etc.; we had brought pressure to bear to improve the legislation associated with working people in our factories; we were beginning to grapple with the maimed and mutilated motherhood of our country; and let me say that this is the greatest crime of all civilization in my opinion; the greatest crime of capitalism in general is that it is so soulless, so inhuman, so long as it can wrench profit, so long as the dollars can be wrrenched from the human body, whether it is a mother whose maternity has to be wrecked, who has to be made a physical ruin, whose child can be taken from school to labor, or the son denied a decent chance in life, everything within that sordid capitalist world has to be sacrificed to the wrenching from the human the highest point of production to increase the dividend and the profit. These are the things that were beside us when we came to that great decision to support the Government. We had to choose. We thought of all our work; we thought of all our plans, and then another realization came—we may have been wrong in our deductions, but it was not the foreign policy of England that decided the labor movement, and I would like to say this in Berlin as well as in San Francisco, it was not that; it was not that we agreed that all the diplomats had done was right—no. We felt that in the last the thing the social democrats themselves had told us was to be the great fight of the future had come. We found the fight which we thought would have been fought out between German labor and the German Junker party in their own country had embroiled us. It became a clash of institutions. We felt it was a clash between domination of militarism and the democracy of our own country; and friends, let me say with all sincerity, that that was the basis of the decision of the labor movement to support the war, because of that clash of institutions—it was this and this alone which led to the decision.

Then we determined to save the economic situation and we made up our minds to this quite decidedly, that if famine came we would share with the rest of the community; if our sea communication was cut off, we would tell our working people that we would share with the rest of the community, but while our seas were open, while food was in the country, we would maintain our standard of living; we said you shall not use this war to lower the standard of life which it has taken centuries to build up.

Friends, in every country there is the vulture class. You must have them in America. Human instinct does not exist in that class; they have become so sordid that nothing appeals to them. I mean the man who says, "Here is a war. I can become a millionaire; grovel, you

dogs, in the dust!" Patriotism to them is in a speech upon a platform and looking for political honor. Patriotism with us means not merely love of country; I want to say that many years ago I decided that my patriotism should be love of class, which I think is a much higher patriotism. However, we had this vulture class. They immediately began to rob the women and children of the very men who had gone to fight; we had to fight them, but they were strong; they were strong in the nation; they were strong in the State Department. In order to stop their machinations and their exploitations, the labor movement had to come to the rescue. In spite of the great financial stress of England at the present moment the labor movement has increased the cost per soldier from £100 per annum to £250 per annum; that means an increased allowance to his wife and children, an increase in the food of the soldiers and improvements in his clothing, better equipment that is being brought about to make his life as comfortable as possible, that is an increase from £100 to £250 per head per annum of those now under arms, and we don't regret it. I would double it if I could. If kings and nations are to have war, the more expensive that war is the less they will have of it. I want you to appreciate that. One gentleman in talking of conscription—a man who had fought us very bitterly in the transport trade—said: "If we only had conscription in Britain we could save so many millions per year." War then would merely be a pastime for them. They would be home while the other fellow was getting killed. The labor leaders told Premier Asquith, "If you will take over the means of living and prevent an increase in the cost of living we will not ask you for an increase of wages." He failed to accept our offer. We determined to maintain that standard of living that we had prior to the war while any one else was making a cent out of the war. I think our policy is right, and it is just, and it is in accord with the best traditions of our movement.

And that is the reason of the great South Wales strike. When the cabinet minister went down to settle the strike he gave the miners what they asked for before the strike commenced. The sensible politician would have given it at first and thus avoided the strike, because if it was just and fair after the strike it was just as just before the strike commenced. You know what they thought. They thought because the men were out fighting, because the trenches were filled with miners from South Wales, because the minds of the men were filled with the suffering, loss and death and rapine of war, that they would be able to trade upon that fact and make their profits and keep the men in the mine. The miners have worked loyally and honorably since their concessions have been granted. I am very pleased, friends, the men took the attitude they did, because there was a time not many years ago when the em-

players would have succeeded, but they cannot succeed now. The man who is making money out of the war is being regarded in the old country as a man only fit to be socially ostracized. People shun him. In the old days it would have been, "He is a clever man; my word, he was smart," and he would have been made a peer, but today, and it is the greatest hope of the world when the great mass of humanity begins to look upon the so-called upper classes, as my friend Tillett says, the dirty 'lasses—because they never wash themselves and have to hire us to do it for them,—when the so-called upper classes are socially ostracized when it is felt and felt quite seriously that a man's money is made by robbing the little children of the man who is fighting in the trenches.

Another thing that has become known as a result of this war was the tremendous power and influence of the great international armament ring. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, for interfering with your politics, but when I have been reading your papers the articles are so much like those we read that it seems almost as if they were written by the same man. However, that armament ring was international in character. The British ring was represented upon the Krupp directorate and the Krupp directorate was represented on the British ring. The shots that were made and fired in the Dardanelles and which sank our ships were made by British capital in Turkey. I said I wanted to tear the mask off, and I want to do it. It has a bearing on the whole of the working class movement. If you will read the diplomatic utterances of all the nations there is not a particle of evidence to show that either nation tried to get the grasp of the trouble; but all of them were arguing "if you support this country will you refrain from supporting that country?" If you do this, will you do that?" And the diplomacy of Europe for the last fifteen years has been the manipulation of balances to satisfy the ambition of kings, and I am sure that the people of Europe will soon have to choose between the despotism of kings and the triumph of democracy.

The seeds of war are sown in courts; the policy is then developed by the financier and the great productive concerns, diplomats bring their tools, and you cannot go on making fireworks without you let some of them off. And these works are so distributed all over the world. In spite of the war, the value of the human has been recognized, the concept of the wonderful value of the human form. The people are beginning to realize that the loss of limb, the destruction of brain, cannot be replaced by science. Science cannot replace an eye, cannot make a finger or produce one drop of blood in this greatest piece of mechanism of all nature.

The genius of labor is also being recognized and conceded by the greater mass of the people of the world. As I crossed your Rockies I thought of the wonderful development of labor, how it

had burrowed into the bowels of the earth to bring forth the mineral, bridged the mighty chasms, pursued the stars and conquered the air, mastered the elements and harnessed the forces of nature for its uses and pleasures. No king or court has ever rendered to civilization one tithe of the service the early pioneer family rendered in crossing to this Pacific coast. The pioneers, objects of our admiration, who after all were rebels of the old world, who battled against wrongs and were buffeted and beaten and left for other shores to realize their dreams; your very beautiful cities, whose order in planning commands the attention of every visitor is the result of the dreaming of these very pioneers, many of whom perished on that great trek. If I may, I will repeat the statement of my friend Tillett again, which he made to the Oxford professors: "Not any of the professors who have ever lived have done so much for civilization as the old navy with his shovel."

Now I come to the last Trades Union Congress at Bristol. The great problem before it was the policy to pursue in regard to the war. I will only say that it decided, in spite of the sacrifice and the terrible cost, having regard for the institutions at stake, that the war must be won. The edifice which has taken centuries to erect, that has meant such terrible struggles on the part of our predecessors, that meant going to jail and even to death to win, that freedom of the old country, were all challenged by military autocracy. I am convinced that if it was only the land and property of Europe that was at stake and no principle was involved, it would not be worth the sacrifice that is being exacted, while no king in Europe was worth the sacrifice of a single life. I appeal to you to allow your imagination to realize what that cost means in human life. Lord Loreburn stated that the loss in killed and maimed in Europe was 15,000,000. In order to bring it vividly before your mind imagine the population of New York wiped out three consecutive times.

The next point at issue in that Congress was the question of conscription. Our position on the matter of conscription was clear. The privileges and regulations the trade unions had given up in the interests of their country—and you, friends, know what it means to the trade unions to allow the lower class of labor to be brought into the higher grades of industry—meant that the result of a century of struggle had been given away in the interest of the nation. The giving up of that, I say, is equal to the land owner giving his land, the financier his money, the railway director his railway, the mine owner his mine; and if national service has to be given the national resources must also go into the communal melting pot. If the country is in danger, then property is in danger; if property is to be saved from a foreign foe, then it has to be saved at the expense of the lives of the people; and we have decided that

they shall not conscript our bodies unless they conscript every form of national asset within those islands.

The problems rising out of the war and that will arise at the conclusion of the war are of very serious moment to the labor movement of the world. I hope you people in America will keep out of the war. And may God grant that this Federation may be the golden bridge over the welter of blood now flowing in Europe on which democracy can meet. You are the only great country in the western civilization not in the war. Your Federation has tremendous opportunities. When the time comes to discuss peace, when diplomats meet, national aspirations will have to be considered. You cannot impose a form of government upon a people by external force that is likely to be endurable. Ireland has proven that. We have tried to rule Ireland for a hundred years by coercion, by pressure in all forms, but Ireland fights on for her freedom. The Poles are in a similar position. The subject nations of Europe contain the seeds of revolt which burst forth every now and then against external force; and I am convinced that if you recognize the individuality of peoples the United States of Europe can be made an accomplished fact.

Remember, my friends, that every effort will be made to exploit the weak and even use him against the strong. Our business in the trade union movement is to help the weak to become strong, protecting ourselves and not allowing him to be used against us. I note that you had an assessment to assist in the organization of women. Why did you do it? Because you recognized that woman was a competitive factor. You want to make her strong in organization, not only for her own sake, but for the sake of your industrial position as well. The same thing must happen to the weaker races; you must help them with all the power of your organization to become strong within their own borders in order that their economic development may be hastened and their competition lessened.

I will conclude by giving to you the fraternal greetings from a country whose heart is bleeding, whose homes are desolated; from the women whose boys are gone, whose husbands have said goodbye for the last time; from the child who calls for "daddy," only to see the empty chair; from the woman whose travail is in anguish—I bring you fraternal greetings from all these, and express the hope that this war may be the last, that democracy may triumph and the peoples of the world may develop that great God-given life: It is theirs. Men there are who tell us that war is a biological necessity. To such a man I say, "You are one too many on this earth; go and shoot yourself!" Of what use, if that doctrine is accepted, is the great human mind? Man is an educative animal, he has the power, as I said before, to conquer the forces of nature, and there is no finality to the possibilities of the human mind.

As I passed through your great country I thought of its tremendous space, and that even then it was only a par-

ticle of the great globe, much of it unoccupied, and I was satisfied that Old Mother Earth from her bosom is able to feed and clothe all the human family. Decay will bring sufficient death to regulate the population without extermination by one another. There is room for all people to dwell in peace and plenty if her resources are organized and developed. Therefore, in spite of the black cloud overhanging the world and the apparent mockery of speaking of the International, when the war cloud has passed the people at conflict will begin to develop a greater freedom, rid of the military octopus which has held them down, and even yet I believe that the brotherhood of man will not be a mere platitude of the platform, but will be an achievement of the forces of labor.

Vice-President Duncan: Before I introduce our twin brother from Canada, our next fraternal delegate, it may not be amiss, in connection with the statement made by Delegate Ammon, in reference to that great democrat, John Bright, whose name Delegate Ammon linked with the effort made in Great Britain to maintain recognition of the union of states during our great unpleasantness of the 'sixties, to say that there is an event connected with that unpleasantness of great economic value.

I know but few public speakers outside the ranks of labor who are acquainted with the statement, and one of them was the late Charles Francis Adams, of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. In an address delivered some time ago before the students and faculty of the University of Washington and Lee, in Virginia, he stated there was one important event connected with our rebellion which perhaps had as much determining economic effect upon the ending of the war as the affair at Appomattox had to do with it. The incident to which he referred was one of the great economic events of recent times, and shows how the organized workers in one country understand and sympathize with the organized workers in other countries.

The British delegates hope that the great labor movement of America will be the golden bridge, as they have described it, over which efforts will be made to again unite the organized workers in Europe, and our American Federation of Labor at the proper time will apply itself to that great purpose. During the unpleasantness of the 'sixties, when the Southern states were looking for recognition in Europe, a number of ships had successfully run the blockade

and were lying off the mouth of the Mersey River awaiting entrance to Liverpool, thereby to effect a double purpose, namely, to carry back British gold for the staple product of the great industries of the South and to carry back recognition of the Confederacy by the British Government. At that time the British Cabinet was in session in Downing street, with the great Gladstone presiding, and upon the subject of whether or not Great Britain would recognize a division of the United States of America they were said to be "upon the fence."

The organized textile workers of Lancashire, England, and especially in the city of Manchester, at that time assembled in mass meeting under the canopy of heaven, and although they had been idle for eighteen months for the lack of cotton, although their wives and sisters and children, like themselves, were hungry and in rags, many of them emaciated from want of nutrition, they resolved that the union textile workers of England, even though the British Government recognized the Southern Confederacy, would refuse to spin a bale of cotton at the price or cost of human slavery. The echo of that vote upon the subject is said to have been heard in London by the British Cabinet and they decided not to recognize the Southern Confederacy; the Southern ships off the mouth of the Mersey could not deliver their cargoes, could not carry back the British gold they so much needed, nor could they convey to the States in secession the recognition those States so much desired.

The event, as was so well stated by Mr. Adams, had perhaps as much effect upon the preservation of the States composing the United States of America as even the important event of Appomattox. We will not forget the humanitarian declaration of the textile workers of Great Britain, and in kind, when the great conflict in Europe is over, it will be a pleasure to the American labor movement to assume the initiative in again restoring economic harmony in the labor movement of Europe.

The next fraternal delegate needs no introduction to this convention. We regard him as our twin brother from Canada. He has had the unique position of being the fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor held in his own country, and in his own city,

viz., Toronto—Brother Fred Bancroft, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Bancroft: Mr. Chairman, and Delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I bring to you fraternal greetings from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and perhaps never before in the history of the labor movement in Canada, have those greetings been sent with greater fervor, or deeper earnestness than those I present to you today. I need not dwell upon the great honor and privilege of being the representative of the Congress and the very serious responsibility imposed upon me to address this great Convention. This I feel sure you thoroughly understand and appreciate. My only desire today is to live up to the responsibility, to convey to you the unswerving loyalty of the International Trade Union Movement in Canada to its international affiliations, and to present to you briefly, several important parts of our work which will interest the delegates.

To the student of the development of the trade-union movement in North America, as viewed from the standpoint of our Canadian brothers, one period stands out pre-eminent in its importance. This was the period during which the great National organizations of the United States opened their charters to Canadian members and made them International in character. From that period commences the real development of the trade-union movement in Canada. The history of the trade-union movement in the United States goes back well over 100 years. There was a local organization of boot and shoe workers in New York in about 1796.

The period of which I speak was after the Civil war, commencing from 1860 and onward. The history of the trade-union movement in America from that period to the year 1881, from which the Conventions of the A. F. of L. date, is most interesting and a subject on which, however, many of you are better able to dwell upon than myself. What I do desire to point out is the great foresight of the leaders of the movement here at that time, when with prophetic vision they undertook to throw around the trade unionist of Canada the protecting armor of the National organizations of that time. It has been because of that action that the labor movement in Canada has grown to the dimensions and power it enjoys today.

It is a well-known fact that your members in Canada have never paid in the aggregate any more than a comparatively small proportion of the great sums of money spent by the International unions in benefits, organization and development of the labor movement in Canada; yet there are mistaken individuals, gradually growing less in number, who in ignorance of the facts, and in face of the blessings of designing employers, imagine that a separatist movement is going to help them. Under the protecting strength of the great National organizations of the United States,

made International by opening the charters to Canadian wage-earners, has the movement in Canada grown, under that they will remain, each year growing stronger and more able to meet some of the obligations incurred, until the time when with a great population in Canada, you will gain from us in strength as much, perhaps, as has been given.

The recent Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which met in Vancouver, was the Thirty-first Annual Convention, yours today is the Thirty-fifth. It was an historic one, the delegates meeting within, as it were, the shadows of the terrible struggle in Europe. A great many of you know something of the work of the Congress. From year to year we are honored by the election of a fraternal delegate from this great Federation of Labor, to the Congress. Reports brought back here from your delegates and visitors, inform you of the work done or contemplated. It would be a grave omission of duty, if I did not endeavor to supplement this in a desire to have our Congress thoroughly appreciated and understood by the delegates here.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada really dates back to 1873, when 44 delegates attended a convention held in Toronto. Permit me to draw your attention to the fact that historically speaking, this was almost immediately after the National organizations of this country opened their charters and made them International, and bears out my previous statements. In 1874 a convention was held in Ottawa, in 1875-6-7 conventions were held, in various places, and then an industrial depression interfered with the new birth. In 1883 the Toronto Trades and Labor Council took action and called a convention at which 47 delegates were present.

In 1886 the Toronto Trades Council called another convention at which 110 delegates attended representing 67 labor organizations, and the Congress was placed upon a permanent basis, and has met annually since. Recent years show the remarkable growth of the Congress. In 1901 we had 8,381 members, in 1914 80,094. This year the membership affiliated direct is 71,419, and taking into consideration the members on active service, it really means an increase in membership and shows the solidity of our movement in Canada.

In addition to this the Congress has chartered a chain of Central Trades and Labor Councils numbering 46, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, making a total altogether, indirectly represented through the Congress, of 150,000 wage earners.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is the National expression in Canada of the International Trade Union Movement, of its desires for legislation, and follows up what is decided on at conventions, by endeavoring to have written upon the statute books of the Dominion of Canada, and the various provinces, the desires of the workers of Canada. With trade jurisdiction we have nothing to do. The American Federation of Labor is the Supreme Court on jurisdictional mat-

ters between International organizations. The Congress has however absolute autonomy in legislative matters in the Dominion. The reason for this is apparent. Whatever legislation is passed in the Dominion of Canada, or the provinces, doesn't in its administrative operation affect our brothers to the south of (as far as the labor movement is concerned) the "imaginary boundary line." Neither does legislation passed at Washington affect us in Canada. Perhaps never before has this been made so clear as at present, when Canada is in a state of war, and your country is in a neutral position. It is because of this also, that the greetings, and good will, with the ever strengthening bonds of International affiliation are more significant this year than ever.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, contrary to what many think, it was not the war which brought about the industrial depression in Canada. Before war broke out unemployment stalked abroad, and the winter of 1914-15 was looked forward to by those in the labor movement in touch direct with the membership, as one sure to produce one of the worst unemployed problems Canada had ever seen.

This was before war broke out. Permit me to give you an explanatory glimpse. Canada's borrowings before war broke out resulted in this, that Canada has to find \$150,000,000 a year in interest alone to meet her obligations. The various governments and other interested parties had fostered immigration to such an extent, that the Dominion could not possibly find employment for the newcomers. Steamboat companies, railway companies, etc., undoubtedly were reaping a rich harvest, but the problem of the labor market and its gluttedness didn't seem to interest them. The repeated warnings and protest of the labor movement was unavailing. Positively, the labor movement in Canada, has no objection to legitimate immigration and never has had. But it does object to the misrepresentation which induces many to leave good homes, and come to a market where they are placed in the position of being worse off, as well as being used as much as possible by unscrupulous employers. So the labor market was glutted, the money market became tight, and Canada came face to face with the proposition of standing on her own feet financially, and providing the wealth to meet her obligations without borrowing more money to do it with. It wasn't over-production, not at all.

One hundred and fifty million dollars' interest on borrowed money. You know what that means in straight financing? It means that the wage-earners of Canada must produce \$150,000,000 of wealth a year, before they produce anything for themselves. And who owns the wealth which has been borrowed on the basic credit of the people? The wage-earners? Not a bit of it. Railway corporations, financial corporations, and the great manufacturing interests.



History will show to any one who will take the time to peruse it, that great manufacturing eras have followed all great wars. Of course they do. It is necessary that the wage earners produce more and more wealth to pay the great national debts incurred in the struggle. In face of the financial situation on this continent, and in the shadow of the terrible struggle in Europe, isn't it a standing indictment of those entrusted with the government of great nations? Could labor governments do any worse? Do the ideals and aspirations of the labor movement not suggest a tremendous improvement in the world's relations if the power was obtained to make them effective?

In Australia, the present Premier, we are credibly informed, was an umbrella mender by trade. There was a time when workers imagined that only politicians who advised them to keep out of politics were fit to govern. A Premier who mended umbrellas. Isn't that a splendid tribute and illustration of the ability of the workers the world over, to show them that within the ranks of the working class, are Premiers, Cabinet ministers, and Diplomats who would save the world from such terrible conflicts as the world is witnessing, if only the workers themselves had confidence enough in one another, to place their representatives where they can be really effective?

A man is considered rash who attempts to predict the future, but one fact seems to stand out clearly, that Canada must grow industrially after this war is over, to produce the wealth to meet her obligations. She is destined to have tremendous increase in population. It will be necessary for increased effort to see that the wage earners are all gathered into the fold of International Trades Unionism, and to insure the onward march of the movement in Canada with increased strength and power, reflecting the spirit of those who have so well built already.

With regard to legislation. In view of what happened at our recent convention I would consider myself lacking in frankness if I didn't mention a piece of legislation in which many of you are interested, namely, the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. It was only just prior to our recent convention that we were able to obtain from the Hon. Minister of Labor, draft copies of the amendments to the legislation which have been foreshadowed for so long. A special committee of the Congress was appointed to deal with the whole question, and the Minister of Labor was in attendance, and endeavored to answer the many questions, which the committee and the delegates bombarded him with for many hours.

A motion to ask for the repeal of the act was defeated by a vote of 97 to 55. That is, the committee reported non-concurrence in the resolution, and the report of the committee was carried by the vote mentioned.

The action of the Congress on the whole subject was as follows:

"That the matter of the Industrial

Disputes Investigation Act be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to secure the necessary interpretations from competent counsel and that when the Act comes before the House, the Executive Council be authorized to bring to Ottawa such officers as it deems necessary to assist in combating the objectionable, and supporting the favorable amendments."

It is only fair to say, and I have had some experience on Boards of Investigation and Conciliation under this legislation, that there is a very divided opinion upon its merits among the organizations in Canada. Some are very bitterly opposed to it, and others are just as stout advocates of it. On the other hand there are those who take the position that the Government will not repeal it; therefore it is best to seek amendments to it.

There is one section of the proposed legislation, upon which I took the opportunity at our recent convention to draw to the attention of the Hon. Minister of Labor. It is a section by which it seems to me, that an International officer from the United States may be prevented from advising an organization belonging to his International Union during strike preliminaries, with the penalty of a very heavy fine or imprisonment. The Minister of Labor cannot see it in that light. It will be remembered though that some years ago in the Canadian Senate, a body which we would be delighted to wish upon you, an attempt was made to pass legislation which would have prevented an International officer from the United States from taking any part in industrial trouble in Canada. This was defeated by the efforts of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. It looks to me as if the same idea could be read into the section of which I speak. I would advise that you procure, if possible, copies of the draft act, read it carefully and consider it.

It is also true that legislation passed in Canada has an indirect influence upon our brothers here, as evidenced by the desire in some quarters to wish the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act upon you. On the other hand it is also true that legislation passed here has an indirect influence in Canada. For instance, at a recent meeting of Industrial Insurance Commissioners at Seattle from various States of the Union and at which a Commissioner from the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board was present, it was decided as far as possible to adopt a uniform system of classification of industries, and so on which would facilitate comparison of costs, etc., in administration of workmen's compensation legislation. So that your administrations here will be compared with the ones in Canada. We have had in operation since last January 1st in Ontario what has been credited with being one of the finest pieces of workmen's compensation legislation in existence. I could speak at length on that matter, but prefer to wait for the first year's report of its operation. The Province of Nova Scotia passed a bill along similar lines last year, British Columbia has laid a bill before the legislature, modeled upon

the Ontario Act, which it is proposed to deal with at the forthcoming session during the next few months. A special committee of the Government is now touring the United States and Canada, gathering information for the purpose of advising the Government. The workmen in the Province of Manitoba are holding conferences with the employers over legislation which will be introduced into the Manitoba legislature at an early date. It is probable that within a year or two every province in Canada will have legislation modeled upon the Ontario Act, with improvements as they can be obtained. This is some of the work of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the legislative work in Canada of the International Trade Union Movement. Not only is the work done from a Federal and Provincial standpoint but also from a municipal standpoint. Labor representatives successfully breaking into the municipal councils, and their influence is being felt far and wide. A brief glimpse shows the great work being done by the Congress on the legislative field.

Mr. Chairman and brothers, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at its recent convention set its face absolutely and uncompromisingly against conscription. The merits of the war I shall not discuss, the trade unionists in Canada are members of your International organizations, and I must respect the fraternal obligations and remember that while our country is at war, your country is in a neutral position. The Congress has taken a firm stand with regard to the relation of the labor movement in Canada to the present struggle in Europe.

While passing through the glorious States of Oregon and California to this convention, I read the reports of the declaration of policy made by your President and first citizen of the United States, in a speech to the Manhattan Club upon its fiftieth anniversary. He mentioned, according to reports, the strengthening of the National Guard, and the raising, if I remember aright, of a force, which in a period of three years would amount to 400,000 trained men. This with a population of between 80,000,000 and 90,000,000. In Canada while on my journey I read that the Government at Ottawa had authorized the extension of our overseas forces to 250,000. This out of a population of about 8,000,000. A quarter of a million of the best manhood of a military age, this is the price so far in men that Canada must pay for participation in the struggle in which our Empire is engaged.

In Canada also as in Great Britain there are mothers and wives who have seen their sons and husbands for the last time, children who have kissed their daddies for the last time.

A writer, noted as a cynic, told a great truth when he said:

"Were glory her rewards to yield  
To those who have the right to them;  
The skull upon the battlefield  
Would often wear a diadem;

The hero is not he who sits upon the throne,  
'Tis oftener he who fighting dies unknown."

I agree with Brother Bevin that democracy seems to move so slowly. For years we were passing resolutions against war, full of sentiment, and had not provided the necessary machinery to carry out our ideals and prevent by action of the workers in every country, such a horrible struggle as is proceeding in Europe; whether it be at the bidding of a military autocracy in any country. The Trades and Labor Congress has decided to coincide in the declaration of the American Federation of Labor at the Philadelphia Convention.

It agrees that a General Labor Congress should be called to meet wherever the diplomats of the various nations meet to settle the terms of peace. That labor representatives from various nations must be on hand to take part in shaping the destinies of the countries involved in the settlement. The International Trade Union Movement of Canada will, through the Congress, take such steps as are necessary to see that Canada takes its part in the General Labor Congress.

Like President Gompers at the opening session, I feel that there is so much to say and so little time to say it in. I recognize that adjournment time has passed while I have been speaking. I feel sure you appreciate the difficulty of following the two eloquent brothers from Great Britain. I again extend to you on behalf of the Congress, fraternal greetings, good will, hopes for the ever-strengthening of the bonds of Internationalism, and I thank you for the many courtesies received at your hands since my arrival, which I take as appreciation of the organization which I have the honor to represent here today.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Secretary John J. Whelan, San Francisco Council, No. 615, Knights of Columbus, extending to the delegates and their families the free and unlimited use of their club rooms at 150 Golden Gate avenue, during the sessions of the convention.

The Secretary also read a communication from Secretary L. A. Eaton, San Francisco Lodge, No. 26, Loyal Order of Moose, extending to members of that organization and their friends the privilege of the club rooms, Golden Gate avenue and Jones street. The communication also stated that an initiation would take place in the Moose auditorium on the evening of Nov. 10, to which all the visiting members were invited.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m.

### THIRD DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, November 10th, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

**Absentees:** Abrahams, Adams (B. A.), Ainsworth, Anderson, Bergstrom, Blakeley, Bock, Boswell, Boyden, Brock, Brown, Castro, Christman, Corbley, Curran, Dean, Doyle, Duffey, Evans, Fletcher, Ford, Galvin, Garvey, Gavlak, Glass, Golden, Green, Greene, Hall, Hammer-schlag, Hanley, Harris (G. B.), Harris (W. W.), Hart (J. W.), Holm, Hurley, Hutcheson, Ives, James, Jennings, Kearney, Keller, Kiernan, Kraft, Kraneffeld, Lamoreux, Lawson, Leber, Letroadee, Mahoney, Mareschl, Marshall, Marks, Myrup, McClory, McGarry, McGovern, McNulty, McSorley, O'Brien, O'Connell, Perkins, Pettit, Porter, Post, Riley, Rowe, Ryan (P. F.), Sachs, Schneider (G. J.), Smith (J. T.), Spiegl, Steidle, Suarez, Sweep, Talbott, Tracy, Triska, Walker, Warden, Wessel, White, Williams, Woodman.

Vice-President Duncan introduced to the convention Delegate H. J. Conway, Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the recent convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who read the following report:

#### Report of Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

In presenting for your consideration my report as Fraternal Delegate to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada it will be my purpose to be as brief and concise as possible.

The convention opened in the Labor Temple in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia, on Monday, September 20, 1915, and continued in session until Saturday evening, September 25.

It was a magnificent convention, composed of as fine a representative body as ever assembled in any meeting place for the purpose of dealing with the interests of the toilers in annual congress. In spite of the terrible war in which the mother country is involved, and has been for more than a year past, which has resulted in the absence of many of Canada's stalwart sons, in face of the severe business depression which has been keenly felt from one end of this continent to the other, and even though the convention city was at a far distant point from the central part of the Dominion, still more than two hundred delegates responded to the roll call after the Committee on Credentials had reported.

The work of the delegates was, to say the least, amazing; strict attention was paid to business from the moment that President Waters opened the convention proper until the adjournment sine die. During all of the sessions no time was wasted, and while the most pleasing forms of entertainment were provided, when the same interfered with the work of the delegates during the day, night sessions were held, so that none of the time during the entire week was wasted.

Among the prominent guests of the Congress were Hon. J. W. Bowser, Provincial Attorney-General, and the Hon. T. W. Crothers, Federal Minister of Labor, both of whom gave addresses, and during the week the Minister of Labor had a number of very important questions submitted to him, and the gentleman in question must be complimented, not alone upon his ready command of language, but also on his beautiful system whereby he evaded giving direct answers to the inquiries made.

The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is a legislative body pure and simple, and during their last session refused point blank to handle any jurisdictional disputes on the ground that their work was properly legislative, and this was upheld by the unanimous vote of the congress. In this manner much time was saved, which might otherwise have been devoted to the discussion of jurisdictional disputes.

There were ninety-six resolutions introduced at the congress and every one of them was given the widest latitude for discussion. The Workmen's Compensation amendments possibly consumed the greatest amount of time in debate.

The report of the Executive Council went minutely into the work of that body with its recommendations, etc., for the past year, as well as the report of the Executive Committee from the various provinces of Canada, all of which were dealt with section by section by the delegates.

The report of the Executive Council presented in concrete form the many problems confronting the toilers in the Dominion of Canada, chiefly, perhaps, those conditions resulting from the unfortunate strife in which they as a nation are involved, and pointed out clearly that in whatever manner this terrific bloodshed began it cannot now be stopped by arguments or lengthy dissertations, nor until constitutional freedom and democracy are triumphant over military autocracy. In the meantime, it behooves organized labor in all countries to continue their mutual co-operation until such time as peace restored will enable the toilers to carry forward their work triumphant.

The Executive Committee for the Province of Nova Scotia reported the enactment of a satisfactory Workmen's

Compensation law in the face of stupendous opposition, and one which it will be the endeavor of the other provinces to put into effect through the efforts of the labor movement.

The report of Secretary-Treasurer Draper showed a slight decrease in membership, this being readily accounted for by the large number of trade unionists who have enlisted for military service, and being of a temporary character not in the least denoting any lack of progress.

President Watters' report covered the past year's work in detail and a number of conferences held pertaining to occupational diseases, the workmen's compensation, compulsory insurance, industrial disputes investigation, labor bureaus, etc. He emphasized that the legislation desired by the toilers will be enacted only in proportion to the degree of inducement brought to bear on their legislators, and urged a united effort to send representatives from their own ranks who could be relied upon to enact laws for the conservation of human welfare.

Brother Andrew Furuseth of the Seamen was a visitor at the Congress. He was granted the floor and delivered one of the finest addresses on the evolution of the Seamen's Union that it has been my privilege to hear. He explained in detail the Seamen's Law and its relation to the rights and liberties of the workers of that craft. Brother Furuseth's remarks were warmly applauded, and at their conclusion a resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention endorsing the Seamen's Law and pledging support to its enactment.

The subject of International Trades Unionism was touched upon, and a resolution introduced by Delegate H. J. Halford of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union was unanimously adopted reaffirming the determination of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to do all within its power to advance the cause of International Trades Unionism.

In further substantiation of the benefits derived through the International movement were the remarks of Delegate J. H. McVety, President of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, when he stated that had it not been for the work done by one of the international unions the strike of the Street Railwaymen's Union in Vancouver could not have been prevented. He also referred to the threatened strike of the Longshoremen and to the fact that some of the same international officers had refused to call a strike on the Pacific Coast though offered a bribe of \$1,200,000. Brother McVety also called attention to the number of Canadian international officers, the same being large in proportion to the Canadian membership in international unions.

The terrible war now raging on the European continent has upset many of the former theories and beliefs held by the workers in Canada, and like their co-workers in the States they have awakened to the realization that legis-

lation is not an effective remedy unless supplemented by organized solidarity for the purpose of collective bargaining, and it was freely admitted that more thorough organization was essential in order to participate in the full benefit of those laws which have already been enacted in the interests of the welfare of humanity.

The platform of principles of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress number seventeen, briefly stated as follows:

1. Free compulsory education.
2. Legal working day of eight hours, and six days to a week.
3. Government inspection of all industries.
4. The abolition of contract system on all public works.
5. A minimum living wage, based on local condition.
6. Public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, waterworks, lighting, etc.
7. Tax reform, by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values.
8. Abolition of the Dominion Senate.
9. Exclusion of all Asiatics.
10. The Union Label to be placed on all manufactured goods where practicable, and all government and municipal supplies.
11. Abolition of child labor for children under sixteen years, and the establishing of equal pay for equal work for men and women.
12. Abolition of property qualification for all public offices.
13. Voluntary arbitration of labor disputes.
14. Compulsory vote and proportional representation with grouped constituencies and abolition of municipal wards.
15. Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum.
16. Prohibition of prison labor in competition with free labor.
17. Equal suffrage for men and women over 21 years of age.

Words are inadequate in which to express my appreciation of the cordial welcome and courteous treatment extended to me during my visit in Vancouver and throughout the sessions of the Congress. I was initiated into some of the mysteries by the brothers across the imaginary line, but as I had already taken many similar degrees I was able to withstand the shock better than I might otherwise have done. As a further expression of the good fellowship that prevailed I was presented with a beautiful token in the shape of a pearl and diamond scarf pin which I shall ever treasure highly in memory of the Canadian friends with whom it was my privilege to mingle for a short time.

Permit me to add that a visit to the city of Vancouver is well worth the effort, the scenery is superb, the surroundings magnificent, the city beautiful, and the hearty and cordial hand grasp of the workers in Canada when they learn that you are a fellow trade unionist can never be forgotten for the action is spontaneous from the heart.

In conclusion I desire to tender to the American Federation of Labor my sincere thanks and appreciation for the privilege of serving in the capacity of Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and bearing with me the fraternal greetings of our movement to those so closely allied to us in one common aim and purpose.

Fraternally submitted,

H. J. CONWAY,

Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Vice-President Duncan: I wish to introduce to the Convention Miss Agnes Nestor, representing the National Women's Trade Union League. Other organizations have claimed the credit of having been first in organized labor to recognize the need of organized women and to protect their rights, but when others than our American Federation of Labor did so they did it simply to play to the gallery. We first began in 1883 with a woman delegate to our convention and have been working hard for the organization of women ever since. Delegate Agnes Nestor needs no introduction to most of the delegates here. She has been an executive officer of her own organization, the Glove Workers; she has been their delegate and has been earnest in the work for more years than I care to tell. She is just a little older than she looks. She has had other connections with the organizations of women which enables her to speak for them.

Fraternal Delegate Agnes Nestor: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to this Convention—This is the first convention I have attended as a fraternal delegate to represent women in the different trades represented in the National Women's Trade Union League. I bring you greetings from them. I wish they were all here today; I wish this whole convention was sprinkled with women delegates in as large a number as they are represented proportionately in the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and I feel the convention is not far distant when we will have the women here as delegates in large numbers.

The National Women's Trade Union League is known to a great many of the delegates here; many of you have worked intimately with the officers in cities where our local leagues are located, but I feel a number of the delegates do not know, because they have not had the opportunity to know, what the purpose of the Women's National Trade Union League is. The first purpose of the league, as you know, is to organize women into trade unions. After we have them organized into trade unions we have another big job, and that is to educate them, to bring them out and make them more active in their different local unions so that they will

be a force in this movement to help bring about the changes necessary; and to be a force in the movement we need to make a great and solid movement, as the American Federation of Labor must be, to meet all the problems it has to meet.

It is quite natural that the men should turn to our organizations when there are difficulties in the trades of the women in our cities, and we have been quite astonished in a great many instances to learn some of the conditions existing in certain industries. For instance, this summer the carpenters' representative came to us from Oshkosh, Wis., and asked us to send an organizer to that city to organize the women woodworkers. Some of us had not thought of women working in the wood industry. I think some of you now do not dream of the carpenters having women in their membership. Our secretary, Miss Emma Steghagen, went there and found the women were receiving from seven cents to ten cents an hour for work the men in Chicago are receiving forty cents an hour for. She organized these women, with the assistance of the trade unionists of that city, and they are now affiliated with the carpenters' organization.

Our organizers are trade union women, and they are working to organize the trades in which women are employed. In Illinois one of the very significant things we have been able to do in the last year and a half was to organize the women and men working in the state institutions who are caring for the wards of our state. It is a new organization, but it is an organization we hope will extend all over the country. We found that the nurses and attendants in those institutions—where we ought to have ideal conditions, because the state is the employer—we found them overworked and underpaid, exploited, just as they are in a great many of our industries controlled by private enterprise, and in order to bring about any sort of change it was necessary to organize every institution in the state.

With the assistance of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with funds appropriated by the Illinois State Federation, we were able to bring about the organization of this group of workers so effectively that during the last year they have entirely changed the conditions of their employment. Now throughout the state they have an eight-hour day, and the men and women doing the same work are on exactly the same basis. They have been able to secure one day of rest in seven and a great many other changes have been made in their employment. Those workers brought about within the shortest length of time, I believe, more changes than workers are usually able to bring about in their trade or industry. We hope that organization will be extended to other states.

Early last year our Boston Women's Trade Union League began to organize another class that is very hard to reach,

the women office cleaners. Their work begins at 2 o'clock in the morning, and in the past it has been difficult to reach them. They had to be met in the morning as they went to work. In our convention in New York last summer we had a delegate from that new and splendid organization. The office cleaners need organization as much as any group we have met. I have just received word from our national office that Miss Scott, one of our organizers, organized the women working in the cable industry in Port Amboy, N. J., where there is a great strike. We have calls from different places, and the Women's Trade Union League is trying to build up an organization that can effectively bring about the organization of women workers, so that these problems can be met in the only way it is possible to meet them, through the trade union in each trade.

In addition to doing this work and organizing and assisting in times of strike, we are carrying on the important work of educating and developing the women within the trades so that they can carry on the work that must be carried on in each of their unions. Last summer we held a convention of the National Women's Trade Union League in New York City. It was a biennial convention. We had 84 delegates there representing 24 different trades and coming from 14 different cities. If you wanted to sense what the league means to the organized working women you should have been in that convention. The coming together of these women—and for a great many of them it meant the first time they had met nationally—the coming together with women from other trades and other cities to consider the problems that must be considered nationally in our labor movement, the coming together in that way of those girls to exchange experiences, work together on committees and devise plans for carrying on the organization was something those delegates will not forget for a long time. Some of them went home so stirred that I believe with the inspiration they got at that convention they will be able to do work they would not be inspired to do any other way.

That is the thing we are trying to do—not only nationally, but in our cities and states—trying to bring together the trade union women, trying to get them to see the problem in a bigger light than their own trade union in their own city. We want them to understand the movement as it should be understood if we are to have a great and intelligent labor movement, as we should have it. We are trying to get the women to take their place in this movement, as they should take it. There was a time when other people tried to do things for women. There was a time when they tried, and their intentions were good, to get legislation for them, but that is over and past, because the working women are talking in the legislative halls for their own measures, meeting employers and making contracts with their employers jointly with the men. Until we have all

the women taking the part they should take we cannot be satisfied. It is a big job, and it will take all the organizations all over the country to help accomplish it.

We are very glad in the Women's Trade Union League to work as closely as we can with the American Federation of Labor, to work in close cooperation with all the other organizations, because we are a part of the movement. While not directly affiliated as a National Women's Trade Union League, our membership is all a part of this great movement, because the women represented in the league are members of various trades. We make it a condition when we grant a charter in any city that a majority on the executive board of that league must be trade union members. We find before long that we haven't a majority only, but almost the entire boards and organizations are trade union members. In one city, out of a membership of nineteen on the board, sixteen are trade union members. And so it is coming more and more to be a federation of women's trade unions, a federation through which they can voice their particular demands and work out some of the problems that need to be taken up quite separate and apart just now.

We have been working for legislation, and we have had the same opposition as the men in the trades have when they are trying to get anything in the way of remedial legislation. We are working to have equal suffrage, because we feel if the trade union women depend upon just one arm, the organization, and do not have the political power and influence they need through the ballot they will be seriously handicapped. One of the national magazines recently made a poll of the various subscribers to find out the sentiment with regard to suffrage and to find out who the "antis" were. The only "anti" in the state of Illinois that responded was the attorney for the associated employers, the man who is fighting women workers, not only when they are trying to get legislation to shorten hours and other remedial legislation, but also fighting them, as he did the waitresses when they were trying to get a living wage and shorter hours by working persistently to get injunctions against them—we find that sort of man standing up alone saying he wants to so shelter and protect the women in their homes and against additional responsibilities and burdens that he does not want us to have the ballot! I think the employing forces will be one of the big forces we will have to fight in our effort to secure the ballot.

In closing, fellow delegates, I want to say that I hope in every city you will try, not only to organize the women into trade unions, but try to bring them into active service in their organizations, so they will do the work they ought to do in this great movement. If you do that it will make them the real force they ought to be, and when we have the women all working, as they should work, with the men, I believe we are all going to be nearer that great day



that is dawning for us when we can enjoy the shorter work day and the product of our toll that we ought to enjoy now.

I thank you, delegates.

Vice-President Duncan: It affords me great pleasure to introduce Miss Anna Fitzgerald of the Women's International Union Label League.

Fraternal Delegate Anna Fitzgerald: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Unlike the previous speaker, this is not the first time I have appeared before you, but the pleasure is no less. I realize that many of you fully understand the purpose of the organization I represent; but to those of you who may not know, I am going to say that our organization believes that the great power that rests in the hands of the purchasers of this country is overlooked, and feels that organized labor does not give it as much thought as it might, and for that reason an organization composed of women who do the buying in the homes, we believe, is doing a splendid work at this time and could do a great deal more if the American Federation of Labor in all the different sections of the country would give it the hearty co-operation and support it deserves. We realize that if 2,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor had their earnings spent for union-made goods a great deal of the work of organizing we are now unable to do would be accomplished.

Indirectly we have perfected many of our new organizations by creating a demand for union-made goods. We also realize that we have been able to increase the membership in many of the organizations through that same channel. There is no merchant who will ignore this demand. If the customers want a certain line of goods the merchant will supply them. While we find in many large cities the sweat-shop flourishes, and child labor exists, as well as other things organized labor has fought against for many years, we are apt to place the blame for such conditions on big business, as it were, while the fact is if we were to spend the money earned by organized labor for union-made goods it would be no longer profitable to run establishments such as I have mentioned.

We make an effort to induce the women to demand the union label. If they demand the union label, shop card and button, we realize we will be able to do effective organizing by that means. For a number of years we have had branches of our organization in various cities doing a splendid work, and while at times it may seem a little discouraging that organized labor apparently does not realize the full value of this work, we know that no great work has ever gone along smoothly. We must go slowly, but whatever we have been able to do—and we believe we have done considerable—we feel it has been a step in the right direction.

I feel it would be an imposition on this convention to take up more of your time on this line; but we realize that

here are the men who have great problems to solve, and I know that each one feels his work is so large that a little thing like the union label has no place in it. No matter how great our other work may be I believe we should always give time to this matter. The union label is a weapon of defense; it is something through which organized labor can gain more for its membership than through any other means I know, and with very little or no effort on their part. Now, what I ask this American Federation of Labor to do through its organizers is to at least encourage this work as they go along. We have had some moral support, it is true, but we realize that even the people representing the American Federation of Labor sometimes think too little of this particular line of work, and we hope that by appearing before your convention year after year we are going to instill into your minds that you have made a mistake in the past, but you are not going to make it in the future. To use a common expression of the street, money talks. Well, if money talks, let money earned under organized conditions talk and say the kind of goods that will be bought with it.

We do our work through label agitation, and by that means we have perfected many organizations and increased the membership of many others. I believe it is a work that is well worth while, and I hope the delegates upon returning to their homes will take this matter up seriously and look over the field and see why it is our merchants insist upon saying there is no demand for the union label and consequently they cannot handle union-made goods. I believe there is nothing we can do at this time that will bring about better results than by uniting in a demand for the union label, the union shop card and the union button.

Vice-President Duncan introduced to the convention Rev. E. Guy Talbott, representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

Fraternal Delegate Talbott: Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the American Federation of Labor—I have the honor of speaking to you this afternoon representing 17,000,000 Christians in this country, members of 150,000 of the churches composing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, and on behalf of that organization I bring to you most cordial fraternal greetings and wishes for your success not only in this convention, but for the success of the great movement that you represent. It has been the custom for some years to have fraternal delegates from our organization before your body. Last year Rev. Samuel Zane Batten was our delegate, before that Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, and before that my colleague in this convention, Mr. Charles Stelzel, who has done more than any other man to give the churches a better understanding of the meaning and purpose of organized labor.

We are glad to be present with you, to listen to your deliberations and to

let you know that the churches we represent, the organizations we represent, are coming to feel every year a deeper interest in the problems and in the program which you represent. I would not be fair to you if I did not say there are some men in the ministry of the church who do not recognize the importance of the labor movement. Just as there are some men in the ranks of labor who do not recognize the importance of the church, so there are some ministers who do not recognize the importance of the things for which you stand. One of the prominent ministers on this coast, who received \$7,000 a year, does not know the difference between an anarchist, an 'I. W. W., a socialist and a trade unionist—he puts them all together, classes them as anarchists and wants nothing to do with them. But this same man, with his little notions—to show you the broad character of the labor organizations here—was asked by the central labor body of his city to give the Labor Day address this year. There is hope that he may yet be converted and become a true Christian!

The thing that has done more than anything else to help men of that type in the church to understand the meaning of the labor movement has been the interchange of fraternal delegates. It has been my privilege to be a fraternal delegate from a church organization to the Trades and Labor Council of Los Angeles some years ago, when for a man to be known as a labor union man meant that he would lose his job. In my case it meant the loss of my job, but I think more of labor than I do of a job, and I thought so then. The time has come in Los Angeles when a man can be a member of organized labor and retain his job. And your great movement has made that possible. There was a time, and it still exists to a certain extent, when the scale of wages in that city was lower than in any other Pacific Coast town; however, wages have been raised tremendously in the last few years, due solely and exclusively to the efforts of organized labor.

There are some things you can do alone, and there are some things the organization I have the honor to represent can do alone; but there are some other things we can do far better working together, co-operating one with another. In the past we have been carrying on, through our Commission on the Church and Social Service, a campaign in a great many states for one day of rest in seven. We are carrying it on at present and co-operating with your national movement and the various state federations. Most of you are familiar also with the investigations of labor strife that have been made by our Commission on Church and Social Service. The strife at Muscatine, Iowa, the trouble at the South Bethlehem plant, the later trouble at Lawrence, Mass., and the still later struggles in Ludlow, Colo., and the Calumet region of Michigan, were investigated. The reports of this commission were issued by the hundred thousand. Every one of these re-

ports found in favor of the labor movement, and they helped to give the people in the churches a better idea of the things for which organized labor stands. Only this last week I heard a man high in the councils of the churches of this country tell of a first-hand investigation he had made of the battle field of Ludlow, Colo., and how his blood boiled when he found that all the machinery and the power of government were used to thwart the cause of humanity as represented by the labor organizations in that field.

There are two fields in which we must work if we are to have a satisfactory solution of the problem. One is the menacing problem of unemployment. In my work for the Council I come in almost daily contact with that sordid side of industry known as unemployment. We greet you here on the Pacific Coast and welcome you to the golden state of California because we believe your coming here will help us to have a better appreciation of our problems. While we are not an industrial state, the biggest industrial problems we face today in California, I think the biggest problem that this nation faces, is the problem of unemployment. Not only is it grave from the standpoint of industry, but it is a most menacing problem from the social standpoint. Unless there shall come a speedy solution of this problem, according to the statements of the President of this country as expressed in the addresses before his election, we must face in this land bloody revolution.

One of the greatest problems that will be presented to you or that you can consider is that menacing problem of unemployment. I have seen thousands of men constituting our unemployed armies in this state driven from one city to another at the point of the bayonet, the pick handle and the use of the fire department. I have seen men in the police courts sent to jail and to the workhouse for the sole crime of being without a job and without money. The question of the employment of migratory workers is a serious problem on the Pacific Coast, but the question of unemployment is not confined to the seasonal or migratory workers, or the so-called hoboes and bums.

The Department of Labor recently made an investigation of fifteen eastern cities and twelve cities on the coast. In the eastern cities the investigation covered 400,000 families, not of seasonal laborers or traveling people, but craft workers, and it was discovered that 11 1/2 per cent of all those laborers investigated were unemployed at the time the investigation was made, that 16 1/2 per cent of them were employed part of the time; and in the twelve Pacific coast cities it was found that 13 per cent. were unemployed and over 20 per cent. employed only part of the time.

The question of unemployment is a growing question in the craft organizations as well as for the migratory workers, and it can be solved only by the application concretely of the spirit of brotherhood and democracy for which

this trade convention stands. Not by resolution, not solely by laws on the statute books, but by a concrete expression of brotherhood are we going to solve these problems. Sometimes I feel the church I represent and the organized labor movement which you represent have wrapped the mantles of our righteousness about us and passed by the hobo and the bum. If brotherhood means more than an empty word we must apply it over the whole working field until all men shall be conscious of brotherhood and love and act as brothers to one another. If there were not so many unemployed at the top there would not be so many unemployed at the bottom, and until we can secure a more equitable distribution of the product of toil I believe we never will solve the problem of unemployment. And well may you give yourselves to an understanding of that problem.

The other question that throws itself over our minds today like a pall, the question upon which we must work together in a spirit of brotherhood, is the question of militarism. I speak now, not in reference to the problem across the seas, but the problem as it presents itself to us right here in America. We have in our Federal Council our Commission on Peace and Arbitration. That commission has one task only, to make the churches feel that spirit of brotherhood for which we have been standing in our resolutions and our preaching for so long. If there was as much class consciousness, as much consciousness of brotherhood in the organized churches as there is in the organized labor movement war would be an impossibility. The task we have within the church is to create a spirit of brotherhood, a real spirit of brotherhood that will forever make war an impossibility.

What we face here is not the imminence of war, although its possibility is ever before us, but the task we face here is the creation of a sentiment against militarism. The Army and Navy League and the jingo press of this country are constantly striving to create a sentiment in the public mind in favor of militarism, and it is for us in the religious movement, and you in the labor movement, to create a sentiment that will prevent the plunging of this country into war. When any country goes to war the brunt must not only be borne by the workers, but the aftermath must rest upon their shoulders. The rehabilitation of Europe after the war is over will rest upon the shoulders of the workers. The great debt that is piling up now will constitute an incubus no class can carry and survive. We must see to it in this country. If democracy is to come in the field of industry and social life generally, that the militarist spirit does not prevail and that the militarist class does not dominate.

So in your work in this convention for bettering the conditions of the whole working class, not only the craft organizations I would bid you Godspeed; in

your efforts for the amelioration of industrial wrongs through legislation and through the creation of a public sentiment we pledge you our hearty co-operation and support, and in your warfare against war and hate and discord and in favor of arbitration, conciliation and the use of the principles of democracy in the settlement of international, inter-racial and inter-labor disputes we pledge you our earnest co-operation and Godspeed. I thank you.

Vice-President Duncan: One additional pleasure. We have an old delegate here today in a new light, a man from the Sunny South, who has grown up within the Union and has been a good union man since he was a boy, who has been an organizer for the American Federation of Labor for a long time, who has been a delegate to this convention about as often as any man has been a delegate, but this time comes as a fraternal delegate from the Southern Labor Congress. It would spoil the pleasure of listening to him to dwell longer upon what he represents—Col. Jerome Jones, representing the Southern Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Jones: You who have here assembled, and those who preceded you in making of this Federation of Labor a monument of beneficence to mankind in an epochal industrial generation, fully understand the great need of solidarity in the ranks of labor. You and they have achieved that solidarity in the face of fierce economic opposition, but you and they wrought in a region where there was only economic opposition. We of the South, limited in numbers, perhaps, but as zealous and enthusiastic as any of you, marched side by side with you in the upbuilding of this wonderful agency—an agency that has done more for humanity in raising the standard of living, in rescuing the children from premature toll, in breaking the galling chains of industrial bondage which in other days bound the women toilers, in shortening the hours of labor, in spreading education, in conquering disease, and reducing the liability of accidents in mine, factory and on railroads, than all the other altruistic agencies combined have accomplished in a century of concerted effort. Because of the activities of this great Federation of Labor and the splendid, gifted men who have guided its destiny in all these years of magical growth, a new social doctrine has been enunciated and promulgated, and to-day is the law of the land, to-wit: Labor is not a chattel.

We of the South, I say, shared in this progress, but not altogether. As I said a moment ago, the opposition encountered by us in the North and West was economic.

In the South that opposition is complicated by other complications. We have had to overcome customs and tra-

ditions; those customs and traditions have for generations been part of the social and political structure of the South. Little or no organization of labor existed in the South until several years after the Civil War, when the Knights of Labor made its advent, followed immediately by the American Federation of Labor.

Moreover, we of the South who were crusading for humanity were in a far-flung and sparsely settled country, so far as manufacturing and mechanical industries were concerned.

You of the other sections of the country were almost never without sight of the smokestack betokening the presence of your industrial brethren. In the South, our industrial centers are hundreds of miles apart, tied together only by the sheer necessity of co-operative effort.

More, perhaps, than any other class of working people, those of the South who grasped the meaning of labor solidarity realize that the only good, the more lasting good, rather, could proceed from those who were to be benefited, and so in October, 1912, a meeting was called at Atlanta, Ga., for December 9th, to consider the pressing need of the South and to seek to unify the three great forces—the farmer, the railroad man and the working man—into a confraternity, claiming no jurisdiction, and seeking no special authority, which could bring about certain reforms so sadly needed in the South, where in many of the States labor legislation was archaic. That tentative meeting in Atlanta, largely attended by influential men of the South, recognized that there was a great and necessary work to do, and set about doing what they might do.

But the Atlanta meeting merely mapped out the possibility of a strictly sectional, largely advisory adjunct of the American Federation of Labor. With a wider vision, the second session of the Congress approached the delicate task before it, and fearlessly attacked the problems of labor as peculiarly affecting the South.

Out of the travail of the memorable year 1914, came a determination on the part of the leaders of southern labor who thought to make such another year of woe impossible, if it were humanly possible, through the activity of the Southern Labor Congress, and its allies.

But what had before been only a hope—a politico-economic alliance with the Farmers' Unions, as well as the Railway Brotherhoods—was seen to be feasible and it was realized that such an alliance was absolutely essential if we sought to obtain remedial and constructive legislation.

Let me give briefly the number of delegates at each session of the Congress, and the States represented.

At the first session of the Congress the following States were represented: Alabama, 16 delegates; Arkansas, 2 delegates; Florida, 2 delegates; Georgia, 97 delegates; Kentucky, 1 delegate; Louisiana, 3 delegates; Mississippi, 6 delegates; North Carolina, 9 delegates;

South Carolina, 1 delegate; Tennessee, 23 delegates; Virginia, 3 delegates; West Virginia, 2 delegates; American Federation of Labor, 1 delegate. Twelve States represented by 183 delegates.

At the second session, held in Nashville, Tenn., 115 delegates were present and 12 States represented.

At the third session of the Congress, held in Birmingham, Ala., September, 1914—the year of great depression—91 delegates were present, representing 11 States, and the recent session held in Chattanooga, 1915, 106 delegates were present, representing 10 States.

The delegates present at each of the conventions represented all classes of labor—the tradesman and the railroad men—many coming from localities where no central bodies exist, and in some instances sections of the country where labor organizations are practically unknown.

We submit to your honorable body, this membership is a valuable asset that could be utilized to great advantage.

The South seems to need a central, potent body; an organization where the representatives of all classes of organized labor from all the Southeastern States can gather, and discuss issues that are peculiar to that section. I think it could be made apparent that such an organization would prove of inestimable value—industrially and politically—to the American Federation of Labor.

We of the South, as you well know, do not take kindly to that class of unions (God save the mark) that proposes to revolutionize the industrial world in a day; such schemes, we are proud to say, meet with scant encouragement at our hands. The Congress was fashioned and is in the making by men and women of your kind, and it is with you, in a great measure, to give it value.

The promoters of the Southern Labor Congress would call your attention to the fact that the Southeastern States are progressing materially, and it is confidently believed by those who know that in the next decade they will treble their present industrial population.

But we do want your sympathy, your co-operation, your help. We need missionaries in the South—something more than organizers, who often only gather together certain units and leave them before they cohere. We are giving the utmost of our time and funds to redeem the industrial South. We are showing by our every act that we believe in self-help. Give us what you will, but we will in no wise relax our efforts.

Without the co-operative help of the farmers and railroad men we cannot hope to solve the problem in the lifetime of most of us in the South—certainly not in mine. With the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, and these elements as gathered together in the Southern Labor Congress, we can get results in the immediate future.

Chairman Moser, for the Credential Committee, presented the following report:

November 10, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials has received credentials from the following organization and we recommend that the delegates be seated:

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, James F. Riley, 50 votes. The committee recommends that Joseph F. Clark be seated in place of George F. Hedrick as a delegate from the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Delegate Hedrick being unable to attend the convention.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER,

Chairman.

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Vice-President Duncan stated that some of the building trades were not represented on the Committee on Building Trades and one organization had two representatives, and announced that Joseph F. Clark would be substituted on that committee for George F. Hedrick, who was not present, and that James G. Hannahan of the engineers would take the place of George E. Blakeley of the carpenters, who had two members on the committee.

Vice-President Duncan: When the original report of the Committee on Credentials was read to the convention they reported as follows: "We have received credentials from B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu of Japan, representing the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan. We recommend that the courtesy of the convention be extended to them with the opportunity of being heard at some convenient time." These two delegates came to a meeting of the Executive Council last September and asked to be given a hearing at this convention. They represent a general organization of labor in Japan. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to the convention from far Japan, B. Suzuki.

Fraternal Delegate Suzuki: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I consider it my greatest honor and privilege to have been permitted a seat among you, leaders of the most powerful labor organizations in the world, assembled here at this great convention, and convey to you the most cordial greetings from the laborers of my country. I come here representing the

Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, with the message of good will to you, my American comrades.

When I say that I "represent a labor organization in Japan," some of you may doubt if there is any labor organization in my country. Furthermore, there may be others who wonder whether there be among Japanese laborers those who have spirit and self-consciousness enough to organize a labor movement. There may be still others who sincerely believe that the Japanese Government strictly prohibits any labor movement, and that a laborer in Japan merely lives as a slave to wages or machinery. I believe it is my duty to answer all these questions.

Japan is one of the oldest countries in the world, and at the same time one of the youngest. Old because her history dates back two thousand six hundred years; and new because it is only fifty years since she appeared before the eyes of the world, having been awakened from her long slumber under feudalism. Because she is an old country, there are various circumstances, customs and conventions that may sometimes be at variance with the forces of progress. Because she is a new country there must necessarily be elements of imperfection and disorder. We cannot pass unnoticed the fact that there are these forces of old and new that are constantly complicating our labor problems.

Japanese civilization of to-day is almost wholly a result of the importation of European and American civilization. Although the excellence of Oriental civilization, which has prevailed for the last three thousand years, has not been wholly lost, it is an undeniable fact that the Occidental civilization has wielded a great influence along the lines of education, politics, religion, military affairs, architecture, dress, food, commerce and industry. Especially, it is no exaggeration to say that modern industry is entirely an importation from Europe and America. Japanese industries in the past have been but manual and domestic industries. It is only within the last thirty years that the whistle of the steam engine has been heard in our cities and hamlets. Japan is very small in size and its skill is yet undeveloped. This latter is true of its labor, for unlike Europe and America, the Japanese laborer is not definitely classified. The working hours are from nine to twelve and the wage of an average worker is about one yen, although that of the most skilled worker is more than two yen. Women's wages are from one-half to two-thirds of men's. Although the price of commodities in Japan is much lower than in the United States, it cannot be denied that the living conditions of Japanese workers are harder than those of the American. At present there are in Japan nearly 1,000,000 factory workers, 400,000 mine workers, 200,000 railroad firemen, engineers and workers, 200,000 common laborers, 60,000 seamen. I believe the total number of laborers, therefore, excluding farm hands, will



not be less than 5,000,000. The majority of these workers have no vote, their social standing is comparatively low, and their standard of living is inferior. This is the great problem we have to contend with.

But, there is one thing that needs an explanation. During the last half century Japan has been compelled to pay her whole attention to foreign policy and diplomacy, and consequently, she has not had time to devote to internal affairs. She has lived under the constant pressure brought to bear upon her by the powerful nations of the West. To her no respite has been allowed so that she might look around and see where she stood. She had to maintain a large army and navy to protect her existence against the aggressions of one power or another. The result is that she had to neglect social problems and in particular the welfare of the laboring class.

Yet such a condition is not confined to Japan. Other countries have passed through much the same stages. Those of you who are familiar with the history of the industrial revolution of Great Britain will bear me out in this statement. A few years ago, famous English Socialists and students of labor problems, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, visited Japan. After inspecting various factories in my country Mr. Webb said that the industrial condition in Japan was seventy years behind that of England. Seventy years may be too long, but there may be a difference of fifty years in the industrial development of the two countries. I feel certain, therefore, that those of you who know the labor condition of England fifty years ago will not blame Japan alone in this respect.

Fortunately, the Japanese Government has finally been awakened to the need of the situation. After investigation and study for the past ten years, the Imperial Parliament passed, in 1912, factory legislation with the intention of protecting working men, especially women and child laborers. And, according to a recent report, the Japanese Government intends to appropriate 250,000 yen in the budget in order that the legislation might be in practical operation from next year. This sum of 250,000 yen would defray the expenses and salaries of four inspector-generals in the central government and of 200 provincial inspectors. Already these inspectors have been appointed, and at present the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, under whose control the new legislation will be carried out, has been studying the question of its practical application.

There is an organization called the Society of Social Politics, organized by leading scholars, educators, statesmen and financiers, whose object is to study various social problems from a scientific point of view in order to improve the condition of our society and to alleviate the ills of modern industrialism. The association, with its deep sympathy for the existing labor condition in Japan,

has contributed, directly and indirectly, toward the betterment and uplifting of laborers' conditions.

Finally, I wish to call your attention to the awakening of the Japanese workmen. By their constant economic pressure and by the progress of knowledge due to education they have been forced to awaken to their present position. The special causes that have led them to their self-realization are the compulsory educational system of my country and the universality of newspapers, magazines and other publications. Thus, in 1912, we organized the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan. During the three years of its existence the society has grown with tremendous rapidity until to-day it has 52 branches throughout the Empire with a membership of 10,000. Of course there is no comparison between your great organization and ours. Your organization is thirty-two years older than our infant society. If I am not mistaken, President Gompers is sixty-two years of age, while I, as humble president of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, am but thirty years old. After thirty-two years of the development of our Laborers' Friendly Society yet to come, when my hair turns as gray as your venerable President's, I am sure that our society will have grown into as powerful an organization as your great American Federation of Labor. We come here, therefore, to learn from you the secrets of your success and receive your kind advice. We look upon you as our big brother whose guidance and co-operation will give great impetus to the growth of the labor movement in Japan.

My friends, American fellow-workers, I have learned in Japan that there are no national barriers in labor. The laborer is the worker of the world, the worker of humanity. Neither high mountains nor wide oceans can sever the true friendship of the world laborers. The laborers, indeed, have their common enemy and their common interests. We, laborers of the world, must march on to attain our common goal regardless of race, religion and nationality. Look at the overwhelming power of modern capitalism! For their common interest, capitalists have co-operated and fought together without regard to the difference of language and color. Shall we not emulate their example? Your great George Washington well said in employing his servants that they should receive equal treatment and due consideration, "if they are good workmen, though they may be from Asia, Africa, or Europe; they may be Mohammedans, Jews, or Christians, or atheists."

Prejudice is an enemy of the laborer. Misunderstanding is an enemy of the laborer. Hatred is an enemy of the laborer. We have to co-operate with one another with a thorough understanding and warm friendship. Instead of being like a flock of sheep driven into a slaughtering pen, we must go into the battle in answer to a bugle call and fight courageously with single aim and



purpose to become the eternal protector of justice and peace. I believe if there were true understanding and mutual cooperation among the laborers of Europe, they could have prevented the present great catastrophe.

During the last four months of our stay in the United States Mr. Yoshimatsu and myself have received many kindnesses and courtesies from you, my American comrades, and we have been deeply impressed with your efficiency and solidarity. When we return home to Japan, we will not only convey the message of your good will and kindness to our comrades at home, but we will emulate your example by uplifting labor conditions in Japan. Let us remain as comrades until death and even after death!

Vice-President Duncan: President Gompers has been absent today owing to a cold he contracted since coming here and has remained in the hotel to recuperate.

The local committee on entertainment has extended an invitation to the delegates to take part in a sight-seeing tour tomorrow. What is your pleasure?

Delegate Orr: I move that we adjourn and comply with the request of the local committee, and reconvene at 9:30 Friday morning. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Cannon: The rules committee reported that resolutions would be received until the close of Thursday's session. The sense of the committee was that any resolutions the delegates might have to present would be received up to midnight tomorrow.

Vice-President Duncan stated that resolutions would be received by President Gompers at the Sutter Hotel up to midnight Thursday.

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, A struggle of more than twenty years on the part of the trade-union movement of our country to secure freedom for the seamen, promote safety of employment and travel at sea and build up an American merchant marine without resorting to subsidy has culminated in the passage of the Seamen's law by the Sixty-third Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, An effort is being made to secure the repeal of the Seamen's law before it has had a trial under the plea that it was not well considered legislation, and would drive the American merchant marine from the sea; and

WHEREAS, The tonnage of the American merchant marine has increased more

rapidly since the enactment of the Seamen law than in any other like period of our history notwithstanding the fact that American ship-owners knew that the act would go into effect on November 4th of this year; and

WHEREAS, This measure has been pending before Congress in one form or another for more than twenty years; has been thoroughly investigated on numerous occasions by the committees of both Houses where the representatives of all interests were given a full hearing; has been exhaustively debated in Senate and House by many of their ablest members; has been passed twice through both branches of Congress and several times through one branch; and was so generally approved, irrespective of party, that it was endorsed in the platforms of the two great political parties in 1912, all of which proves that it has had a most thorough consideration; and

WHEREAS, The freedom of the seamen and the safety of the traveling public must at all times take precedence over private profit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor stands unalterably opposed to the repeal of the Seamen's law or any attempt to impair the safety of travel at sea or renew the bonds under which seamen have been compelled to labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to ship subsidies which take public moneys for the purpose of promoting private gain; and

WHEREAS, An American merchant marine can be built up on a basis that will give freedom to the seamen and safety to the traveling public without resorting to subsidies; and

WHEREAS, The present world crisis has demonstrated that the building up of an American merchant marine is essential for the extension and protection of our foreign trade and vital to the interests of all classes of our people; and

WHEREAS, An American merchant marine with an American personnel is the only safe method of providing an effective naval auxiliary which will promote our commerce in times of peace and furnish us the means of defense in times of danger; and

WHEREAS, Private capital has failed during the past fifty years to develop or maintain a merchant marine under our flag, leaving the vital interests of the country unprotected either by the building and operation of the necessary ships

or the creation of a trained body of seamen upon whose allegiance the country must depend in a crisis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is heartily in favor of the immediate creation by the United States Government of an American merchant marine to be manned by American seamen under conditions that will make them an effective naval reserve, and recommends to the Congress of the United States prompt passage of legislation for the establishment of a shipping board for the building or purchase of vessels by the United States Government to be operated for the development of our foreign trade under conditions that will give safety to the traveler and freedom to the seaman and to be available as an effective naval auxiliary for the protection of our country in time of war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, The United States is one of the few civilized countries that has no retirement provision for its superannuated civil service employees; and

WHEREAS, The absence of retirement legislation is costly to the Government and to the employees; men are either retained beyond their years of usefulness or they are dismissed after giving their life's work to the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled that we endorse the efforts of the Federal civil service employees to secure the early enactment of an equitable retirement measure; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to give all possible aid to affiliated civil service employees in calling the urgency of this situation confronting aged Government workers to the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Each year large sums of money are expended in the building and maintaining of Army and Naval Stations in the United States and its various Territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that nearly all of the labor employed on the construction work is of an alien or non-citizen character and to

the detriment of the citizen workmen of this United States who, in many, if not nearly all instances have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby go on record as being opposed to such procedure and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizens' labor, in the building, equipping and maintaining our Army and Naval Stations within the United States and its Territorial possessions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct its Secretary to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels; to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison; to the Secretary of Labor, Hon. Wm. B. Wilson, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the rights of the American workman be safeguarded, and that he be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government, whether such work be done directly or indirectly, by day labor, or through the use of contract labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to draw up a petition to Congress asking that body to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien labor on all Government work in preference to citizen labor of this United States and its Territorial possessions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Within the past few years public opinion and sentiment has become much awakened to the justice of adequate compensation to workmen injured by industrial accidents, and during that time marked progress has been made in favorable legislation providing compensation for injuries or deaths of employees and giving recognition to the rightful liability of an employer for the safety of workmen in his employ; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should properly be foremost to set a high example and take the lead over the several States in humanitarian measures of this character, the scope of which is world-wide; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the compensation acts of the United States Government applying to accidents and injuries of its employees, are inadequate and not up to the standard of similar laws in a number of the States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, hereby pledges fullest support to secure Congressional enactment of laws for compensation of injuries to the Government employees

more nearly in keeping with the best of the recent State laws. We urge that such Government laws embody provisions (1) Compensation of every day of injury; (2) a more adequate death benefit instead of one year's pay as at present; (3) compensation to extend for a greater period than one year if injuries are serious, and partial or total disability results; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That these resolutions be submitted through proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable action by that body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):**

**WHEREAS**, Section 14, of Article XIII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor which directs that one-fourth (¼) of the initiation fees collected be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, has proved impracticable and detrimental to Federal and Laborers' Unions of California chartered by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That said Section 14, of Article XIII is hereby repealed and that Sections 15, 16 and 17 of Article XIII be renumbered accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):**

**WHEREAS**, There are a number of local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are not affiliated with State Branches or Central Bodies; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with their respective State Federations and Central Bodies; and

**WHEREAS**, Article XI, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, sets forth, "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist, similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction"; and

**WHEREAS**, Resolutions have been presented to the American Federation of Labor Conventions year after year anent this matter without bringing the desired results; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That Article XI, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby amended by striking out the entire sec-

tion and inserting in lieu thereof the following, to be known as Section 11 of Article XI:

"It shall be mandatory upon all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make it mandatory upon their local unions to join the chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. It shall be mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with all trade and central labor unions in their respective districts."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):**

**WHEREAS**, The California State Federation of Labor in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor are putting forth every effort to more thoroughly organize the City of Los Angeles and surrounding territory; and

**WHEREAS**, In this herculean task it is necessary and essential to have the active co-operation of all National and International organizations having local unions in this section of our country; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we impress upon the Executive Officers of the affiliated National and International Unions the need for immediate, active assistance in carrying the gospel of trade-unionism to the thousands of unorganized workers in Los Angeles and vicinity; further

**RESOLVED**, That we urge upon all National and International Unions who can possibly do so, to send organizers to that locality and direct them to "get together" and map out an organizing campaign to the end that the workers of Los Angeles may become thoroughly unionized.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):**

**WHEREAS**, More than half of the entire distribution of mail in the postal service is done at night, necessitating the service of thousands of clerks; and

**WHEREAS**, Neither by a time or a wage differential does the Postal Department recognize the admitted hardships of night work; and

**WHEREAS**, In practically all industries where night work is necessary those performing it receive some recognition; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we pledge our support to the efforts of affiliated clerks in attempting to secure remedial legislation

granting a time differential to night workers in the postal service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

RESOLVED, By the 35th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that this Federation hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coastwise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of said laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations has confirmed the experience of Labor in regard to the absolute domination by Organized Wealth over the courts and the machinery for administration of law and justice in many States; for instance, by the Rockefeller and Standard Oil interests in Colorado, the copper magnates in Michigan, the coal operators in West Virginia, and the Steel Trust and Erectors' syndicates in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The evidence gathered by said commission and Labor's experience in many celebrated cases, such as those of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, the Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, and Schmidt and Caplan in Los Angeles, prove the existence of a well-planned and relentless conspiracy on the part of Organized Wealth to crush the Labor Movement in all its branches and manifestations, with the aid of the courts and the use of certain ancient and worn-out legal doctrines, among which are those relating to conspiracy, constructive mur-

der, accessory before the fact, intimidation, interference, secondary boycott, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The time-honored institutions of legal procedure, such as the grand jury system, right of trial by jury, change of venue, bail and rules of evidence, all of which have been provided to safeguard and protect accused persons from cruel despotism and injustice, are now being constantly abused and perverted at the beck and will of Capital, to intimidate and enslave Labor; and

WHEREAS, Through such perversion of law and procedure Organized Wealth is permitted to single out and punish the active spirits in the Labor Movement, by holding them responsible for the acts of other persons involved in an industrial disturbance, without the necessity on the part of the prosecution to prove actual knowledge of or participation in the crime by the defendant, which legal condition is an anachronism and modern revival of the old procedure in cases of treason against the king; and

WHEREAS, This persecution of Labor by Organized Wealth in the courts constitutes the greatest existing grievance and menace affecting Organized Labor, and it behooves the Labor Movement as a whole to take cognizance thereof and provide necessary defensive means to counteract these evil conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to take this matter up for thorough consideration and action with a view to restore to Labor in the courts impartial administration of law and justice and purge the judicial system of existing abuses; and further

RESOLVED, That in furtherance of the purport hereof said Executive Council is hereby authorized and directed, as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this Convention, to establish, in such manner and under such regulations as it may adopt, a general Defense Fund, the object of which shall be to provide legal defense in labor cases of general importance and interest, said fund to be maintained on a per capita basis by every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by Congress to probe into the causes of existing industrial unrest, has concluded its work after conducting one of the most searching, comprehensive and instructive investigations made on that subject in this country; and

WHEREAS, The mass of information secured at the hearings of said commission contains most valuable testimony, suggestions and potential remedies for the future regulation of the industrial affairs of the nation, which information should be made accessible to the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation be and are hereby instructed to take such measure as they may find expedient to secure from Congress an appropriation sufficient to defray the necessary expenses for the publication of the records and testimony heard before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate S. B. Marks, of the Georgia Federation of Labor:

Amend Sec. 1, Art. 3, page 4 by striking out all of the section after the word "November" in the third line, and inserting the following: "at Washington, D. C." When amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November at Washington, D. C."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. G. Brown, F. W. Dowler, J. A. Taylor, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The Industrial Relations Commission, authorized by Congress to investigate the causes of "Industrial Unrest" and make such recommendations as it deemed best, with a view to removing these causes, has made a report which is of tremendous value and importance to Labor, and more especially Organized Labor, since it dwells so strongly upon the indispensability of organization if the best interests of the workers are to be safeguarded; and

WHEREAS, The funds of the Commission would only permit of the printing of a very limited number of copies of the report, the supply of which has already been exhausted; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of our movement demand that this report be given the widest possible circulation, since it is probably the greatest document ever issued upon the subject with which it deals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we instruct our Executive Officials in Washington, D. C. to request and if necessary demand that Congress make a sufficiently large appropriation for the printing of this report, to insure its widest possible circulation, to the end that every person in the United States of America, who desires it, may possess one.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. A. Taylor, P. W. Dowler, J. G. Brown, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The ever-growing intensity of unemployment as the chief cause of industrial unrest has been emphasized by the almost universal attention drawn to it by the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations; by the appointment by Governor Dunne of Illinois of a commission on which are some of our own prominent officials to investigate the problem of that State, and by the Washington State Federation of Labor maintaining for the past two years, a standing committee upon the subject; all of which shows the widespread menace of unemployment and has brought it to the forefront of those matters pressing for immediate attention and solution; and

WHEREAS (a) In the last half century, in addition to repairing the ravages of a destructive civil war, industrial development (in the building of railroads, digging canals, harnessing water powers, clearing lands, drilling oil wells, opening mines, and in all other lines of industry) has gone on to a point where (in spite of the fact that we have changed from an importing to an exporting nation, and are now sending out more goods than ever before in our history; with the greatest crops we have ever harvested; and with financial reports showing a tremendous amount of business transacted by railroads, steamships, for lack of business, and factories, mines, mills, and lands lie idle, or are only partly worked, all testifying to the fact that we have reached the point where our industrial equipment is capable of producing more than is necessary to supply our present population, thus closing up avenues for re-investment and throwing those workers, formerly employed in development work, into the ranks of the jobless;

(b) In Europe the introduction of women into industry since the beginning of the war and the continuation of the ordinary processes of production for the needs of the various countries involved in addition to meeting the enormous demands for commodities to be consumed by the armies in the field, indicate that at the close of hostilities there will be little, if any, employment for the returning soldiers; while in America, the attitude of the Labor Movement in opposition to militarism and the creation of immense stores of war material, if effective, can only mean the further increase of the problem by the disemployment of those workers engaged in the manufacture of munitions, etc.;

(c) The shorter work-day so far secured has apparently failed to keep pace with the displacement of labor by our improving methods of production and as a result of this failure the pressure of unemployment is threatening not only the power of organized labor, but the cohesion of society itself; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, appreciating the importance

of prompt action in this most vital matter, directs the Executive Council to make as comprehensive a survey of conditions as funds will permit, employing such special help as may be necessary, ascertain the probable length of work-day which will insure employment to all, and if possible suggest to the next convention, methods by which this can be secured.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:**

WHEREAS, The Federal Unions are paying at the present time fifteen cents per capita to the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In addition, they are compelled to pay equally as much in support of Local and State Central bodies, and the Labor Press, where they do their full duty, thus placing a heavy burden upon workers who habitually receive very small wages; and

WHEREAS, Support of the Labor Press is one of the most important duties of Labor Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates of the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the American Federation of Labor to remit five cents per month of the per capita tax of Federal Unions which support their Local Labor Press upon a per capita basis; provided, however, that such Labor Press is owned and controlled by Organized Labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:**

WHEREAS, We believe that public work, Government, National, State, county, and municipal, is and should be a criterion upon which to base other work, and believing that a maximum number of hours, and a minimum wage equal to that prevailing in the vicinity where the work is being done should be compulsory through legal enactment by the various proper legislative bodies, knowing that such legislation, if enacted would have a tendency to prevent labor troubles, and insure fair competition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates to the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled, this 27th day of October, 1915, instruct our delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention at San Francisco, to present the above matter to the convention with the

request that the Legislative Committee, and the Building Trades Department be instructed to use every honorable means at their command to have Congress act upon this important subject; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That in all cases of inspection of public work, we urge that such inspection be done by men fully competent to properly install the work. This to apply to the work of all crafts where practicable. Also that eight hours shall be a maximum for a day's work, with a provision for less than eight hours in crafts which require less. In order to equitably divide the work among the needy unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:**

Whereas, We believe that the many perplexing problems confronting, and worked out, in Local Building Trades Councils furnish most valuable experience, which would be of very great benefit to the Building Trades Department, if available in its convention; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the embittered feelings of International Officials, over jurisdictional matters, sometimes prevents harmonious action, no matter how righteous the cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates to the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to take some action that will cause the Building Trades Department to seat credentialed delegates from Local Councils chartered by the Building Trades Department, and we hereby instruct our delegate to the Convention to do all in his power to secure this most desirable change.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

**Resolution No. 50—By Delegates J. E. McClory, J. D. Barnes and Sam Tobin, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:**

WHEREAS, Each year the Government of the United States expends large sums of money in the building and maintaining of army and naval stations in the United States and its various territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that nearly all of the labor employed on the construction work is of alien or non-citizen character and to the detriment of the citizen workmen of these United States who in many, if not nearly all instances, have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this thirty-fifth annual convention of the



American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to such procedure, and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizen labor, in the building, equipping and maintaining of our army and navy stations within the United States and its territorial possessions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Secretary to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, to the Secretary of Labor, Hon. Wm. B. Wilson, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the inalienable rights of the American workmen are safeguarded, and that they be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government either directly or indirectly being constructed for the United States Government by day labor or through the use of contract labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor have its legislative committee draw up a petition to Congress asking that august body of lawmakers to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien non-citizen and Oriental labor on any Government work in preference to citizen labor of these United States and their territorial possessions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Timothy Driscoll, of Gas and Water Workers, Local No. 9840:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article 13 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to, would be detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as gas workers and laborers, which said organizations can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five (25c) cents imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its constitution the above mentioned section of Article 13 and also the twenty-five (25c) cents reinstatement tax.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A large number of local unions of affiliated national and international organizations have their several organizations of women workers, ladies' auxiliaries, which have the encourage-

ment, support and co-operation of local, national or international bodies; and

WHEREAS, Such auxiliaries are of mutual help and encouragement and cause a closer and better affiliation of the craftsmen through better attendance at meetings, and a more thorough study of the principles of unionism; and

WHEREAS, Through such organization, affiliation, encouragement, co-operation and study of the mission and principles of unionism, the demand for the union label and union-made products increases, to material benefit of all and gives our movement greater power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the progress of the ladies' auxiliaries of our trade and labor unions thus far and urge the furtherance of their good work through such auxiliaries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our laws be amended to allow representation from such national or international ladies' Auxiliaries of a bona-fide national or international trade or labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor on the same basis as delegates from state and central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger and Solomon Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Fourteen separate indictments have recently been found by the grand jury of the County of New York charging twenty-four officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with various serious crimes, including murder in the first degree, robbery, extortion and riot; and

WHEREAS, The trial of the murder charges, involving eight officers and members of the organization, was concluded a few weeks ago and has resulted in a full and speedy acquittal of all defendants; and

WHEREAS, The evidence upon the trial has clearly demonstrated that all charges against the union members and officials were wantonly and deliberately manufactured by a notorious gang of scab herders aided by a group of unscrupulous employers and connived by a prejudiced and biased public prosecutor; and

WHEREAS, The wholesale prosecution on trumped-up charges against our brothers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is manifestly aimed at the union as such, seeking to exhaust it by extensive taxing and costly litigation and to brand it before the public as a criminal organization;

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we denounce the prosecution of the officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as a revolting sur-

render of the machinery of justice to the enemies of organized labor; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we pledge our support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and that we call on all affiliated labor organizations to respond generously to its appeal for funds to defray the cost of the defense of the numerous cases still pending against its members and officers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 54**—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

**WHEREAS**, The ship-building industry is enjoying a volume of business unprecedented in recent years; and

**WHEREAS**, The war now going on in Europe has taken from this industry all competition in connection with ship-building for the United States; and

**WHEREAS**, The eight-hour limitations contained in the several appropriation bills authorizing the construction of vessels has forced many ship-building plants to work at least a portion of their forces eight hours per day; and

**WHEREAS**, The conditions as above enumerated would indicate that the time is most opportune for the complete organization of this industry, and the inauguration of the eight-hour day generally; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled indorse and give its moral and financial support to a joint movement of all the trades directly interested towards the organization of and the establishment of the eight-hour day in this industry.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

**Resolution No. 55**—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

**WHEREAS**, The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have among its membership and under its control workers who are not, but should be, members of the various metal trades organizations in several localities; and

**WHEREAS**, These men of the various metal trades may or may not be deluded with the idea that it is necessary for them to hold their membership in the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America in order to hold their positions; and

**WHEREAS**, The jurisdiction of the various metal trades under their several charters extends over these men wherever they may be employed; and

**WHEREAS**, The affiliation of these various tradesmen in the trade organization to which they properly belong will in no way affect the working

strength of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for offensive or defensive purposes; and

**WHEREAS**, Resolutions have been introduced and adopted in several conventions of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor by representatives of affiliated organizations, instructing its officers to meet the president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for the purpose of having him turn over all tradesmen now members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees to their respective organizations; and

**WHEREAS**, The officers of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor have carried out these instructions, but without success; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention, instruct the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to turn over all metal trades mechanics to the various organizations that have jurisdiction over them; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the organization of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America not to interfere in any way whatsoever with the organizing of the various metal tradesmen for the purpose of retaining these men in their organization, and not to interfere with the object in view of making a working contract to cover men that are not under their jurisdiction, but under the jurisdiction of metal trades organizations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 56**—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

**WHEREAS**, There is under consideration the question of opening our coastwise trade to foreign-built vessels; and

**WHEREAS**, The world's history, now in the making, emphatically warns us not to rely on outside sources for our means of protection; and our ability to defend ourselves in times of war and to use the ocean highways in times of peace, will largely depend upon the up-building of our shipyards to the end that quantity in construction and efficiency in labor will eventually lessen the cost to a point where we may reasonably expect to meet any competition; and

**WHEREAS**, These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards, and to protect the vessels in their operations on our sea coast. All the present merchant marine of the United States is the by-product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can

find protection against foreign competition; and

WHEREAS, Having faith in the protection of these laws, American ship-owners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards, and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would not only be unjust to permit the injury to their investments of allowing cheaper because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but highly impolitic because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor rescind its action in concurring in Resolution No. 2, page 323, of the Philadelphia proceedings, and oppose any interference with our present coastwise navigation laws.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Herb. R. Schneider, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

According to a census, just completed, by the State of Wyoming the fact is disclosed that while the total population of said State is but 141,705 and that the population of its citizens above the age of twenty years is 83,395 (49,779 being male) that 23,872 presented as information as to their vocation the title "laborer" and 5,823 "miner."

The fiscal year of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, concluded at the same time, gives the information that for the past year the average number of members affiliated with that body numbered 9,051.

Statistics from the Government census of 1910 gives Wyoming the highest percentage of a State population engaged in occupational pursuits.

And the last-named figures indicate that Wyoming has the largest percentage of organized workers of all the States in the Union; but

WHEREAS, Eighty-five per cent. of the members of organized labor in Wyoming are members of the United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, This membership is without the cities and otherwise industrial centers of that State. It becomes evident that the twenty-eight national and international organizations represented in Wyoming and in the counsels of the American Federation of Labor, as well as those who can be, have in this commonwealth a fertile field for expansion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As an expressed desire of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, that an organizer be assigned to the State of Wyoming for a period of six months, or so much of such time as shall be necessary, for the purpose of assisting the State body and the various trades unions in a campaign

already begun that shall culminate in a complete organization of Wyoming.

OUR ASSURANCE. Members of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor pay a per capita assessment of ten cents per month. Its objects have ever been to promote education and organization. Only three times within our existence has aid been given from without our State in the matters of organization—yet in spite have we grown to number considerable over a hundred local unions, three central bodies and one district organization. We are sincere and honest in our belief that much good will result from these contemplated desires, and we pray that the aid necessary to make and maintain Wyoming (a young State in years and industry) a good place to live and work in, be granted us.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Through the endeavors of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, meritorious provisions were added to the Army and Naval appropriation bills, on March 2, 1915, by which it will be less difficult to obtain positive, clear-cut legislation which will permanently prohibit the objectionable stop-watch, speeding-up, premium bonus Taylor system, of driving and intimidating employees in Federal departments; and

WHEREAS, This work of the Executive Council meets with the unqualified approval of this Convention; yet, it being a certainty that efficiency committees have been selected in other departments of the Federal Government, and are now at work in the various bureaus, interviewing employees, timing their work, and recording the use of materials, and in various other ways demonstrating that when a final report is made it will contain recommendations looking toward the establishment of some so-called efficiency system kindred to the notoriously unfair Taylor system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, That the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law prohibiting the use of moneys appropriated by that body in the furtherance, encouragement or advancement of any stop-watch speeding system in any department of the Government of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Maryland is a fertile field for the work of organization of men and women workers; and

WHEREAS, The Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and the central bodies of the City of Baltimore and the City of Cumberland have jointly inaugurated a campaign of organization to cover a period of one year, and have adopted a slogan of "Ten Thousand New Members in the Year"; and

WHEREAS, Such an undertaking should meet with the approval of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention urges national and international unions, so far as possible, to co-operate with the trade unions in Maryland by sending representatives to direct and assist in the work of organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to do all things to make this movement a success; and, should funds be available, place an experienced organizer in that jurisdiction, to have full charge of the campaign of organization, and press the movement to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Government employees have used their skill, knowledge and experience obtained in the public service, and aided in the establishment and installation of plate printing plants on alien soil, which are now being operated, managed and controlled by those who are unfriendly to organized labor, to the damage and injury of American organized workmen; and

WHEREAS, This is antagonistic and in violation of the aim, objects and principles for which the labor movement has been contending for years, and which brought about the enactment of the alien contract labor law; and

WHEREAS, The International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North American in convention assembled July 15, adopted, and Plate Printers' Local No. 2, Washington, D. C.; Plate Printers' Local No. 1, Philadelphia, Pa.; Plate Printers' Local No. 3, Boston, Mass.; Plate Printers' Locals Nos. 5 and 8, New York City; the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor; the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity; the Central Labor Union, Philadelphia, Pa.; the Baltimore Federation of Labor; the Boston Central Labor Union, and the Washington Central Labor Union ratified, confirmed and endorsed the following resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of San Francisco on the — day of November, 1915, hereby endorse the above resolution and authorize the Executive Council to do any

and all things to have the following resolution enacted into law:

#### RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he her by is, requested to cause such rule, and regulations to be adopted and placed in force for the regulation of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing as will effectually forbid and prevent the officials and employees of said Bureau from giving their time, skill, knowledge, experience or service upon any basis to any foreign government or to any individual, firm or corporation whatsoever, domestic or foreign, for the purpose of assisting any such government, individual, firm or corporation in the establishment or carrying on of any printing or engraving business or of any business whatsoever which is or may be directly or indirectly competitive with American industry, or which may directly or indirectly deprive American labor of its employment and means of livelihood.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Eugene E. Smith, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity:

Portland, Oregon, November 5, 1915.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., Sutter Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.  
Dear Sir and Brother:

The following resolution submitted to the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity by L. U. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, was endorsed and the requests therein made to our Council were granted by it.

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, is a union composed of electrical workers employed by public service corporations and utility companies whose policies and great industrial power make mandatory and necessary international laws governing our union and like unions that will make for organized strength and solidarity if the workers belonging thereto are to successfully obtain and maintain equitable wages and working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Though once our union enjoyed such international laws we forsook them and reaffiliated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, recognized as the true and legal international, best calculated to represent and protect the organized electrical workers of the country, by the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, This action was taken by us in common with many of our then and now sister local unions with a full confidence and belief that fair play would be granted us by the recognized brotherhood insofar as at least that the electrical workers commonly termed "outside electrical workers" would be permitted to

place their position on the industrial field before the international convention and be given such legislation as experience has proven best suited to our interests; and,

WHEREAS, Our international convention held in St. Paul, Minn., during September of this year (1915), not only refused, despite our earnest and sincere representations, to pass such legislation, but did on the contrary, by force of numbers and other indefensible methods inconsistent with the best practice and fundamental principles of trades unionism, pass such hostile legislation and take such distasteful action that not only are our wages and working conditions jeopardized but the very life of our union is endangered; and,

WHEREAS, Our knowledge of the problems of like workers in other unions, having as members the same class of employees as constitute our membership, makes us firm in the conviction that not only is our union thus affected, but all like unions are endangered to the same extent; and,

WHEREAS, Because of lack of numerical strength, and a hostile international administration, it is highly probable that relief will be denied us by the initiative and referendum as per our constitution; and,

WHEREAS, Though we cast no reflection on the fairness of the individual members of our brotherhood who are commonly termed "inside wiremen" and who constitute the major portion of the membership of our brotherhood, we fear many of them may listen to the advice of those who either are hostile to the outside electrical worker or are ignorant of his problems and thus may contribute to our defeat in any appeal to the general membership; and,

WHEREAS, The report of our delegate (only one of whom has to date returned), returning from our international convention, a brother in whom we all have the fullest confidence, convinces us that we were subjected in said convention to gross injustice and confirms us in a belief that we must seek redress elsewhere than from our constitutional officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in regular meeting assembled, that we do deplore such injustice and proceedings and that we do petition the Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity to instruct its delegate to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to present our grievances thereto, and to ask for a sweeping investigation into the affairs of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, that the component workers therein may all be assured that protection which may so easily be given with harm to none and justice to all, as our brotherhood was originally designed to do; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor, through our

Central Labor Council, to, before concluding its investigation, send authorized representatives into the unions of out and inside electrical workers, there to confer with local union members and officers and with instructions to submit their findings to the proper American Federation of Labor authorities, that the latter may learn the true sentiment and needs of our general membership, and thus be enabled to know those things best to do that our interests as wage earners may be conserved.

Our Council desires the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to give the complainants every consideration as indicated in the above resolution.

(Signed) CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF PORTLAND AND VICINITY,

E. J. Stack, Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, There are in the United States and Canada over forty thousand gardeners and florists of whom only two per cent. are organized; and

WHEREAS, We believe with the hearty assistance of the state federations of labor and city central bodies in the United States and Canada, we can organize the thousands of workers in our line; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request its membership and friends to use their best endeavors in the state and city organizations to help in organizing our trade.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate H. M. Lornsen, of the Astoria Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The special privileged parties in the salmon industries operating on the Columbia River, in the States of Oregon and Washington (the salmon packers operating fish-wheels and seines on the upper Columbia River, where no commercial fishing should be permitted, some of which are also interested in the deadly fish-traps on the lower river), managed by means, best known to themselves, to have a law passed during the 1915 legislative session in both States, which provides for a treaty in which it is stipulated "that neither of the States can alter or amend its salmon laws covering the Columbia River, unless the other State consent thereto," also that the next session of the United States Congress be petitioned to ratify this treaty, thus taking away from the citizens of these States their right to avail themselves of the initiative and the referendum on the very much needed legislation for actual salmon protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Fed-

eration of Labor, in convention assembled, that proper steps be taken, by every means possible, to stop this attempt of the aforesaid packers to prevent proper salmon legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Harry A. Milton, of the Elevator Conductors and Starters, Local 13,105:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article XII of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to would act detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as Elevator Conductors and Starters, which said organization can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five cents (25c) imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its Constitution the above mentioned section of Article XII and also the twenty-five cents (25c) reinstatement tax.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The members of the Pacific Division No. 37 of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, employed as wireless operators by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, which controls and operates the majority of coastal and maritime radio stations in the United States, are now on strike as a protest against extremely low wages and intolerable working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company has and does refuse to enter into negotiations looking toward a favorable settlement of said strike, or in any way to deal with organized labor and has used every means at its command to destroy the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as viewing with extreme disfavor the unreasonable and arbitrary attitude of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of these members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America and that its officers and members render them whatever aid, moral or otherwise, possible, in support of their endeavors to effect better conditions for their craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Ernest

Carter, of United Laborers' Union No. 13,018:

Oakland, Cal., Nov. 5, 1915.

To the American Federation of Labor, Frank Morrison, Secretary, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

United Laborers' Union No. 13,018, struggling to maintain its membership and to better the conditions of the common laborer in Alameda County, finds that it is compelled to pay such exorbitant per capita taxes and other fees that it cannot maintain itself and continue its work as it should be done.

In the first place, our members are engaged (when they work) at common labor. They, of course, receive the smallest wage paid to men in any calling. The wages which we have been able to maintain and to assure our members of getting, are barely enough, if constantly employed, to keep them. They have no possible chance of luxurious living and it is only by the practice of rigid economy that they can get along at all.

Now, under the circumstances in which our union must at the present time fight to keep alive, we find that it is practically impossible to exist and to pay the various per capita taxes which we must meet. It is impossible to increase the dues of men whose best rate of pay is so small that they can barely get along at all and we have no other means of support.

This union feels that the payment of twenty-five (25c) cents for each reinstatement, and of sending to the American Federation of Labor one-fourth of our initiation fees for each member is altogether uncalled for.

We also believe that the making of a "complete monthly report" of our membership is an imposition on the officers of our union, neither of whom is paid sufficient to make it anything but a tax on him and neither of whom is accountant enough to make it easy for him.

This union feels that with a monthly audit of our accounts by the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, which is directly responsible to the American Federation of Labor, and whose assurance will be proof of our full payment of per capita tax, your honorable body would be sufficiently guaranteed of our condition.

This union therefore respectfully asks that these requirements be either waived or done away with in connection with its position in the American Federation of Labor.

We ask this, knowing as we do that we represent that large body of labor, which, due to its lack of particular skill or ownership of a trade or craft is the least organized. We know, as do all students of unionism, that the large mass of unorganized common laborers is a constant menace to the organized workers of the country. And we respectfully suggest that to that element (the unorganized common laborer), special attention should be given and spe-



cial inducement be held out, that the danger which they embody might be removed from the work of upbuilding and the maintenance of unionism.

All this being true, your honorable body, in our humble opinion, should assist and encourage, rather than make it a hardship, for the building up and keeping together organizations of common laborers, such as ours.

We believe that the best and most reasonable way to do that is to permit such organizations as ours to live at the least possible expense.

Therefore United Laborers No. 13018 respectfully asks that the American Federation of Labor take such action as will excuse them from the payment of: First, one-fourth, or twenty-five per cent., of all sums received from initiation fees; second, the payment of twenty-five cents to the American Federation of Labor for each reinstatement. This latter in consideration of the fact that all book-keeping, etc., in connection with each reinstatement must be taken care of by our union, is preposterous.

We also ask to be absolved from the requirement to make detailed reports monthly of our entire membership. This matter is fully covered by the audit of the Central Labor Council.

Placing these matters before your honorable body, this union respectfully asks that you give to the matters contained herein your careful and considerate attention.

Most respectfully submitted.

UNITED LABORERS' UNION NO. 13018.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, Since the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel & Dredgemen, with the Associated Union of Steamshovelmen, and the chartering of the amalgamated union, by the American Federation of Labor, jurisdictional disputes have arisen, between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, This jurisdictional dispute is resulting disadvantageously to the members of both of the above unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is directed to define clearly the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to endeavor to bring about a conference, between the duly authorized representatives of the above unions, for the purpose of arranging a working agreement, by which harmonious relations will be restored, and these jurisdictional disputes avoided.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate E.

Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Experience has fully demonstrated the necessity for, and the value of union labels to lend discriminating power in favor of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The good results to come from the use of the union label must come from the patronage bestowed by labor and the friends of the Union Label; and

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that products bearing the Union Label do not enjoy the demand that Union Labeled products have a right to expect from the members of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a blue label which now is placed on hundreds of brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best quality produced, and is as well advertised proportionately as any other label in this country; and

WHEREAS, The patronage given to Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is not within fifty per cent. of that which it should be, which reliable statistics will prove; and

WHEREAS, With the ever growing membership of the American Federation of Labor, these conditions could be greatly changed for the better by remembering the Label when exchanging good Union-earned money for tobacco, cigarettes or snuff; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as delegates will ourselves do our duty and we will as far as lies in our power urge others to patronize only such tobacco products as do bear the Union Label, and we will endeavor wherever possible to induce dealers in tobacco products to put in full lines of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will refrain from and urge others to not patronize places of business who persistently refuse to keep in stock an assorted line of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate J. H. Walker, of the United Mine Workers:

RESOLVED, That Section 11 of the constitution be amended to permit the affiliation with State Federations, Central Bodies, and Building Trades Councils, of bona fide trade-union organizations of workmen and women, who, though their international unions may not be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor is desirous of being affiliated, and where the membership involved have declared their desire to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, and where such affiliation is mutually satisfactory and advantageous.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate B. W.

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Sleeman, of the Central Labor Council, Salem, Oregon:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to child labor, its opposition being one of the declaration of principles; and

WHEREAS, There is in this country a movement to make child labor laws less effective, and more difficult of enforcement; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the agency now being used to create a sentiment against strict "Child Labor Legislation" is the National Congress of Mothers; and

WHEREAS, Prominent women in the latter named organization are attempting to break down child labor laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention direct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to investigate conditions governing the employment of children and women in the mills at Clifton, Pennsylvania; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the result of the investigation be furnished to all State branches and central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate F. A. Scooby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Seventeenth General Convention of the Coopers' International Union, held in San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1915, unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the different State Boards of Health to better inspect packages and containers used for the transportation of food stuffs and the necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, Burlap, cotton, and paper bags as well as unclean second-hand barrels, are fast coming into use as containers for the shipment of sugar, meats, flour, cereals, fruits, vegetables, and other commodities; and

WHEREAS, The use of the wholesome, clean and sanitary wooden barrel will soon be discontinued if the attention of the general public is not called to the menace that now confronts the public health by the use of such substitutes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, and the Executive Council in particular, call the attention of the National Health Commission at Washington, D. C., to this evil and through Federal legislation agitate the enactment of a law that will insure the transportation of all articles of food in clean wooden barrels that the public health may be better safeguarded.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Conclusive evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission in Chicago this year, shows that the

Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies vigorously oppose the organization of their employees by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, by the use of the blacklist, intimidation, extensive secret service and other means; and

WHEREAS, The evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission affirmed (facts long known to organized labor) that telegraphers work under conditions in regard to wages, hours of labor and freedom of speech and action so deplorable, that it is hard to believe they could exist in a free country; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America is conducting a campaign to thoroughly organize the employees of these telegraph companies, a campaign which is daily increasing in vigor, despite the fact that a large per cent. of those engaged in this craft are employed by this telegraph monopoly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention here assembled heartily endorses House resolution No. 355 introduced and supported by Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland in the Sixty-third Congress of the United States, providing for the Government ownership of the telegraph, and advocates and will support any similar measure introduced in the next Congress of the United States, with a provision included, granting to the employees of the Government engaged in such service the right to organize.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman, and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, One of the serious problems facing the American Federation of Musicians is the formation of non-union bands and orchestras by fraternal organizations, covering such bands and orchestras with the cognomen of the order and assisting such in competition with the American Federation of Musicians; also the formation of juvenile bands and orchestras ostensibly for educational purposes, but in nearly all instances eventually used for speculative purposes in competition with legitimate musicians; and

WHEREAS, There is scarcely an institution in the country maintained for the purpose of caring for and educating boys, but what has its band, nearly always used in competition with adult musicians; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians has not the slightest objection to the formation of bands and orchestras for educational purposes, as the organization recognizes that a knowledge of music tends to higher culture, but it decidedly objects to the use of such musical aggregations for speculative purposes to the injury of the membership of the American Federation of Musicians; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-

fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request all affiliated bodies to support the American Federation of Musicians in opposing the use of such bands and orchestras in unfair competition with the American Federation of Musicians.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The San Diego, California, Panama Exposition has announced that this enterprise is to be continued for another year; and

WHEREAS, This Exposition has been declared unfair by the American Federation of Musicians on account of its unfriendly attitude in persistently using non-union civilian musicians and securing the services of bands of enlisted musicians of the United States Army and Navy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that a protest be filed with the War and Navy Departments against permitting enlisted bands to be used by this Exposition detrimental to the American Federation of Musicians; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the Secretaries of War and Navy as the sense of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Patrick Quinn, of the International Union of Pavers:

WHEREAS, A local union known as Asphalt Workers Local No. 84 of San Francisco has been granted a charter by the International Union of Pavers and Rammers and Asphalt Workers; and

WHEREAS, The said local union has been refused a seat in the San Francisco Labor Council because of a protest by United Laborers' Union No. 12, 992 of San Francisco; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the San Francisco Labor Council to dismise said protest and to grant full affiliation to Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84, without delay.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Clerks' International Union has in their membership a number of drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks delivering merchandise in the several cities in our country; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs has

absolute jurisdiction over this class of work and over men employed in this particular industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Clerks' International Union to turn over to the International Teamsters and Chauffeurs all drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks now holding membership in the Clerks' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Clerks' International Union be ordered by this convention to cease admitting to membership in the future drivers of wagons or chauffeurs working on auto trucks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That failing to comply with this request that the central labor bodies and State branches throughout the country unseat the delegates from local unions of the Clerks' International Organization until such time as said Clerks' International Union complies with this request.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union has refused to comply with the decision of the convention held in Philadelphia last year, wherein said convention ordered the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to turn over to the Teamsters and Chauffeurs' International Union all drivers of wagons then holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The refusal on the part of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to comply with the mandates and decision of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that all central bodies and State branches of the American Federation of Labor unseat as delegates the representatives of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International local unions in every district in the country, and that no support or recognition be given to this international union by organized labor until such time as said international union, namely, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, complies with and carries out to its fullest extent the decision of the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is, to wit: That all drivers of wagons and automobiles now holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union be immediately turned over to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, and that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union henceforth discontinue to admit

to membership any driver of a wagon or operator of an auto truck.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates John Williams and John J. Sullivan, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

WHEREAS, Realizing that the interests of labor would be immeasurably improved if the wage schedules of all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor terminated on the same date of each specified year, and that efforts should be directed with a view of achieving this end; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take the matter under consideration, and if in their judgment they deem the plan feasible, that they be requested to refer the proposition to the various national and international unions for their approval or disapproval.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Adolph Germer, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The large capitalist interests, especially those who deal in munitions of war, have inaugurated and are carrying on an extensive pro-military campaign under the deception of "Preparedness"; and

WHEREAS, This military mania has been introduced in some of the public schools in order to instill the susceptible infant mind with pro-military ideas; and

WHEREAS, The military, both militia and regular army, are in the most part made up by the workers, while at the same time the military is the bulwark of the capitalists when the workers are forced to go on strike to maintain their conditions or get a little greater share of the wealth they create; and

WHEREAS, Military forces are organized instruments for murder and destruction of property, the product of labor; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular annual convention assembled, most emphatically protests against the introduction in our public schools of military propaganda; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the workers to desist from affiliating with any branch of the military forces.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Thos. Van Lear, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, Past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have urged upon all State Branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The best interest of all the workers demand a general reduction in the hours of labor at the earliest possible moment; and

WHEREAS, The activities and power of the organized employers of this country are taking advantage of the long hours of labor to keep thousands unemployed; and

WHEREAS, A considerable number of States at present enjoy the right to initiate and pass legislation by a vote of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the direct legislation method of shortening the work-day in such States as the State Federation of Labor in said States deem it desirable.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By the Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association has consolidated with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, charters having been issued to the Local Unions of the Association as Local Unions of the Brotherhood; and

WHEREAS, The consolidation of the two organizations has taken place with the knowledge and approval of the Executive Council of the Federation, the President of the Federation being a party to the agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters be recognized as having jurisdiction over all work hitherto considered as being under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate J. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, A great many jurisdictional disputes arise from time to time between international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes work a great hardship on the rank and file in the labor movement, and also to a great extent work a hardship upon the fair employers of organized labor through the stoppage of work; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes have a tendency to throw great disrespect upon the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been suggested by a great many men connected with the labor movement, as well as by employers of organized labor, that a commission be created for the purpose of settling such jurisdictional disputes; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention empower the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a commission of this character, said commission to be composed of three representative labor men, or women. The President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint three men (or women) to act as this commission at such times as the occasion may require, said three to be chosen from the particular section of the country in which the jurisdictional dispute may exist; this commission to have full power to summon witnesses from the various organizations concerned in the jurisdictional dispute and also to have full power to summon such employers to appear before them as may also be concerned in the dispute. Any member of any labor organization, or employer failing to respond to a summons from this commission and give true testimony, to be considered unfair to the labor movement. This commission to have the authority to engage temporary quarters in which to hold hearings; to hire the necessary clerical help, including stenographers, etc., in order that all necessary testimony may be obtained, and after a decision has been reached by this commission, the same to be turned over to the President of the American Federation of Labor to be published in the Federationist and an official copy of such decision furnished to each of the organizations concerned in, or affected by, the jurisdictional dispute. All international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to give their entire support to the enforcement of a decision after same has been rendered by the commission. Any organization which may be a party to the jurisdictional dispute to have the authority, through its officers, to request the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the jurisdictional dispute and if in his opinion the appointment of a commission is justified, he to have full power to do so. Members of this commission to receive \$15.00 per diem and traveling expenses.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 83—By Delegate John Kean**, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, It is very necessary that the railroad workers and the workers of the maritime transportation industry cooperate with each other in times of industrial strife; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the incoming executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to devise all necessary ways and means to bring those workers together in such a way as to be able to render each other all necessary moral support in case of either being involved in industrial strife.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 84—By Delegate J. M. Gavlak**, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, A substitute material for slate and tile, known as asphalt slate shingle, is and has taken the place of slate and tile on roofs of buildings; and

**WHEREAS**, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have and continue to contend for the erection of this material to roofs of buildings, which work rightly belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and not to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed by this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to refrain from infringing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and cease from applying the asphalt slate shingles to buildings.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 85—By Delegate J. M. Gavlak**, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are and have trespassed on the jurisdiction rights of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America in erecting or applying asbestos slate shingles to roofs of buildings; and

**WHEREAS**, At the Seattle convention of the Building Trades Department an agreement was formulated between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners or their executive officer, and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, which was later withdrawn by the Executive Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; and

**WHEREAS**, The International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America has entered into a satisfactory agreement over the work in question, "Asbestos Slate Shingles," with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners that was enforced by the said organization during its existence, and until the amalgamation of the two carpenters' organizations; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement of the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance to enforce the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Hugo**

Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The spirit of militarism is rampant abroad and is being fostered in the schools of this republic by the introduction of military drills, wearing of uniforms and many other methods calculated to instill into the minds of our children dreams of fame through war and the thought that killing and maiming of human beings is legitimate when ordered by a "superior officer"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual session assembled, that we deplore the tendency to promote military drills and the war spirit in the public schools of our country and urge upon trade-unionists and friends of peace everywhere to begin with discouraging militarism in all places where children meet and play.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 37.—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is on record as being opposed to an exorbitant initiation fee; and

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that certain organizations within the American Federation of Labor still impose an unreasonably high initiation fee upon those who desire to become members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that no labor organization should charge a higher initiation fee than ten dollars, and that an appropriately worded circular letter upon this subject be submitted to all affiliated organizations urging upon them to act accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 38.—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the California State Branch, the Holt Manufacturing Company of Stockton, California, with an auxiliary plant at Peoria, Illinois, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farming implements, continues to discriminate against members of organized labor and remains to this day a standing menace to the shorter work-day, a decent living wage and the right to organize; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that the Holt Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farm implements, be placed on the unfair list; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That special efforts be

made during the ensuing year to organize the plants controlled by this firm and to urge upon the organized farmers to refrain from purchasing the products of that concern.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 39.—By Delegate Geo. L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There has been formed in the southeastern States an organization of the workers known as the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Southern Labor Congress purposes the fostering of organizations and uniform legislation in the interest of the workers of the South; and

WHEREAS, Through the address of the representative of that Congress, Mr. Jerome Jones, made before this convention thoroughly indicates the far-reaching possibilities of the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that a more concentrated action and attention should be given the work of organization in the south, in order to successfully cope with the growing industrial activities of that comparatively new industrial field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon all national and international unions to render such co-operation as possible in assisting the work of the Southern Labor Congress and the organization of the various crafts in the southland; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is directed to render such general support as may be found possible in carrying out the work indicated in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor appointed a special committee to investigate the situation affecting the Brick and Clay Workers, and after a thorough investigation the committee reported in part as follows:

"Since Feb. 1, 1915, a mass of new evidence has been introduced that shows the officers of the International union are not giving their best effort, as all true union leaders should, towards bettering the conditions of labor or increasing the wages of the men employed in the brick and clay industry. We find from the evidence introduced, that the United Brick and Clay Workers of America has made steady progress since Feb. 1, 1915, even though denied recognition by the American Federation of Labor. We find that these union brick and clay workers are working honestly and ear-



nestly for recognition from the American labor movement, so that they may prosper under the guidance and protection of the American Federation of Labor. We feel that if the American Federation of Labor is desirous of having a good, true, loyal, progressive Brick and Clay Workers' Union, they should grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America, or allow state and city central bodies to give them recognition so that the unorganized clay workers can be organized and no obstructions placed in the path of progress"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor request the American Federation of Labor to reopen the Brick Makers' secession dispute, make a thorough investigation, and if conditions exist such as the evidence submitted shows to exist, grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this convention that we comply with the request made upon us by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and that inasmuch as all parties concerned are present in this city, that a special committee be appointed to meet immediately for the purpose of hearing whatever evidence and information placed before it, and to report back to this convention any recommendation or action, which in their judgment will conserve and advance the best interests of the labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, In this day of centralization of capital employed in the shipping industry, it is deemed necessary that the International Longshoremen's Association be made a representative, if possible, of all the classes of labor employed in the handling of the water-borne freight of this and other countries within the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe other crafts intimately related to this trade find that there must be co-operation through a working agreement or by some other method of all the working forces represented by international organizations of marine workers, if the increased strength of the shipping companies is to be successfully combated; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the International Longshoremen's Association delegates call upon the American Federation of Labor to take immediate action towards having conferences of representatives of the various international unions of the marine trades for the purpose of discussing the inauguration of a Marine Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates John

Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, The great mass of evidence gathered by the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations shows the absolute domination of all avenues of justice by the powers of organized wealth, the Rockefeller Standard Oil in Colorado, the copper barons in Michigan, the coal barons of West Virginia, the Steel Trust and erectors' syndicate in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

**WHEREAS**, The evidence so taken, together with actual experience of labor as in the cases of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, Joe Hill, construction worker to be shot in Utah; and again in Los Angeles, Caplan and Schmidt, two more victims of Burns and the Steel Trust; and

**WHEREAS**, Labor's experience in all of these cases goes to show a well-planned conspiracy of organized wealth working through the courts and using as their weapon the latest method of intimidation, namely, the principle of constructive murder charge put into effect through the medium of "accessory before the fact" and "conspiracy"; and

**WHEREAS**, By these modern legal tactics the industrial and land barons are able to single out any active spirit, either during or after an industrial war, and charge him with murder and hold him responsible for any act growing out of such dispute, and without proving any actual knowledge or connection with the act whatever, or in shorter terms "making him a prisoner of war"; and

**WHEREAS**, Such methods are in reality a new form of the ancient use of the charge of "treason," thereby all progressive thought was for years stifled; and

**WHEREAS**, Power of wealth through their vast property rights usurp control and direct the action of the grand jury system so that it becomes a new form of the ancient "inquisition"; and

**WHEREAS**, The grand jury is a relic of medieval times and under such a system no defendant has any right to question the partiality or bias or interests of its members; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, realizing the necessity of a united front in defense of our own people, does hereby further

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to initiate a movement in that convention calling a national convention of all elements of labor to the end that a national defense fund may be raised, the grand jury system abolished, and that new uses of labor's economic strength be organized to resist aggression of the courts and to secure the release of labor's "prisoners of war."

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women wage workers is well understood by the American Federation of Labor, as is proven by the fact that at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor a special one-cent assessment was levied for that purpose; and

WHEREAS, The money collected by this assessment was used to such good purpose that it resulted in adding several thousand women to the ranks of organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are many millions of women wage workers who do not belong to any organization, among whom we may specifically mention the one hundred and twenty-five thousand unorganized women employed in the laundry industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the Executive Council to levy a one cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to expend part of the funds collected by this assessment in organizing the women and girls employed in steam laundries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor directing their attention to the great field for organization work that is to be found among the women wage workers of the laundry industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the amalgamation of allied industries, with the object in view of decreasing the number of jurisdictional disputes in the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry is practically a branch of the laundry industry, as is proven by the fact that steam laundries throughout the country are installing or have in many instances already installed a department for the cleaning, pressing and dyeing of clothes; and

WHEREAS, The employees in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing department will amount to but a very small percentage of the total number of employees in each laundry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to extend the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union to include the workers employed in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 95.—By Delegate F. C. Severance, of the Sacramento Federated Trades Council:.

WHEREAS, It is a familiar thing in moving pictures to exhibit scenes of drunkenness in which the principal actors are represented as working men; and

WHEREAS, The place of revelry and excess in many instances is shown as a saloon or cafe of the type generally patronized by working men; and

WHEREAS, The constant parading before the minds of the people of the United States of the untrue charge that drunkenness and debauchery are common among the toilers and the poor is a stigma upon the entire laboring element of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as representative workers unanimously disapprove and condemn such pictures as described above and protest against them as being unfair to that vast army of sober and industrious men who form the ranks of the labor unions of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 96.—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor at its thirty-third annual convention, adopted resolutions instructing its delegate to this convention to prepare and urge the adoption of suitable resolutions providing that the American Federation of Labor employ the principle embodied in the initiative, referendum and recall, in transacting the business and affairs of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we endorse and ratify the initiative, referendum and recall and the officers are hereby instructed that wherever it is practical in transacting the business of this Federation, that these measures be employed.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 97.—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Alton, Ill., October 18th to 23d, 1915, instructed its delegates to this convention to ask this convention to submit to the membership of

the affiliated organizations the question of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum system of voting; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to submit to the membership of the affiliated organizations, through the proper channels, the question: "Shall the officers of the American Federation of Labor be elected by a referendum vote of the membership"; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers in submitting this question use every reasonable means within their power to secure a "yes" or "no" vote from the individual members of the affiliated organizations upon this question.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 98**—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, there are many violations affecting the membership of Local 847, International Longshoremen's Association, of the port of New York, N. Y., because of the violations of laws pertaining to safety at sea, and more especially those pertaining to the safety of the men employed on the various barges and harbor crafts of the port of New York and vicinity on account of the laws not being enforced, this being more noticeable in the smaller ports of New Haven, Conn.; New Bedford, Conn.; Providence, R. I., etc.; and

**WHEREAS**, Local 847 of the International Longshoremen's Association has not had the power to force this question to an issue; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Board or legislative committee, have the United States Government instruct its inspectors to insist upon the enforcement of the law relating to safety at sea.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 99**—By Delegates Jas. Moriarty, Thos Redding, Hugh Frayne, John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers); O. A. Wharton, Thos. Van Lear, J. A. Taylor, Jas. O'Connell (International Association of Machinists); M. J. McGuire, J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Chas. MacGowan (Boilermakers); J. A. Grimblot, F. J. Sweek (Electrical Workers):

**WHEREAS**, The Building Trades Council of Chicago has entered into an agreement with the Construction Employers' Association of Chicago; and

**WHEREAS**, Clause three of the aforesaid agreement stipulates that there shall be no discrimination against manufactured material, excepting only the product of prison labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The acceptance of an agreement of this character is in itself a discrimination against the product of

the union shops and will eventually mean their disorganization, if such agreements are continued in force; and

**WHEREAS**, Said agreements tend to discourage union material employers from continuing agreements or entering into them with affiliated organizations on account of union men being compelled to install non-union made material in Chicago, which impedes the progress of the men employed in the manufacture and erection of material used in the building trades; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Chicago Building Trades Council, or any other council or organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which promotes or accepts an agreement containing a clause which places the products of union labor on a level with the products of scab and non-union labor, be most severely condemned for such action by this convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the organizations affiliated to the Building Trades Council of Chicago be requested to take the necessary steps to cancel this agreement at the earliest possible date in order to prevent so gross an injustice being perpetrated against the interests of the organized workers in the manufacturing industries.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

**Resolution No. 100**—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The Illinois State Supreme Court has made a decision interpreting the Illinois State Compensation Law, and the Federal Liability Law as applied to the workers in the transportation industries in such a manner that, where the injured worker or his dependents have no case under the Liability Law, it must be settled under that law, and where he has a good case and could collect large damages under the Liability Law, that it must be settled under the Compensation Law; and

**WHEREAS**, Various States have compensation laws either elective or compulsory, while the workers engaged in transportation or in interstate commerce are governed by the Federal Liability Law, which is confusing and gives unscrupulous judges great latitude to serve their masters in construing compensation and liability legislation in favor of the corporations; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its officers and Legislative Committee to draft and present to the next Congress, and use all their influence to have enacted a compulsory compensation law, to be applied to all industries, or as far as it is practical to apply it within the federal jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 101**—By Delegate Henry

Abrahams, of the Chelsea Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, An opportunity has been given to those desiring an industrial training by many, if not all, of our States; and

WHEREAS, A like opportunity should be given all young men and women who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of law, medicine, architecture, civil engineering or any of the learned professions, and as many of our colleges are controlled by the donors, who dictate the policy of such institutions so that knowledge has become a monopoly of the rich; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor the establishment of free State universities where text books, tuition and laboratory work shall be free.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegate T. V. O'Connor and John Kean, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, There are many so-called detective agencies whose sole business is the supplying of strikebreakers in industrial disputes; and

WHEREAS, Many of the strikebreakers thus secured by the so-called detective agencies, are unskilled aliens, ignorant of our language and customs; and

WHEREAS, Their ignorance and lack of knowledge of the work they are forced to do, often results in accidents fatal not only to themselves, but to the public at large; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the International Longshoremen's Convention in session assembled that we urge our delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to protest against this nefarious system, to the end that some legislative measures be undertaken by the American Federation of Labor to do away with this nefarious system.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegate J. B. Dale, of the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Commission has invaded the rights of the workmen employed on Mare Island Navy Yard by an order forbidding them to participate in politics in the city of Vallejo; and

WHEREAS, They have further invaded their rights by an order forbidding them to hold office in the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council, contending that said Council is a political organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct their incoming Executive Board to use all honorable means to secure a law that will circumvent further invasion by this non-legislative and non-judicial body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many local unions of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are not affiliated with the State Federations of Labor of their respective States; and

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor is one of the important links in the chain of organized labor, and is the principal instrument through which State legislation in the interest of the workers can and is secured, and therefore should receive the undivided support of all bona fide labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its Executive Council to request the various national and international unions at their next conventions, to amend their Constitutions so as to provide: that their local unions must affiliate with the State Federation of Labor where such Federation exists in the State in which the local union is located, and provided further, that the dues to such State Federations shall be collected through the general office of the national or international union and by the general office paid to the proper officers of the various State Federations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention be earnestly requested to use every honorable means in their power to secure the adoption of such amendment to the Constitution of the organization of which they are delegates.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 105.—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Periods of industrial depression are of frequent occurrence and cause loss of employment to thousands of wage earners throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, These industrial depressions are often prolonged and made more acute by the political methods that have been followed in dealing with the question of tariff schedules; and

WHEREAS, An agitation is now in progress throughout the country in favor of taking the tariff out of politics, through the creation by Congress of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the idea of a non-partisan tariff commission and directs the Executive Council to instruct the incoming Legislative Committee to work for the passage of a bill creating a tariff commission on which all interests, including agriculture and labor, shall be directly represented.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has for many years been, and still are issuing charters to the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association claims absolute jurisdiction over the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The claims of the International Longshoremen's Association are being disputed by both the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to secure a ruling as to which international organization these workers properly belong to.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The necessity of an active campaign of organization in Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa, commonly called the Tri-Cities, was brought to the attention of the recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This is a most important center and any activities engaged in there have effect upon two great States; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor is anxious to make the Tri-Cities a union labor center; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its President to assign one of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in unionizing the Tri-Cities and such assistance and co-operation be continued as long as, in the opinion of the President, it seems advisable.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the State of Kansas there exists an unorganized condition among the workers of the State, both skilled and unskilled, the forces of organized labor in the State have, in

the past been divided by the existence of two State movements, viz., the Kansas State Federation of Labor and the State Society of Labor and Industry; and

WHEREAS, The State Society of Labor and Industry (the dual movement), has now ceased to exist, and conditions are most favorable at the present time to organize the unorganized and build up a strong State Federation of Labor in Kansas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through the proper channels, inaugurate a state-wide "Labor Forward Movement," in the State of Kansas, in the Spring of 1916, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various National and International Unions be requested by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to co-operate in this movement by sending organizers to assist in bringing about a more thorough organization of the workers of that State, and the affiliation of their local unions with the State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The advancement of the interests of Organized Labor and Farmers' Organizations calls for a closer co-operation on the part of these two great forces of the producers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations, City Central Bodies and Local Unions, conduct an energetic and persistent campaign to the end that the desired co-operation may be brought about.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is a law in effect known as the 65-foot Motor Boat Law, which permits a boat under 65 feet in length to be operated by a non-licensed pilot and engineer and by so doing not only works a hardship upon the members of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, but endangers the lives of those operating these boats as well as the lives of such persons as are carried as passengers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming President of the International Longshoremen's Association be, and is hereby instructed to use every effort in his power to assist the officers of the L. T. P. A. in having this law repealed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be given the delegate representing the International Longshoremen's Association in the American Federation of Labor Convention and that he urge that body to lend all possible

assistance in having this law repealed.  
Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates J. W. Kline, J. M. Tobin, W. F. Kramer (Blacksmiths); W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary, H. C. Diehl (Metal Polishers); John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers):

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its Seattle convention decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union should discontinue all encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the unions in the automobile industry, and ordered to turn over to the respective unions all men they have as members of the local unions who lawfully belong to other International unions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Philadelphia convention, decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union discontinue the use of the words "Automobile Workers" and refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union has since the adoption of resolutions at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor at Rochester, N. Y., Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa., continued its encroachments on the jurisdiction of other International and National organizations and has ignored the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and failed absolutely to comply with the demands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the revocation of the charter of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union by January 1, 1916.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Federal, State and municipal commissions having power to fix rate for the transportation of commodities and determine terminal charges, must necessarily take into consideration the wages paid to the employees engaged in the work of transportation; and

WHEREAS, Rates and terminal charges have a direct influence on wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, refer this subject to the American Federation of Labor, in order that the Executive Board may be instructed to make a thorough investigation and take the proper steps to protect the rights of the wage-earners.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates John

Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The practice of having small children live on the boats in and around the harbor of New York can result only to their detriment, both morally and physically; and

WHEREAS, Many of the captains are compelled to carry their children with them because of the fact that they are paid such miserable wages that no other course is open to them; and

WHEREAS, As a result children are bound to grow up in ignorance and be handicapped for the duties of life; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, through its delegate at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, ask that an investigation be made of these conditions and that efforts be made with the co-operation of the Federal and State authorities to bring into effect a child labor law that will prevent the carrying of children on such boats under the age of fifteen years.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger and S. Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers of North America; Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It has been the good fortune of the people of the United States to be free from the horrors of the European war and from its hatreds and prejudices; and

WHEREAS, The people and the Government of the United States can exercise a beneficent influence in aiding the world to lay a foundation for a durable and permanent peace based upon justice to all; and

WHEREAS, In some of the countries of Europe the Jewish people, notwithstanding the great sacrifices they are making for the countries of their nativity are still deprived of elementary political and civic rights; and

WHEREAS, Every form of religious oppression and discrimination is contrary to the spirit of the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests the Government of the United States to urge upon the governments of the nations of Europe to cease the discriminations now practiced against the Jewish people; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That the same appeal be made by the American Federation of Labor to the organized workers of the belligerent nations.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.



Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Wm. F. Quesse, of the Chicago Flat Janitors' Union Local 14332:

WHEREAS, The federal and local labor unions in the building service line, such as elevator conductors and starters, janitors, janitresses, scrub-women, watchmen, window washers, porters and other kindred crafts, at the present time are unable to properly protect their interests; and

WHEREAS, There is a large field to organize the wage workers in these crafts in every city where there are office and apartment buildings or theaters; and

WHEREAS, With the amalgamation of these locals they can better safeguard their interests and extend their organizations to new fields; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant them an international charter, subject to the laws and constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Secretary be instructed to call a convention of all the locals interested in the city of Chicago during the month of January, 1916, for the purpose of forming an international union of the Building Service Employees of America.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti, of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 2, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against the growing departmental policy of requiring terminal Railway Post Office clerks and transfer clerks to perform certain necessary tasks connected with their work on their own time, thus obliging such clerks to work in excess of a standard of eight hours a day; and that the officers of the Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to secure redress of this grievance"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist the affiliated postal employees in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Matt Comerford, J. J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Union

of Steam and Operating Engineers has made every honorable effort to bring about an amalgamation between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have met in a conference with the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, at which Mr. Samuel Gompers presided, and where the following agreement was reached, to wit:

"With the purpose of removing conflict between the membership of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to protect and promote the rights, interests and welfare of the membership of both these organizations, we, the undersigned representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, hereby enter into an agreement by which these desirable purposes may be accomplished.

"Therefore, we agree—

"First. That all hostilities shall cease, and the undersigned pledge themselves for their organizations to prevent any discrimination against the members of the other organization.

"Second. That a committee consisting of four members of each organization shall be selected for the purpose of drafting a plan whereby the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall become amalgamated into one comprehensive organization.

"Third. That it shall be the duty of the committee herein provided to agree on the details of amalgamating both organizations.

"Fourth. That if there shall arise any point upon which the committee, herein provided, cannot agree, it shall be the duty of the committee to select a member in good standing of the trade union movement to act as a conciliator or arbitrator. Should the committee be unable to agree upon the selection of a conciliator or arbitrator, then the President of the American Federation of Labor shall act as, or appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor to act as conciliator or arbitrator, and his decision on any disputed questions shall be final and binding upon the committees of both organizations, and the committees and the officers of both organizations shall earnestly recommend to their respective memberships the ratification of the entire agreement.

"Fifth. That when amalgamation of the two organizations shall have been accomplished, the amalgamated organization shall issue local charters to the local unions now part of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen without cost, and that local unions of steamshovelmen and dredgemen, part

of the amalgamated international union, shall have the right to make their own by-laws and rules provided they do not conflict with the constitution and general laws of the amalgamated international.

"Sixth. The local unions of steamshovel and dredgemen shall have complete jurisdiction over all steamshovel and dredge work.

"Seventh. As assurance of good will for united action, it is declared by the parties of this agreement that the district plan of organization among the steamshovel and dredgemen shall remain in effect in case amalgamation is consummated.

"Eighth. The Amalgamated International Union shall apply to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a new charter under such title as may be agreed upon by the committee herein provided, and shall set forth the jurisdiction claimed by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen as now recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"Ninth. On the 23d day of August, 1915, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the committee of four from each of the organizations party to this agreement shall meet at the New Morrison Hotel for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this agreement, and to devise the plan for the amalgamation as herein set forth.

"Tenth. This agreement shall be submitted to the general executive board of each organization for ratification and the full authority to act in accordance with the terms of this agreement.

"Eleventh. The committee of four from each organization shall apply itself assiduously day by day to devise the plan for amalgamation and complete their work at the earliest possible day.

"Twelfth. When the plan of amalgamation has been formed and agreed to by the committee of four from each organization it shall be submitted to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen for ratification and submitted to the executive board of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for ratification. (The executive board of the latter organization having authority to act in the premises conferred upon it by the Peoria (Ill.) Convention of 1914.)

"Thirteenth. Within ten days after the ratification of the plan of amalgamation the general officers of each organization shall meet for the purpose of carrying into effect the amalgamation as declared herein, and as shall be provided in the agreement by the com-

mittee of four of each of the organizations.

Approved by

MATT COMERFORD,  
JAMES G. HANNAHAN,  
Representing the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

T. J. DOLAN,  
P. W. WALSH,  
Representing the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
Representing the American Federation of Labor.

G. W. PERKINS,  
Representing the Cigarmakers' International Union.

JOHN FITZPATRICK,  
Representing the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Representing the Chicago Building Trades Council.

Opposed by

E. M. FOLEY,  
J. W. TRACY,  
Representing the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen."

WHEREAS, The issuance of the charter to the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen has caused conflict between the engineers belonging to both organizations, in some instances the Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen offering their services for less wages than was being paid to engineers belonging to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen be instructed to amalgamate with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers within 90 days, and unless complied with that the charter of the International Steamshovel and Dredgemen be revoked.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 117.—By Delegates Frank W. Cotterill and J. G. Brown, of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle, through the efforts of its educational committee and label committee recently held a most successful exposition of union labels, union house and shop cards, and products of union labor, said exposition having been made possible by the hearty and enthusiastic co-operation of the officers and the rank and file of a large majority of all affiliated unions, and

WHEREAS, This exposition has created a marked increase in the demand for the union label and for union labor products, and

WHEREAS, Local manufacturers and merchants interested themselves in said exposition and contributed to its success by making attractive and creditable displays for the purpose of taking advantage of the advertising opportunity

nities presented, and whereas also the labor press received a flattering increase in advertising patronage through said exposition and was enabled to prove its value as an advertising medium; and

WHEREAS, All local unions of Seattle having benefited by said exposition, central councils in other cities have planned or are planning similar expositions for the education of the members of their affiliated unions and the general public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby indorse the holding of such expositions for the advertisement of union labels, union house and shop cards and union labor products, and in furtherance of the exposition idea authorizes its executive council to place at the disposal of organizations making proper application such statistics, literature and exhibits as it may now have on hand, or may hereafter acquire; such, for example, as the American Federation of Labor exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and other exhibits of paintings, sculptures, photographs, music and literature of special interest to labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That merchants and manufacturers fair to organized labor be invited to participate in such expositions at the discretion of the central labor councils holding the same, or at State fairs under the auspices of State Federations; and that such other assistance be extended at such expositions as the executive council of this federation, or the label department thereof, may deem necessary.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by a referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 1, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against any departmental policy calculated to increase the hours on duty of road clerks and to decrease the necessary lay-off period, whether by taking off crews, 'swinging men' or helpers, or by any other reorganization methods; that the officers of this Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to make such protests effective; and that, if the need for such action shall arise, the officers of this Brotherhood shall carry an appeal for an investigation of the question to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention, on page 103, after citing interviews and correspondence between officers of this Federation and

postoffice department officials on the subject of reductions and demotions, declares as follows: "We recommend that this convention declare emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, as well as the report of the Executive Council of this Federation bearing on this matter; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention declares emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions, and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries; and that the officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to be prepared to assist in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 4, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall call the attention of Congress to the fact that railway mail service employees are discriminated against in that they are required to perform service averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, being allowed no holidays nor any vacation period (contrary to the rule in every other branch of the Federal service); and that the officers of this Brotherhood agitate this question and seek the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation"; and

WHEREAS, Besides averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, exceedingly arduous extra duty is performed by employees of the railway mail service during each December without any extra compensation, thus indirectly further justifying the just claim for an annual fifteen-day vacation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the claim of the employees of the railway mail service, and pledges its moral influence and assistance in seeking the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation for railway mail service employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate J. Mahlon Barnes, Cigarmakers' International Union:

Strike out section 3 of article III of the constitution and substitute the following: The following committees consisting of 15 members each shall be appointed by the president: Rules and Order of Business, Organization, Labels, Local and Federated Bodies, Education, State Organizations, Boycotts and Building Trades.

Committees consisting of 15 members each, on Report of Executive Council, Resolutions, Laws and Adjustments, shall be elected in the following manner: Nominations for members of all these committees shall be made at one time. The election to determine the personnel of the respective committees. The nominees in the order of the highest number of votes received shall fill the committees in the order in which the committees are herein named; provided, that no member of the Executive Council shall be eligible to membership in committees named in this section.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment is serious, if not the most serious in our lives. It not only destroys the producing and consuming power of the individual and his family, but it is the means whereby the employers keep the employed in active competition against each other. It is also the constant menace which is held over the employed to make them servile and submissive and work long hours for small wages, which results in the increased output of the employed, while it lessens the consuming power of himself and his family; and,

WHEREAS, One practical way to meet this situation would be to secure data, information and knowledge of the cause and far-reaching effect of unemployment, which if given proper publicity would drive those who profit by manipulating the labor market, so that we have an endless army of unemployed, from their well entrenched position. Another and more practical way is to shorten the hours of labor so that more will be employed, and increase the wages of the employed, thereby increasing his consuming power, which means more employment. In other words, give every man, woman and child their full consuming power, and the army of the unemployed will soon be in the ranks of the employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we instruct our Executive Council to initiate and authorize a plan whereby all available information on the effect and the possible solution of the question of unemployment can be compiled and given publicity, and that such plan provide that the individual members of the affiliated local unions report either

through their international union, or city central body the number of hours they work per week or per month, and the number they don't work, and the cause of not working, whether caused by sickness, accident, slack season or depression in business; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention calls attention to the fact that the giant industries and corporations of America not only work their employees under inhuman conditions, but they absolutely destroy the home life of the workers by the long number of hours they compel them to work, and the only hope of the worker is to rely upon his efforts to organize and his personal activities if he is to secure relief from the brutal conditions forced upon him by a manufactured army of unemployed workers.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Under the present Civil Service laws Government employees may be removed from the service or demoted without the right of a fair trial before a tribunal where witnesses for the accused may testify; and

WHEREAS, Under the Constitution of the United States, the meanest criminal, whatever his crime, is assured a trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, It appears to be simple justice that when the Government employee's removal or demotion in rank is sought, that he be given an opportunity to have his case reviewed before an impartial board of review; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse and instruct its officers to seek the establishment of a Court of Appeals to be created in the Civil Service Commission, consisting of three members, one of whom shall be an employee of the United States under the classified Civil Service law, with the power to review and hear testimony in cases where employees in the Civil Service have been demoted or dismissed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Thomas J. Mahoney of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The O. C. Hansen Manufacturing Company, the Ellsworth Thayer Manufacturing Company and the Milwaukee Glove Company of Milwaukee, Wis., who for years have made agreements with our organization and used our union label, have refused to renew the agreements with us, although no changes in either the agreement or wage schedule was asked for by our organization, and locked out our members July 1 of this year; and

WHEREAS, Our members have been waging a struggle since that time to maintain their organization and resist

**Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:**

WHEREAS, An effort was made to incorporate in last postoffice appropriation bill a clause providing for biennial in lieu of annual promotions, which proviso was defeated with the whole postal appropriation bill principally because certain irreconcilable differences developed over the question of railroad rates for carrying mails; and

WHEREAS, Postal employees' salaries are none too high, and have not kept pace with the increased and increasing cost of living, and when it is considered that the Income Tax Law provides a tax of only 1 per cent. on incomes in excess of \$4,000 and up to \$20,000, and only 2 per cent. on incomes from \$20,000 to \$50,000, while biennial promotions would affect postal employees' salaries from 6 to as high as 10 per cent; and when it is further considered that none denied that the proposed alteration in the law was in effect a war tax upon postal employees, and of a nature apparently confiscatory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor unalterably opposes any attempt to change the present annual promotions to biennial promotions, and that the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor is pledged to the affiliated postal employees in opposing any such change in the next postal appropriation bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 128—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):**

WHEREAS, There exists at this time a Barbers' Supply Company, which is making every effort to defeat the objects and aims of organized labor, to the extent that the following organizations have declared it unfair; Carpenters' District Council, Painters' District Council, International Association of Machinists No. 9, Metal Polishers' Local No. 13, Sheet Metal Workers' District Council, Plumbers' and Steamfitters' U. A., Stationary Engineers, Upholsterers' No. 21; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all organizations affiliated that the Koken Barber Supply Company, of St. Louis, Mo., does not employ union men.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 129—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):**

WHEREAS, There exists a condition in the silver industry of this country that should be of vital importance to

every trade unionist affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Silver Trust, known as the International Silver Company, own or control nearly all the silver factories of this country, thereby have stamped out competition and can regulate prices of this product. Manufacturing an article that is a luxury and only purchased by the wealthy, they are in a position to pay fair wages to the workers in their many factories.

They, however, are bitter and antagonistic towards organized labor and have successfully stamped out all attempts of their employees to form organizations at their very inception, punishing the agitators by instant dismissal and the use of the black-list.

This corporation must of necessity employ only the most highly skilled mechanics, and these men and women are compelled to labor ten hours a day and sixty hours a week for a rate of wages ranging from one dollar to a dollar and a half a day less than paid union men and women doing the same work in other branches of industry.

The employees, enthused by the eight-hour agitation in the East, succeeded in organizing thoroughly several of the largest factories of the International Silver Company, and demanded the shorter work-day and a fair living wage. The International Silver Company immediately refused their demands and over three thousand men and women went on a strike, grimly determined to stick solidly together until fair conditions were conceded to them.

The strike occurred on October 4, 1915, and involved six of the factories of the International Silver Company, all located in Meriden, Conn. This corporation then began having its work done in its other shops. These other employees had been organizing and refused to do the scab work, and as a consequence strikes are now on in Derby, Wallingford, Norwich, Waterbury; ten factories now on strike and more to follow, bringing the number on strike up to close on eight thousand.

The winning of this strike will not only remove the competition of the underpaid mechanic in keeping wages down in other industries, but will add at least, thirty thousand more men and women to the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to provide food and living necessities to these destitute brothers and sisters, who are fighting so hard to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The organizations these strikers are affiliated with are not large enough to bear this great burden without assistance from this great labor movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to send out letters of appeal to the International, National, State Federations, City, Central Councils, Federal Labor Unions, and all local unions affiliated either directly to this American Federation of Labor, or through their International or National Unions, for finan-

the reduction of wages made by the Milwaukee Glove Company, and

WHEREAS, The gloves made by these manufacturers are used particularly by the men in the organized trades, and we believe this attack on our organization in Milwaukee is backed by the 'Glove Manufacturers' Association of Wisconsin, so we need every possible assistance to successfully carry on this fight; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention urge the affiliated unions of their organization to render their moral and financial support to the glove workers involved in this lockout.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate T. F. Neary, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has consistently enforced all of the laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In October, 1914, the question was raised in a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor by a delegate that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not being complied with. The chair ruled that the American Federation of Labor laws were complied with, whereupon an appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, with the result that the chair was sustained by a unanimous vote. The complaining delegate then served notice of an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, When this appeal was being considered by the Executive Council the Chicago Federation of Labor asked to be given an opportunity to defend its action and decision, and after much correspondence and many such requests, the Executive Council held that the Chicago Federation of Labor was in error and sustained the appeal against the Chicago Federation of Labor without hearing upon the facts and principles involved; and

WHEREAS, When this decision was rendered the Chicago Federation of Labor was notified to comply therewith at the "earliest possible opportunity." The mandate of the Executive Council was complied with at the next regular meeting; and

WHEREAS, The representations of the two hundred and fifty thousand organized men and women who constitute the Chicago Federation of Labor, although humbly submitting to the mandate of the Executive Council, are just as firmly convinced now as at any time in the past that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not violated, and that a hearing of the evidence and the facts would convince even the most biased that the Chicago Federation of Labor was entirely within the law and complied with all the requirements of the American Federation of Labor; and inasmuch as the Executive Council failed

to accord to the Chicago Federation of Labor a hearing in this matter, it was decided to appeal to this convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the appeal of the Chicago Federation of Labor be agreed to and the decision of the Executive Council be held in abeyance until such time as the Executive Council may reopen this case for the consideration of all the evidence, facts and information the Chicago Federation of Labor desires to place before it.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 125—By T. F. Neary, delegate of Chicago Federation of Labor:

Add new paragraph to section 8 of article II, to read:

"In the event of a local having trouble with its International Union, central bodies will not be required to seat delegates from new unions chartered by such International Union to take the place of the union in trouble. If such unions are made up of strike-breakers and scabs and locals having such trouble shall have to have a full, fair and impartial hearing in the presence of a representative of the American Federation of Labor and the central body involved before any mandatory order of expulsion shall be issued by the American Federation of Labor."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 3, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall seek the enactment of legislation defining the number of hours of duty to be required of railway postal clerks"; and

WHEREAS, In seeking the enactment of such legislation the arduous duties and the excessive physical and mental strain inseparable from the occupation of railway postal clerks should be given full consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution, and that the officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in seeking legislation defining the number of hours of duty of railway postal clerks, with due consideration of the excessive physical and mental strain and arduous duties of railway postal employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.



cial assistance to help the organization and the men and women now involved to carry this fight on to a successful termination.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 130.—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech and freedom of the press is a fundamental principle of our Government and was engrafted into the Constitution of the United States, which says that freedom of speech and freedom of the press shall not be abridged; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of our citizens are employed under the civil branch of our Government, and they do not enjoy in a full measure freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which was vouchsafed to them and guaranteed them by the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service employees can take no part in political campaigns in which the welfare of city, state or nation is concerned, no matter how meritorious is the cause; and

WHEREAS, This is a menace to the Government itself and a blow to the rights of a free people, and was never intended by the patriots who fought to throw off the yoke of tyranny; and for the preservation of our Republic, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of San Francisco, register its unrelenting opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech to any class of citizens or to any man, and that the Executive Council of this federation instruct its Legislative Committee to frame a bill which shall be enacted into law, with the purpose of curing the evil of preventing any person or persons from enjoying full freedom of speech, and that the said law shall make it a penal offense for any one to interfere with, or prevent any one from enjoying that right.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegate J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is in agreement with public sentiment that the United States Government in the exercise of the function of an employer of labor should take the lead in establishing ideal working conditions for its employees; in other words it should be the model employer; and

WHEREAS, The custom of suspending work on Saturday afternoons, thus giving their employees a half holiday each week throughout the entire year,

has been very generally adopted by private employers, and by some of the United States Government departments; and

WHEREAS, The Federal employees in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, have enjoyed a half holiday on Saturday afternoons during the summer months only, for several years past, and this practice has demonstrated its desirability both from the viewpoint of the Government and of the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby instruct the President and Executive Council to use any and all means to secure the extension of the Saturday half holiday period throughout the entire year to all divisions and departments of the Federal service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of this federation is hereby instructed to forward copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet and to labor representatives in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 132.—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The United States is the only large country in the world that has not made suitable provision for its superannuated and otherwise disabled civil employees; and

WHEREAS, The governments, firms and corporations that have established plans of retirement on service annuities for employees of this character have found this method of dealing with superannuation not only just and reasonable from a humane point of view, but also in the interest of efficiency and economy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to use every available means to secure the establishment of a retirement system for Federal civil employees which will not, either directly or indirectly, cause them to suffer a reduction in wages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 133.—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, G. P. Leary, of the International Union of Metal Polishers; John J. Hynes, of the Sheet Metal Workers; James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers; J. S. Merchant, of the Central Labor Union of Wallingford, Connecticut; Wm. H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades De-

partment of the American Federation of Labor has adopted a universal label; and

WHEREAS, The appearance of this label will be a positive guarantee that all employees in the employ of the firm using same are carrying a card in the organization representing their craft or trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor request the Label Trades Department to advertise thoroughly the existence of this label, to the end that all mechanics may know that they can purchase tools bearing the union label.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate E. S. Allen, of the Massachusetts State Branch:

WHEREAS, We believe that our present Asiatic exclusion laws should be strengthened and made more effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principles contained in House Bill No. 2037, third session of the Sixty-third Congress, and instruct the Executive Council to give full support to the same at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, Dissatisfaction and discord prevails amongst the local unions affiliated with the Central Body in Louisville, Ky.; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs is highly detrimental to the welfare of all organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send some representative to Louisville to investigate the affairs and the conduct of certain individuals of the Central Body of Louisville, Ky., with a view of bringing about harmony.

Referred to Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, There exists in Massachusetts a so-called Brotherhood of Power Workers with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is in fact a dual organization to the general labor movement and particularly to the Engineers and Firemen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all local and central bodies in Massachusetts of this fact.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 137—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, R. R. Donelley & Sons Co., printers and publishers, of Chicago, Ill., have been opposed to the printing trades unions since the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the printing industry, and have been and are now operating a non-union establishment in all branches of the printing trade; and

WHEREAS, There is about to be placed on the market a new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, reduced in size, especially designated for sale among working men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Allied Printing Trades Unions in the effort to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of this new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica before the membership of all unions affiliated with organized labor and also to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to adjust this complaint.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The official organ of the Federation, "The American Federationist," is a monthly magazine which contains official reports, news items and editorial utterances of much value to members of organized labor who represent local unions in central labor councils; and believing that by furnishing this magazine free to such delegates would greatly benefit the entire movement as well as make the magazine of more value to the advertisers of union product, thus benefiting the international unions which compose this Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Educational Committee, to whom was referred subjects relating to the "American Federationist," submit some practical plan which will insure the sending of the official organ to the home of every representative of a local union in a central body affiliated with this Federation; and, further, that said committee be requested to report on this resolution at the earliest possible date and suggest financial recommendations, in order that the purposes of this resolution may be carried out at this convention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 139—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the Interna-

tional Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Star Publishing Company of St. Louis, Mo., directed against "The St. Louis Star," which boycott is instituted and conducted not only without justification in fact and in violation of the laws governing Federal Labor Unions, but is likewise in conflict with the laws governing the St. Louis Central Trade and Labor Council and in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as prescribed in article IX, section 1, as well as in violation of the ruling of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, rendered June, 1908, to-wit:

"RESOLVED, That all central bodies, State federations and directly affiliated local unions shall be required, before declaring or endorsing as unfair any person, firm or corporation, to submit the dispute to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and adjustment"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares the boycott instituted by Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 against "The St. Louis Star" not justified in fact and unwarranted by the constitutional laws and rulings of the American Federation of Labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, immediately after adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as is possible, instruct Federal Union No. 5783 to annul this boycott at once and immediately cease a further boycott or any other concerted form of opposition intended and directed to lessen or interfere with the sale or patronage of "The St. Louis Star"; that failing to comply with these instructions within thirty days after receipt of such instructions, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to revoke the charter of Federal Union No. 5783, and to organize an affiliated union of these workers who will adhere to, live up to and fully comply with the laws, rules, regulations and instructions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 140.—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Hough-

ton & Dutton Company of Boston, Mass., predicated on the use by this firm of coupons or trading stamps of the United Profit Sharing Company, to be given customers making purchases from this company,

WHEREAS, The Houghton & Dutton Company undertook the use of the United Profit Sharing Company's coupons or trading stamps only after full assurances, guaranteed by contractual obligations that these trading stamps, catalogues and all other printed matter used in connection with and relating to the use of these coupons be produced in their entirety under union conditions and bearing the Allied Printing Trades Union label,

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union instituted this boycott in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as provided in Article 9, Section 7; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declares this boycott as having been illegally instituted and instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to direct the Boston Central Labor Union to immediately annul this boycott directed against the Houghton & Dutton Company and cease from any other form of concerted opposition having the characteristics of a boycott or intended to interfere with the sales and patronage of this firm, unless such concerted action fully conforms with all constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, and has first received the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 141.—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The G. and C. Merriam Company of Springfield, Mass., are having Webster's New International Dictionary and other dictionaries published in non-union or unfair offices; and

WHEREAS, All efforts of the Allied Printing Trades Unions to have this work done in offices that pay the union scale of wages and observe all other union conditions required by the Allied Printing Trades Unions have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Printing Trades Unions in a final effort to bring

about a satisfactory adjustment of this complaint, and that failing to bring about a satisfactory settlement and agreement, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are directed to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of Webster's New International Dictionary and all other books of the G. and C. Merriam Company before the members of all affiliated unions, and also to take such other steps as may be deemed essential and necessary to adjust this grievous complaint.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 142.—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union at the request of Omaha Typographical Union No. 190:

WHEREAS, The winter is coming near and will throw out of work thousands of men, who, in many cases, after their few saved dollars are gone, do not see any other way of existence than to stand on street corners begging from passers-by for a nickel or a dime, in this way constituting a most troublesome nuisance for the public; and

WHEREAS, It is the Christian duty of our most glorious nation to do everything for this unhappy class of people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our union communicate with the American Federation of Labor, that said federation take steps to induce the Congress to build at Government expense in every city of over 100,000 population homes where this most suffering class of people may find shelter in the cold winter nights and a few warm meals over the day.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 143.—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Rapid and continued changes are constantly at work modifying and altering past and present methods and processes of producing printed matter, necessitating like changes in form of organization among the printing trades; and

WHEREAS, The Allied Printing Trades Unions have been able to cope with and successfully control all changes and modifications of producing printed matter of whatever kind, excepting that produced by the process of offset printing; on which class of printing it has been partially unsuccessful, because of the opposition and interference of the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the Thirty-third and Thirty-

fourth Annual Conventions of that organization recognized the necessity of the amalgamation of the Lithographic Pressmen and Press Feeders with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; the amalgamation of the Lithographic Engravers' and Transferrers', etc., with the International Photo-Engravers' Union, and the amalgamation of all compositors employed directly or indirectly by the lithographic establishments, or doing work entering into lithographic work, with the International Typographical Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor having considered the conflicting jurisdictional claims of all the printing trades involved in the process of offset printing for a period of two years, finds itself unable to draw any line of demarcation between the printing trades unions involved in this work, thus evidencing conclusively that the varying processes of producing printed matter demands a like modification of organization among the printing trades unions and as proposed in the plan of amalgamations submitted by the Allied Printing Trades Unions; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of all labor demands that one union label be used on all printing matter regardless by whatever process or method it may have been produced; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Benevolent Association has failed to heed or respond to the action of the American Federation of Labor in amalgamating with the printing trades unions, but on the contrary has constantly, persistently and wrongfully used the union label—and in a number of instances cunningly substituted a label so closely resembling the Allied Printing Trades Council label as to mislead the general public; doing this to further its own interest at the cost of and to the great detriment of the Allied Printing Trades Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all work relating to type-setting for offset printing or any other process of printing is the work of members of the International Typographical Union; that all work of or relating to the producing of printing plates and transferring of same for offset printing, or any other process of printing, is the work of members of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; that all work of and relating to offset printing and offset printing presses, as well as type-printing, is the work of members of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union; and that all binding, etc., of printed matter of every description is the work of the members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association is hereby instructed to immediately cease further interference with and assumption of the rightful jurisdictional claims of the foregoing printing

trades unions, as designated in these resolutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue its efforts in co-operating with the Allied Printing Trades Unions to the end that the plan of amalgamation dealing with the lithographic workers and as proposed by the printing trades unions may be speedily consummated; thereby making the use of one union label in the printing trades possible, feasible and practicable, and establishing in the printing industry that form of organization best suited to meeting all the varying and modifying changes in methods and processes of producing printing matter.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 144.—By the delegates of the United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States enacted certain legislation known as the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which was intended to apply to combinations of capital and not to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Sherman Anti-Trust law is also applicable to labor organizations, as shown in their decision in the Danbury Hatters' case; and

WHEREAS, Under this decision the bank accounts of 186 members of the United Hatters of North America, the savings of a lifetime, have already been taken from them, and within the next two months their homes will also be taken away, although they were never charged with any crime other than that they belonged to a labor organization, nor was it intimated that they participated in any strike or lockout; on the contrary it was openly stated in court by Mr. Loewe and the attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Society that the selection of the defendants was based on ownership of property and not on conduct from which the plaintiffs claim to have suffered injury; and

WHEREAS, The National Association of Manufacturers, through the Anti-Boycott Society, was determined to get the courts to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust law to the organizations of labor, and the fight made against the members of the United Hatters of North America was not against the hatters alone, but against all organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The decision of the Supreme Court against the members of the United Hatters was largely instrumental in securing the passage of the Clayton bill, which prevents such suits in the future, and is of inestimable value to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges its support to the 186

defendants whose savings of a lifetime are about to be taken from them, thereby leaving them homeless and penniless, and make provisions to raise sufficient funds by assessment or otherwise as will indemnify the defendants for the loss of their homes and savings.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 145.—By Delegate J. P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, News reports from Washington indicate that President Wilson may recommend to Congress an appropriation of five hundred million dollars for the construction of warships in pursuance of a policy of general preparedness; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor and all progressive thinkers fully realize that militarism and navalism is the greatest enemy to peace, happiness and the general welfare of the American people and all other nations; and

WHEREAS, National preparedness must mean a well directed defense of our country against any invasion and not a military aggression against other nations; and general preparedness must not be a pretext for the growth of militarism and the destruction of popular rights nor a capitalistic menace to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, A huge national appropriation will be a mighty impetus to industrial activity and the employment of thousands of workers for many years; and

WHEREAS, Warships are tax-eating and unproductive as well as obsolete and valueless after the lapse of but a few years, while merchant ships are producers of revenue and do not add to the burden of the tax-paying people; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson stands already committed in favor of the creation of a National Merchant Marine owned and controlled by the Government; and

WHEREAS, In the present deplorable and horrid war between the great nations of Europe the historic achievements of several big German liners, which were built both for commerce and naval reserve service, have conclusively demonstrated that merchant ships may be so constructed as to serve with equal efficiency the pursuits of peace and in an emergency the exigencies of war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That general preparedness for the defense of the country and for the protection of the economic interests of all the people is best attained by the construction of a revenue-producing merchant marine and naval reserve combined in preference to that of costly, unproductive and tax-eating warships for military purposes only; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity be and hereby is requested to urge the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor to favor the

progressive policy as expressed in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Jos. W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been opposed to contract or sweat shop system of labor, and especially so when it has for its purpose the reduction of wages already obtained; and

WHEREAS, In many of the principal cities we have established a wage scale for stationary firemen, oillers and coal passers in all branches of the municipality; and

WHEREAS, The Board of Education in the City of Chicago have what is known as the square foot contract system whereby union men are being deprived of what they should receive; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we oppose any system which has for its purpose the reduction of wages now paid.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, Wm. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has succeeded in establishing a uniform wage scale in many of the municipalities, county and State institutions for oillers, stationary firemen and helpers; and

WHEREAS, We are now engaged in an effort to obtain the prevailing rate of wages for oillers, stationary firemen and helpers now employed in the federal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council and all central bodies as well as its organizers to render the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen such assistance as may be necessary to bring about the desired result.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of Rochester resolutions were introduced requesting an investigation of serious charges against the affiliated organization known as White Rats Actors' Union of America, which charges were by the order of the convention investigated by the Executive Council of the federation; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers, assisted by Secretary Morrison and General Organizer Hugh Frayne, did hold a twelve-hour session at the Vic-

toria Hotel in New York City, at which hearing Mr. Harry Mountford represented the complaining former members of the White Rats Actors' Union, acting in the capacity as counsel, and who is now representing the White Rats Actors' Union of America at this, the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, which hearing was held upon January 11, 1913, and no decision having been submitted up to this date; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers did request information as to the conditions surrounding the expulsion of several members of the said White Rats Actors' Union, notwithstanding all efforts by the said White Rats to exclude such testimony; and

WHEREAS, The official committee of the New York Central Federated Union who were present at that hearing did report to that body that in their judgment every charge made by these protesting representatives had been sustained; also that in its present form the White Rats Actors' Union is not in any way constituted a trades union and recommended the withdrawal of the charter for the reason of gross violation of all trades union ethics; and

WHEREAS, Through incompetency of its officers and board of directors the White Rats Actors' Union, an incorporated general form of organization without locals anywhere, has admitted that its claimed asset of \$250,000 of three years since is completely wiped out and admitting that its membership has dwindled from 11,000 men and women to a claimed membership of only 1,000; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby instruct the Executive Council to make full and complete investigation of the alleged illegal investment of the defense funds of the White Rats Actors' Union of America and to compel a revising of the present constitution of that order to conform to the principles of the trades union movement as recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and to give proper local autonomy in all theatrical centers of this country.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate James P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity is a party to the controversy between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the United House Smiths' and Bridgemen's Union, the following is submitted to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, California, as materially bearing upon this case between Local Union No. 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Car-



penters and Joiners of America and Local Unions Nos. 40 and 52 of the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union.

The Independent Dock Builders' Union, for many years affiliated to the Central Federation of Greater New York and Vicinity, changed its name to Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union. Prior to the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor attempts at various times were made by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who claimed jurisdiction over this work, to induce the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union to become a part of their organization as a local union. In this effort the American Federation of Labor rendered great support by threatening the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity with revocation of its charter if the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union were not dissociated. At the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1913 a conference was held between representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, officers of the American Federation of Labor and Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and an agreement reached whereby the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union should become a local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Following the Seattle Convention many conferences were held in Greater New York, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, Dock and Bulkhead Builders and General Organizer Frayne attending. The Dock and Bulkhead Builders finally agreed to become a local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and became known as Pier and Dock Carpenters' Local Union 1456.

During this time the Civil Service dock builders employed by the city of New York, and known as the Municipal Dock Builders' Union, held a charter from the American Federation of Labor, and were represented in the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity. Their representatives had been invited to the conferences and had attended. They objected to becoming connected with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Conferences were held with their representatives and those of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and inducements offered to them to join Local Union 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, but all without success. The Municipal Dock Builders instead started to branch out, conspired to disrupt Local Union 1456 and accepted as members others than those employed as dock builders. Local Union 1456 ordered a strike for recognition by the Contractors' Association, and for better union conditions, and the Municipal Dock Builders filled their places below the wage scale and hours of labor. For this gross violation of union principle

the American Federation of Labor revoked their charter, and the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity expelled them. All of those proceedings, inclusive of the conference held at Seattle, were duly reported to the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and by it conveyed through its weekly official printed report to every affiliated union, including Local Unions 40 and 52 of the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union. In all of this time these Local Unions 40 and 52 did not interfere in this procedure, or claim jurisdiction over either the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union or the Municipal Dock Builders' Union, nor did the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union file any such claim over plying. Hence, the organized labor movement of Greater New York was disagreeably surprised to find that the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union had granted a charter to the Municipal Dock Builders. In the face of the fact that a component part of the American Federation of Labor, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, were engaged in a bitter struggle to obtain union conditions for their Local Union 1456.

Local Unions 40 and 52 of the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union was duly notified of this unwarranted violation of trades union principles and requested to appear before the General Executive Committee and show cause for their action. Failing to respond, both Local Unions 40 and 52 were expelled by the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity according to article I, section 58, of its constitution. We assume that Local Unions 40 and 52 were instructed in the premises by the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That since the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union has violated every ethic of the American labor movement, and antagonized the basic structure of the American Federation of Labor, we, therefore, pray that this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor disassociate the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union until such time as they revoke the charter of the Municipal Dock Builders, or what is now designated to be Local Union 171.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, By order of the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 14-26, 1910, the following agreement was made and ratified, John R. Alpine representing the American Federation of Labor (as taken from page 306 of those proceedings):

## AGREEMENT.

"Agreement entered into this 25th day of November, 1910, between the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, to the end that in the creation of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the respective employers thereof, better understandings may prevail and the best interests of all be more generally protected. It is mutually agreed by the subscribers hereto that if the following plan is faithfully adhered to by the organizations at interest it will serve to effectually remove any and all disputes that have heretofore existed, or that may arise in the future, and we guarantee to carry into effect the full spirit and intent of this agreement mutually entered into.

"Section 1. The International Union of Steam Engineers and International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the directions of their respective international officers, cause to be created where local unions of both organizations exist joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's interests and promoting the creation of joint agreements with their employers. This action shall be taken as soon as possible and not later than January 1, 1911.

"Section 2. It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organization herein mentioned with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, as well as assisting in the settlement of disputes of any nature that may arise.

"Section 3. In the event of disagreement between the conference boards already referred to, the international representatives of both organizations in dispute shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor to properly dispose of the same. In the event of failure with regard to settlement, the president of the American Federation of Labor shall appoint some member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act as referee, and the latter's decision shall be final and binding on all parties to this agreement.

"Section 4. Since it is mutually agreed by both parties to this agreement that the question of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the employers thereof, as concerns the date of commencement and expiration of such agreements is primarily the cause for existing differences, it is therefore unanimously decided by the subscribers of this agreement that in the future, when creating new agreements with their employers, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall make such agree-

ments jointly, and these agreements shall be identical with regard to date of commencement and expiration.

"Section 5. It is also further agreed that both organizations shall assist each other in organizing steam plants, and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers who have the hiring of firemen, water tenders, oilers or helpers shall hire members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen wherever possible.

"MATT COMERFORD,

"JOHN L. M'NAMARA,

"JOHN J. GLASS,

"JAMES G. HANNAHAN,

"International Union Steam Engineers.

"TIMOTHY HEALY,

"C. L. SHAMP,

"JOSEPH W. MORTON,

"International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"JOHN R. ALPINE,

"Representing American Federation of Labor.

"Vice-President Alpine: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and the ratification of the agreement. (Seconded and carried.)"

WHEREAS, At the St. Paul Convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers, held in September, 1912, that organization changed its laws to take in firemen, water-tenders, boiler-washers, oilers and helpers, which class of men rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, and by so doing violated the above agreement with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, made at the St. Louis Convention; and

WHEREAS, The Rochester Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 11-23, 1912, passed the following resolution, and the committee reported on this case as follows (as taken from pages 337 and 338 of those proceedings):

"Resolution 120: Whereas, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending Article XIX, Section 1, to read as follows:

"A candidate for membership in a local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership; and

"WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen against the actions of the International Union of Steam Engineers for their infringements on the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted

by the American Federation of Labor in violation of Section 2 of Article II and Section 11 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and in conflict with the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water-tenders, boiler-washers and firemen's helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above.

"The committee reported as follows: Section 2, Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that:

"No affiliated international, national, or local union shall be permitted to change its title or name if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor."

"While the representatives of the Steam Engineers have assured your committee that it is not their intention to admit to membership anyone coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen without first having complied with the provisions of section 2, article IX, as quoted above, yet it is not denied that the constitution of the International Union of Steam Engineers has been so amended as to make eligible to membership therein as apprentices men now coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"In view of the plain provisions of the law, which requires that an organization must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor before it shall have the right to extend its jurisdiction over the members of another affiliated organization, your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

"The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried"; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 10-26, 1913, decided as follows on this question (as taken from page 303, Committee on Executive Council's report)

"Engineers—Change of Title.

"Under the caption of 'Engineers—Change of Title,' the Executive Council reports the action of the Engineers' organization changing its title so as to read 'International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers' with the distinct understanding that this change was not

for the purpose and should not give to that organization any extension of jurisdiction. Your committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council in this matter be approved.

"The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote."

And pages 334 and 335 of the Adjutant Committee's report:

"Secretary Golden: Your committee begs to report that the question of jurisdiction between the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the International Union of Steam Engineers has been the source of much discord and serious injury to both organizations; decisions have been rendered by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor which have defined, in concise and unmistakable terms, the jurisdiction of each. Notwithstanding this fact, the question of jurisdiction is still the cause of friction and of the further introduction of resolutions relating thereto. It is obvious to your committee, as it must be to the delegates to this convention, that if the greatest measure of progress is to be made by either, it is imperative that these organizations shall co-operate and shall work in harmony for the advancement of their members and the development of the organizations. Your committee has endeavored to impress upon the officers of both organizations the necessity and the advantage of such co-operation, and it is pleased to report that the prospect of harmonious co-operation between the Engineers and the Firemen is brighter now than it has been in the recent past.

"Your committee has been requested by representatives of both organizations to suggest a plan of action whereby harmony may be restored and co-operation secured. Your committee finds that some years ago an agreement did exist between these two organizations which, although since abrogated, might profitably be made the basis of a new understanding. With the hope that your committee may be correct in this opinion, it recommends:

"(1) That each organization shall faithfully and in a spirit of brotherhood observe the jurisdictional rights of the other, as they are laid down by the American Federation of Labor.

"(2) That as soon as possible after the adjournment of this convention the executive boards of these organizations meet in joint conference for the purpose of consummating an agreement along the following lines:

"The International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the direction of their respective international officers, cause to be created, where local unions of both organizations exist, joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's interests and promoting

the creation of joint agreements with their employers.

"It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organizations with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, and to assist in the settlement of any internal or trade dispute that may arise.

"In the event of a disagreement between these conference boards, the international representatives of both organizations shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor properly to adjust it. In the event of failure with regard to the adjustment of any such dispute, the president of the American Federation of Labor should be authorized by this joint agreement to appoint some representative to act as mediator and, if necessary, to decide such internal questions of dispute.

"The agreement should further provide that wherever it is possible to do so contracts between employers and the unions should be made jointly, and should become effective and expire on the same dates.

"It should be further agreed that each organization shall assist the other in organizing all plants within its respective jurisdiction; all engineers, members of the engineers' union, who have authority to hire men whose work comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen should be encouraged and urged by the officers and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers to employ members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"Your committee further recommends, if agreeable to both organizations, a representative of the American Federation of Labor be selected by the Executive Council to assist in formulating an agreement along the lines recommended herein.

"The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote"; and

WHEREAS, Said joint conference was held, as called for by the Seattle convention, John B. Lennon representing the American Federation of Labor, and although the Seattle convention laid down lines for a working agreement, the engineers' representatives refused to enter into any agreement unless it carried with it a plan of amalgamation; therefore, no further agreement was entered into and the matter was again taken up by the Philadelphia (Pa.) convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 9-21, 1914, and the Adjustment Committee made the following report on the case, which was adopted (as taken from page 295 of those proceedings):

"Your committee is informed that a convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen is to be held August, 1915, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. We recommend, therefore, that the president of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor attend the above convention for the purpose of laying before the convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen the purpose and benefits of amalgamation, and the officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen are requested to extend an invitation to the president of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to be in attendance at that convention.

"In the meantime both organizations stand instructed not to trespass on the jurisdiction of each other, the jurisdiction to mean that which is recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"The report of the committee was adopted;" and

WHEREAS, The international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen instructed all their local unions to take up the matter of amalgamation at at least four different meetings of their organizations and discuss it so that every member of their local unions would have a chance to express his own opinion on it as he saw fit, and then for the local unions to instruct their delegates to the Cincinnati Convention on this question so that the entire views of their membership could be expressed at that convention, and in no case did any of the international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, or its organizers, try in any way to influence the membership on this question, but informed them that the opinions of the rank and file, free from any outside influence, was what was wanted; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers, and President Comerford of the Engineers, addressed the Cincinnati Convention, and the convention decided by unanimous vote not to amalgamate with the Engineers, and by the statements and arguments given by the delegates at that convention it was plain to see that amalgamation can never be successfully carried out by these two international unions, as it was clearly shown by the firemen from all parts of the country that in nearly every case an engineer has a right to hire and discharge and is the boss of the fireman, and in many cases the engineer contracts for a certain sum of money the whole job of operating the mechanical department of the plant of which he is engineer and hires his own help such as firemen, oilers and helpers, and no trade unionist wishes to be a member of the same union with his boss or contractor, and no one with the interest of the wage-worker at heart would insist on him doing so; and it was also clearly shown that in thousands of cases the firemen now have shorter hours and better pay than the engineers on other jobs. The firemen's convention then acted upon the suggestion of President Gompers, and elected a committee to meet with a like committee of the engineers for the purpose of establishing an agreement by which better conditions and co-operation of the mutual advan-

tage of the engineers and firemen might be obtained; and

WHEREAS, The above is the action of the firemen's convention and previous conventions of the A. F. of L. on this subject, all of which have been ignored by the International Union of Steam Engineers, who never seemed to pay any attention to the laws of the American Federation of Labor or the guaranteed rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, waiting and expecting, it is supposed, to get some American Federation of Labor Convention which might render a favorable decision to them on this case and then no doubt they would respect it; and

WHEREAS, The engineers in many localities are taking firemen, oilers and helpers into their union on the threat that if the men don't join them they will lose their jobs, for the engineer is boss, and they also organized what they term apprentice engineers, composed of firemen, oilers and helpers, and these same men are working cheaper and longer hours for the purpose of displacing members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; these facts have been clearly shown, especially in Detroit, Mich., where an investigation was made by the Detroit Federation of Labor; and such action on the part of the Engineers' Union not only works a hardship on the members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, but are against the laws and rules of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers to withdraw the apprentice charters they have issued in the city of Detroit, Mich., and elsewhere, and to drop from their membership all persons employed as firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers, and to not use the term "apprentice" to cover such tradesmen, and that they should appoint or elect a committee of three to meet a like committee of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, which is already elected, at the suggestion of President Gompers, to work out a working agreement on the lines laid down by either the St. Louis or the Seattle of this convention, so that the interests of both international unions will be promoted and the jurisdictional rights of each international be protected as defined by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, If the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers refuses to respect the jurisdiction rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, as already defined by the American Federation of Labor, and continues to take into membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers under the guise of apprentices or any other term, as long as they are working at the above class of work, or if it refuses to make a working agreement, as referred to above, that its local unions be deprived of representation in

the different State and city central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor until such times as the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers agrees to respect the laws and carry out decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The stationary firemen employed by the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company of Chicopee Falls, Mass., were locked out by the chief engineer, who is also master mechanic, on account of their membership in the firemen's union; and

WHEREAS, Said company has refused to meet a committee of the fireman or the Holyoke Central Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, The Westinghouse Company has been declared unfair by the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the Holyoke (Mass.) Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company be declared unfair and do all in its power to stop the sale and shipment of the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company until such time as it agrees to stop its discrimination against organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of the eight-hour work day by legislation by the adoption of the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation that we go on record and hold solid for the eight-hour work day by legislation, both industrially and politically, and that every delegate use all of his influence in his local union and boost for the eight-hour law by legislation, that some day we will all be working eight hours per day and thereby keeping in line with the increased productiveness of modern machinery;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the spirit, intent and purpose of the foregoing resolution be adopted by this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates J. E. Giles, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, and Newton A. James, Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, During recent years office workers in Washington, New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco and other cities have organized into local unions; and

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above-named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to make an investigation into existing organizations of

office workers, the need for such organizations, the field for further organization and the whole question of the advisability of organizing a national union, and to make an early report of its findings; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor designate one of its special organizers to work among the office employees of the District of Columbia and of the country as long as practicable during the coming year; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the meantime the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in connection with the central labor bodies, be instructed to begin the organization of office workers wherever possible in any of the cities of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 4:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m. Friday, November 12.



## FOURTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 12, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 12, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Adams, Ainsworth, Anderson, Beasley, Bergstrom, Bonar, Boswell, Brown (F. H.), Carter, Castro, Christman, Coffey, Corbley, Curran, Dean, Ernst, Evans, Feeney, Fletcher, Foley (D. F.), Ford, Gallagher, Galvin, Gavlak, Glass, Green (W.), Gussett, Hamerschlag, Hanley, Hannahan, Harris, Harrison, Hayes (F. J.), Holm, Hylan, Jennings, Keller, Kraft, Lamoreux, Leber, Letrodec, Mahoney, McDonald, McGovern, Miller (E. D.), Miller (O.), Mitchell, Moore, O'Connor, Pettit, Slissman, Spiegel, Spooner, Steidle, Thompson, Triska, Wessel, White.

President Gompers announced that up to expiration of the time provided for the introduction of resolutions, midnight of Thursday, 153 resolutions had been submitted and referred to the proper committees, together with the various subjects dealt with in the report of the Executive Council.

In introducing to the convention Mr. J. H. Patten, fraternal delegate from the Farmers' Union and Farmers' National Congress, President Gompers spoke of the friendly and cordial relations that have been growing in recent years between organizations of labor and organizations of farmers.

Mr. J. H. Patten: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I am very happy to have the honor of being the farmers' delegate to this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I have been identified with the Farmers' Union and the Farmers' National Congress, and consequently in close touch with and representing some of the Granges, particularly at Washington. I bring, not only their fraternal greetings, but their sincere appreciation of the helpful hand this organization, and especially its officers, have extended to us in Washington in our efforts to secure legislation. We appreciate it.

Recently much has been done to remove a wrong impression that was for years cultivated among the farmers with regard to the objects, aims and purposes of organized labor. A great deal of poison was spread by certain selfish interests that tended to arouse the antagonism of the farmers from one end of this country to the other; but the in-

terchange of fraternal delegates from local, state and national bodies, and the great help and assistance which your officers have rendered us in our legislative efforts at Washington, has shown the farmers, and especially the leaders, that the objects and purposes—the struggles and afflictions—of the tillers of the soil, the men in the field, are strictly analogous to the difficulties the working men in the factories, the mills and the mines are meeting with.

Last year I tried to suggest some of the difficulties which the organized farmers had met; I attempted to point out that they were the first people in English history to be imprisoned for restraining trade, simply because a few of them got together and tried to better their conditions. Likewise in this country the first men convicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law were some farmers in Grant County, Kentucky. And so the story goes. We meet with the same effort to speed us up as producers. Even the Federal Government does everything it can to make the farmer produce more; but not a solitary, single effective thing to develop the science of marketing, or to help the farmer secure for his produce a decent and reasonable price.

In our organizations we have started an agitation and we are bringing pressure to bear upon Congress to do as much toward developing the science of marketing, as it is doing to develop the science of production. For instance, it is estimated that the products of the farm last year cost the consumers \$13,000,000,000, of which the farmers received only \$6,000,000,000. One of our legislative demands is that something be done by the Federal Government to see that the farmer gets more for his products and that the consumer pays less for what he buys. There is no reason why the government should not do something, for instance, toward reducing the price which the consumer of potatoes pays for potatoes, and toward seeing that the producer gets more for those potatoes. It is estimated officially that the potato crop sold for about \$60,000,000 last year. That is what it cost the consumers, yet the producers of potatoes received only \$8,000,000 for that crop.

Another matter the organized farmers are interested in is rural credits legislation. The report of your Executive Council deals with that, and shows how obliging they have been in helping us in our efforts. We believe that as much ought to be done toward making the farmer's credit available as has been done toward making the credit of the business man and the banker available.

Another matter we are deeply interested in is proper immigration legislation. The South has had some experience with the influx of cheap pauper labor. The bringing of slaves to the Southland in such large numbers resulted in driving the farmer of average circumstances to the mountains, where he became the "Hillbilly," the "Sand-lapper" and the "Poor White" of the South. Unless he could buy a large amount of land and a large number of slaves he could not compete in the production of cotton. With the abolition of slavery the poor whites came down into the factories and on to the farms.

If the doors of the Pacific Coast had been opened to the Chinese and Japanese coolies it would have resulted in driving the average white farmer of this coast to the hills and the mountains, where he would have eked out a precarious existence by hunting, fishing and the attempt to find gold. The farmers are opposed to the Chinese coolie, they are opposed to the admission of the Japanese coolie; they know that if he is put down beside them—the same as if he were put down beside the workman in the city—they will be driven from the farms. That is what happened in the South as a result of bringing large numbers of slaves to that section. It would have another result; it would enlarge the farm and bring about a capitalistic system of production.

Now we submit that the ideal condition of agriculture in this country is one in which there is the largest number of intelligent, patriotic white farm home owners, and for those reasons we are unalterably opposed to the dumping of large numbers of cheap laborers into this country so as to bring about the conditions I have spoken of. There are many other matters, such as the extension and maintenance of free rural delivery, extension of the parcel post, direct election of officials, that have become a part of the farmers' legislative program.

I come today from the farmers with their hearty fraternal greetings, to assure you that they are coming into a better understanding of your aims and purposes; that they, too, believe in decent wages, reasonable hours and wholesome working conditions, whether in the factory or on the farm. Among some of them the idea is growing that there ought to be closer co-operation between the producers in the country and the consumer in the city. And in closing I want to say that some of them are getting the notion that the other hand grasping the calloused hand of labor is the horny hand of the tiller of the soil. I thank you.

President Gompers stated that the convention appreciated fully the fraternal greetings of the farmers' organizations and their growing willingness to co-op-

erate with the organized labor movement.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Hotel Oakland, Oakland, Cal.,  
November 11, 1915.

Hon. Samuel L. Gompers,  
American Federation of Labor Convention,  
San Francisco, California.

My Dear Sir:

The National Grange in Forty-ninth Annual Session extends its fraternal greetings to the American Federation of Labor now meeting in San Francisco, with our wishes for a successful session.

Very truly yours,  
C. M. FREEMAN,  
Secretary, National Grange.

The Secretary also read a telegram from Arthur C. Culver, Secretary New Mexico State Federation of Labor, inviting President Gompers to visit Albuquerque, N. M., on his return to Washington, as the guest of the State Federation.

A telegram from the Allied Printing Trades Council of San Antonio, Texas, was read, in which an invitation was extended President Gompers and members of the allied printing trades to visit San Antonio upon their return journey.

The Secretary read a telegram from the Allied Printing Trades Council of Baltimore, Md., inviting the convention to select that city for the 1916 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers called for reports of committees. The chairman of the committees announced that no reports were ready to present.

Delegate Smith announced that copies of the Oregon Labor Press, containing a draft of the Oregon land and loan measures, which would come before the convention, had been distributed by the Central Labor Council, and asked that the delegates study the measures carefully.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that the convention take a recess to 9:30 a. m., Saturday, in order to give the committees an opportunity to work. The motion was seconded.

After announcements of committee meetings, the motion was carried, and at 10:30 a. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 13th.

## FIFTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 13, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 13, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Shanessy, Sovey, O'Brien, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Conway, Christman, Boyden, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Mahoney, Mareschl, D'Andrea, Flore, Letrodecq, O'Connell, Call, Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Moore, Miller (O.), Slissman, Clark, Bergstrom, Donlin, Deviny, Kearney, Anderson, Pettit, Gavlak, Hanley, Short, Heberling, Hatch, Spiegl, Ryan (P. J.), James, Coffey, Harris, Ferguson, McGinley, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Woodman, Boswell, O'Dell, Keller, Skemp, Spooner, Kraft, Adams (B. A.), Smith (E. E.), Anderson (E.), Hall, Leber, Gallagher, Batchelor, Castro, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Milton, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Hammerschlag, Corbely, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Lamoreux, Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

San Diego, Cal., Nov. 12, 1915.  
Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

A cordial invitation is extended to you and the delegates attending the American Federation of Labor convention to visit San Diego and her beautiful exposition before you return to your homes.

G. A. DAVIDSON,  
President Panama-California Exposition.

The Secretary read a communication from Secretary H. B. Tritipoe, of the Stenographers, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, Washington, D. C., stating that he had been instructed by his organization to extend greetings to the convention and an invitation to hold the 1916 convention in Washington.

A message of greeting from the United Hebrew Trades, New York City, was read by the Secretary.

The Secretary also read a communication from the Board of Trustees of the town of Sausalito, Cal., inviting the delegates to visit that town during a festival to be held there on November 12-16.

President Gompers: Yesterday after adjournment President W. D. Mahon, of

the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, showed me a telegram he had from the attorney of that association in regard to a case pending before the Federal court in one of the districts of Indiana over which Judge Anderson presided. The Secretary will read the telegram.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 11, 1915.

Wm. D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, care American Federation of Labor Convention, San Francisco, Cal.

Just returned from Indianapolis, where, after an all-day argument before Judge Anderson, our contentions were sustained that the Federal court had no jurisdiction of the Fort Wayne strike case, and upon our motion the case was dismissed.

JACOB C. LEBROSKY.

President Gompers: It may be interesting to state this fact, that perhaps of all the judges on the Federal bench whose point of view and whose conduct have been hostile to the contentions of the working people of our country, Judge Anderson stood out among the most conspicuous. When the Clayton bill was passed by Congress, signed by the President and became law, the first presentation of the claims contained in the Clayton bill were at that time characterized by Judge Anderson as "buncombe." It is interesting to know that time has had its influence even upon Judge Anderson's mind and action.

Vice-President Duncan: It may not be so interesting to the other delegates as it is to our delegation to know that all the Granite Cutters in the State of California have been on strike for a new agreement since June 1st of this year; that since the convention has been in session we have been able to secure a settlement with a substantial increase of wages, and all our men return to work Monday morning under a new agreement.

Vice-President O'Connell: I desire the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. I have been instructed by the Metal Trades Department to introduce it. No objection being offered, Vice-President O'Connell introduced the following resolution:

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate James O'Connell, President Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The York Manufacturing Company of York, Pa., has for years indicated by its action that its policy was one of hostility towards the trades-union movement; and

WHEREAS, The interests of the metal-working trades which have been injured by the attitude of the York Manufacturing Company have been jointly considered by the International unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and at the sessions of this department; and

WHEREAS, After jointly considering the welfare of the metal-working trades unions in 1911, the Presidents of the affiliated organizations decided to put forth an effort to organize this plant; and

WHEREAS, The non-success of the effort is largely due to the fact that several international organizations claim jurisdiction over the installation and setting up of this class of machinery; and

WHEREAS, The membership of the International Association of Machinists decided not to install or set up the product of this company, but members of other international organizations claiming jurisdiction over this work, would take advantage of such opportunities to do this work, and thereby destroyed the possibilities for bringing about organization in this plant; and

WHEREAS, In view of this fact the International Association of Machinists signed an agreement with the management of the York Manufacturing Company, which declares this company fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Said company's attitude towards organized labor has not been such as to warrant the general declaration that they are fair to organized labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED, That the American Feder-**

**ation of Labor, in convention assembled, put itself on record as not recognizing the York Manufacturing Company as being fair to organized labor; and, be it further**

**RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend every assistance to the Metal Trades Department in its endeavor to organize and bring about an agreement with the York Manufacturing Company covering all crafts employed.**

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Vice-President Duncan: Two or three of the committees that have the greatest number of subjects before them have hearings this morning. The committee of which I have the honor to be chairman has more resolutions before it than usual, and I would like to make a suggestion. If any of the committees are ready to report, those who will have to absent themselves because of committee work, either as members of the committees or to attend hearings, will not be able to hear the reports. If the committees can work the balance of to-day and this evening I think they will all be ready to attend the session Monday morning. I, therefore, move that after announcements the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning. (Seconded.)

The chairmen of the various committees announced places of meeting, and the time at which hearings would be had.

Delegate Murphy, of the local Entertainment Committee, announced that a reception and ball would be held at the Civic Auditorium, Grove and Larkin streets, at 8 o'clock this (Saturday) evening. He stated that fifteen thousand trade unionists would be present at the ball, and invited all the delegates and visitors to attend.

The motion to suspend the rules and adjourn was carried, and the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 15.

## SIXTH DAY—Monday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov., 15, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Mullaney, Sovey, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Tracy, Christman, Boyden, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Moser, Letroadec, O'Connor, Kean, Irwin, Call, Moriarty, Green (W.), Walker, Germer, Moore, Valentine, Miller (O.), Kearney, Steldie, Pettit, Hanley, Heberling, Hatch, Spiegl, James, Coffey, Ogletree, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, O'Dell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson, Hall, Leber, Lawson, Sleeman, Castro, Miller, Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Voll, Bomar, Holm, Brown, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Corbey, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

The Hague, Holland, Nov. 13, 1915.

Samuel Gompers,

A. F. of L. Convention,

San Francisco, Cal.

Regretting impossibility of an international conference at San Francisco, I beg your convention to accept my best international wishes.

LEGIEN.

The Secretary read a communication from President William Koerber and Secretary L. O. Dorsey, Local No. 7, International Union of Elevator Constructors, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Baltimore, Md.

The Secretary read a telegram from Clinton S. Hancock, Business Manager District Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Baltimore, Md., extending fraternal greetings to the convention and inviting the American Federation of Labor to meet in Baltimore in 1916.

A communication from Tom Mooney, International Workers' Defense League, was read by the Secretary. The writer asked the privilege of the floor for ten minutes to present the case of Joseph Hillstrom, under sentence of death in Salt Lake City, Utah.

The request was granted by unanimous consent of the convention, and Mr. Mooney made a brief statement of the

charge against Mr. Hillstrom, his trial and the methods used by the prosecution to obtain a conviction.

At the conclusion of the statement the subject matter was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to bring in a report during the sessions to be held on Tuesday.

Delegate Kempton, Utah State Federation of Labor, made a brief statement of the Hillstrom case. He stated that organized labor of Utah believed Mr. Hillstrom had been convicted without any direct evidence of his guilt, and urged that efforts be made to secure a new trial.

Secretary Morrison stated that a resolution forwarded to him by the printers and bookbinders of Washington had arrived too late to be presented before the expiration of the time for introducing resolutions, and unanimous consent was obtained for the introduction of the following resolution:

**Resolution No. 155**—By Delegate Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The Public Printer having recommended to Congress, last year, an increase to certain employees of the Government Printing Office, as follows:

"In view of the technical nature of most of the work handled in this office and the knowledge and skill required on the part of the employees, I recommend that authority be given to me to increase the pay of the printers and bookbinders from 50 cents to 55 cents per hour, and the bookbinders machine operators from 55 cents to 60 cents per hour"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Congress of the United States, is hereby urged to grant at the coming session, the authority requested by the Public Printer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions. Delegate Johnston, Machinists, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

**Resolution No. 156**—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, In May, 1915, the members of Machinists Local No. 354, and the members of Federal Labor Union

No. 6170 (Horseshoe Nail Makers) employed by the Capewell Horseshoe Nail Company of Hartford, Conn., started negotiations for a renewal of agreement, such negotiations including a demand for an increase in wages; said demand being based upon the fact that the cost of living had been materially increased and that this company paid a lower rate of wages than other firms engaged in the manufacture of the same product; and

WHEREAS, Every effort put forth by the officers and members of these organizations resulted in failure to secure the just and equitable increases asked and no other recourse being left open, the men went on strike to enforce their demands in May, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The following firms: The Union Horseshoe Nail Co. of Chicago, Ill., The Fowler Horseshoe Nail Co. of Seymour, Conn., and the Standard Horseshoe Nail Co. of New Brighton, Pa., use the Union Label of the A. F. of L., The Capewell Horseshoe Nail Co. being the only non-union and unfair manufacturer of horseshoe nails in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that we request all affiliated organizations and all friends of labor to use every legitimate means and influence to make the strike effective and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take the necessary steps to place the facts before the labor movement with the view of bringing this strike to an early and successful termination.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Morrison, Laundry Workers, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 157.—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past year many statements have appeared in the newspapers to the effect that aliens residing in the United States have endeavored, either on their own initiative or carrying out the instructions of some foreign government, to obtain information relative to the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to use its utmost endeavors to have a law passed by Congress reserving the privilege to visit the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations to American citizens only.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Adjustment Committee, requested the members of that committee to re-

tire from the convention in order to go on with hearings of several cases. He also named delegates of several organizations he wished to attend the hearings.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the Committee on Resolutions, of which he was chairman, had not disposed of more than half of the resolutions referred to that committee. He stated a partial report could be made, which would deal with many questions of interest to all the delegates, and suggested that no reports be made until all the delegates could be present.

A motion was made and seconded that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 a. m. Tuesday, to allow the committees to complete their reports. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) referred to that part of the minutes of the 1914 convention dealing with the question of State federations of labor and city central bodies, which reads: "That the Executive Council be instructed to secure for the information of the next convention the names of locals in States not in affiliation with their State federations, and from central bodies and building trades councils the names and numbers of unaffiliated locals in their cities. That this information be submitted to the next convention in printed form. The Executive Council is to recommend to the next convention the appointment of a special committee whose duty it shall be (during the convention) to inquire of international officers the reasons for non-affiliation of their locals. The Secretary of this Federation is to supply, if possible, to each international the names of its unaffiliated locals at least sixty days prior to the convention."

Delegate Gallagher asked if the committee had been appointed and if the Secretary had secured the information referred to.

Secretary Morrison: The information was gathered during the year, and during the time we were receiving the information we corresponded with officers of all the internationals urging them to have their locals affiliated.

President Gompers stated that the special committee had not as yet been appointed.

Vice-President Alpine: The matter Delegate Gallagher refers to is in the



hands of Committee on State Organizations. I believe that committee will report in a manner that will cover the subject.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from John J. Whelan, Secretary San Francisco Council No. 615, Knights of Columbus, inviting delegates who are members of that order to attend a special entertainment arranged for them at 150 Golden Gate Avenue Tuesday evening.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from John L. Rugen, Recording Secretary Chauffeurs' Union, Local 265, San Francisco, requesting the delegates when hiring automobiles to insist upon having chauffeurs who are members of Local 265.

After announcements of committee meetings the motion to suspend the rules and adjourn was carried, and at 10:30 a. m. an adjournment was taken to 9:30 a. m. Tuesday, November 16th.

## SEVENTH DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

San Francisco, Nov. 16, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 16th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Christman, Boyden, Feeney, Comerford, D'Alessandro, Mareschl, D'Andrea, Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Letrodec, Kean, Diehl, Hayes (F. J.), Green (W.), Steidle, Hylen, Pettit, Hanley, Coffey, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson, Hall, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Camomile, Gallagher, Castro, Miller, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Kennedy, Spear, Bomar, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Corbly, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.).

Secretary Morrison read communications from Paul Newkirk, Secretary Branch No. 9, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, Baltimore; James H. Preston, Mayor of Baltimore; Otto H. Smith, Brewery Engineers and Firemen, Baltimore, and the Electrical Workers of Baltimore, extending greetings to the convention and inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next session in Baltimore, Maryland.

The secretary also read communications from E. T. Tyra, Mayor of Fort Worth, Texas; C. W. Woodman, State Labor Commissioner, and W. E. Hensell, Chairman Entertaining Committee Brotherhood of Carpenters, Fort Worth, Texas, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

An invitation from the Label Section of the San Francisco Labor Council to the delegates to attend a meeting on November 17th at 8 p. m. in the Labor Temple was read.

A communication from C. L. Myer, Secretary Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Cal., was read, in which the officers and delegates were invited to visit that city after the adjournment of the convention.

Secretary Morrison read an invitation from the Woman's Board, Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, Cal., inviting the officers and delegates to visit that exposition after leaving San Fran-

cisco, and tendering the hospitality of the headquarters of the Board in the California Building to those who visit San Diego.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Colorado Springs, Colo., Oct. 28, 1915.

Mr. Frank Morrison,

Sec'y A. F. of L.,

San Francisco, Cal.

To the Officers and Delegates of the A. F. of L. in convention.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We ask that you endorse our request to organize all paid firemen in this country, as we wish to have a National Association of Firemen.

The Firemen's Association of Colorado Springs wish to send their greetings to the officers and delegates in convention; their feelings of gratitude for what organized labor has done for them cannot be expressed in words.

One of the greatest benefits derived by the organization of firemen is the two-platoon system, which we have the pleasure to report we are now enjoying with our families and know that it was due to the efforts of organized labor in this locality.

We secured a State organization from the Colorado State Federation of Labor convention which met in Denver on September 20th last, and hope that a national organization will meet your earnest approval and merit your support. We beg to remain,

Yours fraternally,

A. N. PALMER, President.

W. H. GRAHAM, Secretary.

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 15, 1915.

Samuel Gompers,

President A. F. of L.,

Convention Hall, San Francisco.

Greetings to the Officers and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention from the multitude of children, women and men who depend upon the action of the convention for their welfare. We sincerely hope the knockers will bury their hammers and put their shoulders to the wheel—the only wheel that can turn conditions for the betterment of all humanity.

BUTCHERS' UNION, Local No. 81.

Department of Labor,

Office of the Secretary,

Washington, November 11, 1915.

Samuel Gompers, President,

American Federation of Labor,

San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of the invitation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to visit and address the

convention any time during its two weeks' session.

It has been a great disappointment to me that the pressure of official business at Washington has prevented me from accepting the invitation. May I not, however, through you, say a few words to the convention on a subject that is very close to my heart?

As a member of the trade-union movement practically all of my lifetime I have, in common with others, participated in the great and ever present struggle for human liberty, human rights, and human uplift generally. As a result of my observations and experience in that movement it has been thoroughly impressed upon my mind that men must first achieve liberty before they attain their other rights. In the struggle of the centuries gone by, step by step, all classes of labor save one, have achieved a measure of freedom until in this country at least workmen are no longer compelled to work against their will or physically forced to fulfill a civil contract to labor. The single exception is the seamen of the world, including those of the United States. After a legislative struggle of more than twenty years, in which the seamen were vigorously supported by the balance of the trade-union movement of our country, the Seamen's bill was enacted into law by the Sixty-third Congress and the last vestige of serfdom by legal requirement was thereby wiped from our statute books. The seamen are freemen now and are able to stand erect before all the world, the owners of themselves and their own labor power.

The struggle has been a bitter one and the end is not yet. The same interests that fought the enactment of the measure are now putting forth every possible effort to secure its repeal, principally upon the plea that it was a hastily enacted, poorly considered measure which will drive the American merchant marine from the seas. What an absurdity! For sixty years prior to the enactment of the Seamen's law we had no merchant marine worthy of the name. It had practically gone out of existence. Surely the Seamen's Law could not be blamed for destroying something that did not exist. It is a matter of record that the American merchant marine has grown more rapidly in the past eight months than it ever did before, although every man who invested in vessels under the American flag knew that the law would go into effect on November 4th. And, in addition to that, American shipyards have more vessels under way for American shipowners than has ever been the case since steel superseded wood in the manufacture of ships. There could, however, be no permanent privately owned American merchant marine until the two great obstacles to its maintenance had been swept out of its way. You can have no permanent privately owned American merchant marine without an American personnel in its crews until it is just as profitable for American capital to be invested in American vessels as it is to be invested on land, and just

as profitable and free and safe for American men to go down to the sea in ships as it is to labor on land. The Seamen's act plus the Panama Canal act has made possible the achievement of this much to be desired end.

There were two very important reasons why the American merchant marine had dwindled. The first of those reasons was that it cost the American shipowner more for his vessel, for the same carrying capacity, than it cost his foreign competitor. That meant a greater investment upon which dividends were to be earned than his foreign competitor had to invest for the same carrying power. That has been partly modified, as a result of the Panama Canal act, which gives him the right to register foreign-built vessels for over-sea trade. The American shipowner will not, however, be entirely upon an equal basis with his foreign competitor until he is permitted to use the vessels which he owns, no matter where he purchases them, in exactly the same kind of trade that his competitor can use them in. In other words, he must have the opportunity of using them in the coastwise trade as well as in the over-sea trade in order to be upon an equality with his competitor. But the disadvantage has been greatly modified and it is not costing the American shipowner now much more, let any more, for his vessel, at the same carrying capacity than it is costing his foreign competitor.

The other great cause for the dwindling of the American merchant marine was that it cost the American shipowner more for his operating expenses than it cost his foreign competitor; and that increased cost in operating expenses was not due to the fuel or other supplies used on board the vessel, for those things could be purchased in exactly the same markets that the foreign shipowner purchased them in and at exactly the same cost. The difference was due to the greater cost of labor for the American shipowner than for his foreign competitor. The labor itself represents about from ten to eighteen per cent. of the cost of transportation and the difference in wages ranged from twenty to two hundred per cent. Now the question naturally arises, Why was it that the foreign shipowner was able to secure his labor so much cheaper than he had a big advantage over the American shipowner in operating expenses? And the answer lies in the fact that while all other men in the civilized world had been given their freedom, that while slavery and serfdom had been abolished on land, the seamen of all the world, including the United States, still remained bondsmen to the vessels upon which they signed the ship's articles. The economic effect was direct: A shipowner under a flag of some foreign country, signed his seamen in that foreign country. If he was flying the flag of England, he signed his seamen in the British Isles or in the Colonies from which the vessel sailed. And then when those seamen came to the United States, instead of having an opportunity of ending a

civil contract to labor, as any other workingman had the right to do, that right was denied him, and if he left the vessel upon which he had signed he was looked upon as a deserter, and we who had so unanimously adopted the Thirteenth Amendment to our Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States, set the machinery of our police power in motion and hounded down the seaman, as we hounded down the slaves years ago, and carried him back to the vessel from which he had deserted and compelled him to fulfill his civil contract to labor against his will. And by utilizing that police power and running down the seaman, carrying him back to the vessel upon which he came, we maintained for the foreign shipowner the advantage he had in being able to sign his seamen in a port where the wages are lower than they are in the United States.

The Seamen's act changes that condition of affairs. It not only says to the American shipowner that American seamen shall be free to leave their vessel when the vessel is in a safe port in this or any other country, but it says to the foreign shipowner, "When your seamen come into American ports, the very fact that they are in our waters, and under our jurisdiction makes them free men."

The result must be inevitable. You have two vessels lying at your dock: One of them is manned by American seamen securing the wages paid out of an American port; the other is manned, if you will, with Lascars, signed by an English vessel out of some of the ports of India, and those Lascars will, by the underground method if no other presents itself, learn of the wages that are paid to American seamen out of American ports and that they have the right to insist upon similar wages. Ultimately—it may take time to work out—ultimately they will insist upon having just as much wages for their work as the American seaman receives for his.

That will mean that the American shipowner will be placed on the same level from a competitive standpoint as his foreign competitor is placed. And if under those circumstances, with but the same initial cost of his plant, with the same operating expenses as others have, the American shipmaster is unable to compete with the rest of the world, then I have missed my guess of the shrewdness of a Yankee skipper.

But that is not all. That deals solely with the question of human liberty. Human liberty is the basis of all, but there are other phases. One of the other phases of this very important subject is the question of safety at sea; and in dealing with the question of safety at sea, it has been too often dealt with exclusively from the standpoint of the passenger, and the thousands upon thousands of seamen in our freighters, vessels carrying no passengers, are apt to receive scant consideration except that which grows out of the fact that certain conditions are dangerous to passenger vessels. But because we have an interest in maintaining the safety of those

who travel by sea as passengers, we are led to include the same provisions for the welfare of the seamen who operate the freighters.

Among the other things the Seamen's bill insists upon is that seventy-five per cent. of the crew, who sign the ship's articles, no matter what department they may be in, shall understand the language of the officers of the vessel. Now that does not mean that they must understand English; nor does it mean that they must understand German in a German vessel, English in an English vessel, French in a French vessel; but it means that there must be no interpreter standing between the master of the ship and the crew when an emergency arises when a second's time may mean the saving or the losing of a thousand lives.

It is not only essential that there should be a sufficient number of qualified men to man the vessel under normal conditions, but it is also essential that there should be a sufficient number of men qualified to man it under abnormal conditions. And why? Because your wrecks, your loss of life, do not take place under normal conditions. You have no need under normal conditions for any great number of men or any particular skill. But it is in the abnormal conditions, where wreckage from various causes confronts you, that you need the man there who not only has the skill to perform the labor, but who has exercised that skill with a sufficient frequency to be able to do it with a cool head and a clear judgment. And so the Seamen's bill, in addition to the language test, provides for a standard of skill, not only with regard to sailors, but with a new class that has been created, called lifeboat men.

Nearly every condition of employment relating to seamen is determined by law or regulation. Seamen are not like other men in that respect. A man on land may make his contract with his employer in a way that would be mutually satisfactory and agreeable. Not so with the seamen. Why? Because after the vessel leaves the dock and puts out to sea there is a community of risk, and because of the community of risk there must be some central head whose orders must be obeyed. And wherever you place power in the hands of any individual there is a tendency to gather more power towards himself.

And because of that tendency in human nature to use the power it has to gather more power, when you place the absolute power in the hands of one man over the lives and property of others at sea, where for the time being he is beyond the reach of governmental control, then you must by law regulate and limit those powers.

The provisions of the Seamen's act are not imposed solely upon American vessels. That must be clearly understood. They are imposed upon American vessels now. It will be June next before it goes into effect with other vessels. And that is due to the fact that we have not only passed laws regulating the life

of the seamen but we have entered into treaty arrangements with other countries by which they regulated the activities of our seamen in those countries, and we regulated the activities of their seamen in our country. Those treaties required a certain notification before they could be ended. Usually one year's time. Three months' time was given to the President of the United States in which to prepare for the renunciation of the treaties, and so, in the early part of June of this year, the treaties were renounced and beginning with the early part of June of next year, not only the seamen of the United States will be free but the seamen of every country in the world whose vessels trade in American ports.

So the Seamen's bill stands out as one of the great landmarks in history. The Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Clayton act and the Seamen's law, giving freedom to all seamen in the waters of the United States, stand out prominently in the struggle for human liberty.

As to the claim put forward for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, that it was forced out of business because of the enactment of the Seamen's law, the records of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington prove that the statement is without foundation. In February, 1915, the general manager of the company appeared before the committee and during his testimony stated in substance that the Pacific Mail Company was going out of business because they were unable to operate profitably in the Oriental trade under the laws then in existence and the hope that they might be able to operate in the coastwise trade through the Panama Canal was made impossible of realization by the passage of the Panama Canal act prohibiting railroad-owned vessels from using the Panama Canal. And as the Pacific Mail Company was owned principally by the Southern Pacific Railway Company it was shut out from that trade and consequently they were going out of business whether the Seamen's bill passed or not.

It should be observed that the vessels sold by this company are still carrying commerce under the American flag. It is also worthy of note that the vessels were sold at a time when more trade was being offered from the Orient to the United States than all vessels in the trade, including the ships of the Pacific Mail, were able to properly carry.

But, aside from that, the freedom and safety of our people should take precedence at all times over private profits. We need a merchant marine that will take care of our commerce in times of peace and whose vessels and crews can be our reliance in times of war. If private capital cannot operate vessels successfully under these conditions, and they certainly have not been successfully operated during the past sixty years under the old laws which these people

desire to return to, then the welfare of our people would seem to require our Government to step into the breach to own and operate such vessels as may be necessary for the extension and maintenance of our commerce, and operate them in a manner that will maintain the rights and liberties of the workmen employed and the safety of all.

May I not, therefore, express the hope that the present convention of the American Federation of Labor may go on record opposing any effort to repeal the Seamen's law or to again rivet the shackles upon sea-faring men that have been so recently broken asunder, and that the criticism of those who assert their inability to operate vessels at a profit unless they have serfs for their workmen should be met by a declaration in favor of the acquisition and operation of vessels by the United States Government on a basis of liberty, justice and safety.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. WILSON,  
Secretary of Labor.

Treasurer Lennon: I move that the secretary be instructed to make a minute in the proceedings expressing the regret of this convention at hearing of the death of Mr. Booker T. Washington.

The suggestion was made that a minute also be added expressing the regret of the convention at the death of Secretary Wm. Laumer, of the Glass Bottle Blowers.

Both suggestions were adopted unanimously.

#### Report of Committee on Ways and Means.

Delegate White (J. P.), Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

#### RESOLUTIONS IN THE MATTER OF JOSEPH HILLSTROM.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 16, 1915.  
To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the appeal affecting Joseph Hillstrom, report as follows:

That we have examined this case as thoroughly as time would permit, and have listened to lengthy statements from persons who claim to be conversant with the facts, and we beg leave to offer the following resolution for immediate consideration and action:

WHEREAS, Joseph Hillstrom, a workman of the State of Utah and active in the cause of labor, has been sentenced to death by shooting, by a Utah court, and the date of his execution has been fixed for the 19th day of November, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The circumstances surrounding the said conviction and sentence are such as to make the grounds for this conviction and sentence appear to be utterly inadequate and matters of the gravest doubt, in that the evidence was of a purely circumstantial nature and highly improbable, and the rights of the said Joseph Hillstrom do not appear to have been sufficiently, or at all, safeguarded, but on the contrary seem to have been violated to such an extent that the said Joseph Hillstrom did not have a fair and impartial trial; and

WHEREAS, The feeling against the said Joseph Hillstrom as a labor agitator was such as to have militated against him with the jury, greatly to his detriment; and

WHEREAS, We are of the opinion that the said Joseph Hillstrom did not have a fair and impartial trial; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we urge the Governor of the State of Utah to exercise his prerogative of clemency in this case, and to stop the execution of the said Joseph Hillstrom, and that he be given a new and fair trial; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to forward at once copies of these resolutions to the Governor of Utah, to the Board of Pardons of the State of Utah, to the Swedish Ambassador, and to the President of the United States, and that they be published in the American Federationist and in the official publications of the affiliated unions.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,  
JOHN P. WHITE, Chairman.  
J. C. SKEMP, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee on Ways and Means. The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Chairman White suggested that an open letter to the Board of Pardons of the State of Utah by Mr. Hillstrom's attorney, and a statement prepared by Mr. Hillstrom on the eve of the date first set for his execution be printed. The suggestion was approved by the convention.

The open letter and statement follow:

# OPEN LETTER TO THE BOARD OF PARDONS OF THE STATE OF UTAH.

To the Board of Pardons of the State of Utah,  
Salt Lake City, Utah.

Gentlemen: Assuming that your reasons for denying clemency to Joseph Hillstrom are correctly set forth in the public press this morning, and for the purpose of showing that they are not founded on

either the law or facts in the case, but are intended to and do delude and deceive the public, I respectfully make the offer to publicly discuss the facts at any time in any city in the United States with any member of your board, or all of them; such discussion to be before the date assigned for his execution.

I make this request to afford an opportunity to refute, as I feel I can, among other things, the false, wicked and cowardly aspersion on his character—that Hillstrom has heretofore committed any crime or that he has now, or ever has had, any criminal record—now for the first time so bravely urged as a sufficient justification for taking his life.

This matter, as you all must realize, is one now of national, if not international importance, and has excited intense interest from New York to San Francisco; and I would be, as the attorney for this condemned man, of "meaner stuff than men are made of" if I did not, in the brief time of life now allotted him, challenge you and each of you to the proofs!

I am only anxious and determined that if Hillstrom is judicially murdered, the people of this country—the great jury to whom we must all go at last—shall fully understand just where rests the full measure of responsibility for "the deep damnation of his taking off."

Any communication will reach me addressed to this city.

Very respectfully, O. N. HILTON.  
Denver, Colorado, October 17th, 1915.

## MR. HILLSTROM'S STATEMENT.

When I was up before the highest authorities of the State of Utah I stated that I wanted a new trial and nothing but a new trial, and I will now try to state some reasons, why I am entitled to that privilege. Being aware of the fact that my past record has nothing to do with the facts of this case, I will not dwell upon that subject beyond saying that I have worked all my life as a mechanic and at times as a musician. The mere fact that the prosecution never attempted to assail my reputation proves that it is clean. I will therefore commence at the time of my arrest.

On the night of Jan. 14th, 1914, I was lying in a bed at the Eselius house in Murray, a town located seven miles from Salt Lake City, suffering from a bullet wound in my chest. Where or why I got that wound is nobody's business but my own. I know that I was not shot in the Morrison store and all the so-called evidence that is supposed to show that I was is fabrications pure and simple. As I was lying there half asleep, when I was aroused by a knock on the door, somebody opened the door and in came four men with revolvers in their hands. A shot rang out and a bullet passed right over my chest, grazing my shoulder and penetrating my right hand through the knuckles, crippling me up for life. There was absolutely no need of shooting me at that time because I was helpless as a baby and had no weapons of any kind. The only



thing that saved my life at that time was the officer's inefficiency with firearms.

I was then brought up to the county jail where I was given a bunk and went to sleep immediately. The next morning I was pretty sore on account of being shot in three places. I asked to be taken to a hospital but was instead taken upstairs to a solitary cell, and told that I was charged with murder and had better confess right away. I did not know anything about any murder and told them so. They still insisted on that I confess and told me that they would take me to a hospital and "treat me white" if I did. I told them I knew nothing of any murder. They called me a "liar" and after that I refused to answer all questions. I grew weaker and weaker and for three or four days I was hovering between life and death, and I remember an officer coming up and telling me that according to the doctor's statement I only had one more hour to live. I could, of course, name all these officers if I wanted to, but I want it distinctly understood that I am not trying to knock any officers because I realize that they were only doing their duty, and in my opinion the officers who were in charge of the county jail then were as good officers as can be found anywhere. Well, I finally "pulled through" because I made up my mind not to die.

When the time came for my preliminary hearing, I decided to be my own attorney, knowing that it could be nothing against me. I thought I'd let them have it all their own way and did not ask any questions. When the court went into session I was asked if I objected to having the witnesses remain in the courtroom during the trial, and I replied that it was immaterial to me who remained in the courtroom. All the witnesses then remained inside, and I noted that there was a steady stream of "messengers" going back and forth between the witnesses and the county attorney during the whole trial, delivering their messages in a whisper. When the trial commenced there were at first some witnesses of little importance, but then a man came up that made me sit up and take notice; he put up his hand and swore that he positively recognized me and that he had seen me in the Morrison store in the afternoon of the same day that Morrison was shot. I did not say anything but I thought something. This man was a tall, lean man with a thin pale face, black hair and eyes and a very conspicuous black shiny mustache. I don't know his name and have never been able to find it out. (Keep this man in mind, please.)

The little boy, Merlin Morrison, was the next witness that attracted my attention; he was the first one to come up and look at me in the morning on the day after my arrest. Being only a boy, he spoke his mind right out in my presence, and this is what he said: "No, that is not the man at all; the ones I saw were shorter and heavier set."

When he testified at the preliminary

hearing I asked him if he did not make that statement, but he then denied it.

I accidentally found a description of the bandit in a newspaper, however, and the description says that the bandit was 5 feet 9 inches tall and weighed 155 pounds. That description seems to tally pretty well with Merlin Morrison's statement: "The ones I saw were shorter and heavier set." My own height is six feet and I am of a slender build.

The next witness of importance was Mrs. Phoebe Seely. She said she was coming home from the Empress Theater with her husband and she met two men in a back street in the vicinity of Morrison's store. One of them had "small features and light bushy hair." This description did not suit the county attorney, so he helped her along a little by saying, "You mean medium colored hair like Mr. Hillstrom's don't you?" After leading her along this question: "Is the general appearance of Mr. Hillstrom anything like the man you saw?" She answered: "No, I won't—no, I can't say that."

This is the very same woman who at the district court proved to be the star witness for the prosecution; she did not only describe me into the smallest details, but she also told the jury that the man she saw has scars on both sides of his face, on his nose, and on his neck. I have such scars on my face, and that was practically the testimony that convicted me. Just think of it, a woman not knowing a thing about the murder, passing a man in a back street in the dead of a winter night, and six months later she described the man into the smallest details, hat and cut and color of clothes, height and build, color of eyes and hair, and a number of scars, and when asked, "Is the appearance of Mr. Hillstrom anything like the man you saw?" she answered, "No, I won't—I can't say that." Her husband who was with her was not even there to testify. It is true that the prosecuting attorney put his questions in such a way that all she had to say was, "Yes, sir," and "All the same, sir"; but she said that just the same, with a hostile judge, and attorneys, who merely acted as assistant prosecuting attorney, the prosecuting attorney had what in the parlance of the street would be called "easy sailing."

The next witness was Mr. Zeese, detective. When I was sick in bed at the Eschus house in Murray, the lady of the house gave me a red bandana handkerchief to blow my nose on, and at the trial she told that she had several dozen bandana handkerchiefs that were used by her boys and brothers when they worked in the smelter. After my arrest, Mr. Zeese went to the Eschus house looking for clues. He found this handkerchief, and with his keen, eagle eye he soon discovered some "creases at the corners." With the intelligence of a super-man, he then easily drew the conclusion that this handkerchief had been used for a mask by some "bandit," then he capped the climax by going on the stand and telling about his marvelous

discovery to the judge. Mr. Zeese is well known in Salt Lake City, and comments are unnecessary.

The next witness at the preliminary hearing, Mrs. Vera Hanson. She saw two or three men outside of the Morrison store shortly after the shooting, she heard one of the men exclaim, "Bob," or "Oh, Bob," and she thought that my voice sounded the same as the voice she had heard on the street. I then asked Mrs. Hanson this question, "Do you mean to tell me that you thought that the single word Bob, were able to recognize my voice," now I am coming to the point.

After the preliminary hearing I got a record of the hearings and took it to my cell in the county jail. I immediately discovered that they had been tampered with, that everything I had said had been misconstrued in a malicious way. It was a little hard to prove it at first but on page 47, I found the questions that I had put to Mrs. Vera Hanson, and there the tampering was so clumsy that a little child could see it. In the records the question reads like this, "Do you mean to tell me that you through the single word, mark, 'single word,' 'Oh, Bob, I'm shot' could be able to recognize my voice. 'O, Bob, I'm shot,' four or five words, here anyone can see that the official court records were altered for the express purpose of 'proving' that somebody was shot in the Morrison store. I then started to look for testimony of a man with black shiny mustache but to my great surprise I could not find it anywhere in the records in spite of the fact that this man had positively recognized me at the preliminary hearing. No wonder that this very dignified stenographer, Mr. Rollo, who is also stenographer for the United States Supreme Court, was shaking like a leaf when he put up his hand and swore that the records were 'correct' in every detail. The strange part of it was the State Supreme Court in a statement prepared by them for the press are, so my attorney told me (I am not allowed to see any papers), making the very same mistake, they say that Mrs. Vera Hanson said in her testimony, 'O, Bob, I'm shot,' which is not correct.

At the time when I was shot I was unarmed. I threw my hands up in the air just before the bullet struck me. That accounts for the fact that the bullet hole in my coat is four inches and a half below the bullet hole in my body. The prosecuting attorney endeavors to explain that fact by saying "that the bandit would throw one hand up in surprise when Arlin Morrison got a hold of his father's pistol." He also states that the bandit might have been leaning over the counter when he was shot. Very well. If the bandit "threw up his hands in surprise," as he said, that would of course, raise the coat some, but it would not raise it four inches and one-half; "leaning over the counter" would not raise the coat at all. Justice McCarty agrees with the prosecuting attorney and says that throwing his hand up would be just the very thing that the

bandit would do if the boy Arlin made an attempt to shoot him. Let me ask Mr. McCarty a question, suppose that you would some night discover that there was a burglar crawling around in your home, then suppose that you would get your gun and surprise the burglar right in the act, if the burglar should then reach for his gun, would you then throw up your hands and let the burglar take a shot at you and then shoot the burglar afterward? Or would you shoot the burglar before he had a chance to reach for his gun? Think it over, it is not a question of law but one of human nature. I also wish Mr. McCarty would try to find out if it is possible to raise a coat on a person four and one-half inches in the manner described by the prosecuting attorney. We will now go back to the bullet, after the bullet had penetrated the bandit, the prosecuting attorney says that "it dropped to the floor" and then disappeared, it left no mark anywhere that an ordinary bullet would, it just disappeared, that's all. Now, gentlemen, I don't know a thing about this bullet but I will say this, that if I should sit down and write a novel, I certainly would have to think out something more realistic than that, otherwise I never would be able to sell it. The story of a bullet that first makes an upshoot of four inches and a half at an angle of 90 degrees, then cuts around another corner and penetrates a bandit and finally make a drop like a spit ball and disappears forever, would not be very well received in the twentieth century. And just to think of it that the greatest brains in Utah can sit and listen to such rot as that and then say that "Hillstrom" got a fair and impartial trial.

I have heard this case reshaped many times and I wish to state that I have formed my own opinion about this shooting. My opinion is this: Two or three bandits entered the Morrison store for the express purpose of killing Mr. Morrison. As they entered, both of them shouted: "We've got you now," and started to blaze away with automatic colts, pistols caliber "38," and having the advantage of a surprise it does not seem reasonable that they would allow a boy to shoot them. The story about that remarkable disappearing bullet; the fact that the official record were changed for the purpose of proving that somebody was shot in that store; all that goes to show that there is a decided lack of evidence that anybody was shot in that store outside of the two victims. Nobody saw the Morrison gun fired. Merlyn Morrison ran in deadly fright into some backroom and hid himself. In spite of the fact that he was almost scared to death he "counted seven shots" and that is supposed to be some more proof that the Morrison gun was discharged. Six shots were fired by the bandits and all the bullets found. But there had to be seven shots fired, otherwise there would be no case against me. The boy "counted seven shots" and that "evidence" is introduced by the State as proofs that the Morrison gun

was discharged. Any sensible person can readily see what chance a frightened boy or anybody else for that matter, would have to "count the shots" when two bandits are blazing away with automatic pistols. There were some officers there who claimed that they smelled the end of the gun and that thereby they could tell that the gun had been recently discharged, but the gun expert from the Western Arm Co. exploded that argument. He stated that it was a physical impossibility to determine with any degree of certainty, at what time a gun has been discharged, in a case where smokeless powder is used, on account of the fact that the odor of powder is always there. Then there was that empty chamber in the Morrison gun. An officer testified that it was customary among police officers to keep an empty chamber under the hammer of their guns. Morrison used to be a sergeant of police I was told. Then there was "a pool of blood" found two or three blocks away from the Morrison store and the prosecution made a whole ocean out of it in spite of the fact that the Utah State chemist would not say that it was human blood. He said that the blood was of "Mammalian origin."

Then there is Miss Mahan, who is supposed to have heard somebody say: "I'm shot." At the preliminary hearing she was very uncertain about it. She said she thought she heard somebody say those words but was not by any means sure about it. Now, that's all there is, to my knowledge, and I am positively sure that all this so-called evidence which is supposed to prove that the Morrison gun was discharged on the night of Jan. 10, 1914, would not stand the acid test of a capable attorney, such as I am now in a position to get. At the time of my arrest I did not have money enough to employ an attorney. Thinking that there was nothing to my case, and always being willing to try anything once, I decided to "go it" alone and be my own attorney, which I did at the preliminary hearing.

A few days after that hearing an attorney by the name of McDougall came to see me at the county jail. He said he was a stranger in town and had heard about my case and would be willing to take my case for nothing. Seeing that that proposition was in perfect harmony with my bankroll, I accepted his offer. I will say for McDougall, though, that he was honest and sincere about it and would no doubt have carried the case to a successful finish if he had not got mixed up with that miserable shyster, Mr. Scott. Before my trial, I pointed out the fact that the preliminary hearing records had been altered, but they said that the said record did not amount to anything anyway, and that it would do no good to make a holler about it.

Then the trial commenced. The first day went by with the usual questioning of jurors. The second day, however, something happened that did not look right to me. There was a jury of eight men entered the courtroom. They had

been serving on some other case and came in to deliver their verdict, which was one of "Guilty." Then the court discharged all the jurors and they all started to go home, but then for some reason Judge Ritchie changed his mind and told three of them to come back and go up in the jury box to be examined for my case. I noted that these men were very surprised and that they did not expect to be retained for jury service. I have, therefore, good reasons to believe that they were never subpoenaed for the case, but just simply appointed by the court. One of these men, a very old man by the name of Kimball was later on made "foreman" of the jury. During the course of the trial I was surprised to see that some of the witnesses were telling entirely different stories to the ones told by them at the preliminary hearing and I then asked my attorney why they did not use the preliminary hearing records, and pin the witnesses down to their former statements. They then told me that the preliminary hearing had nothing to do with the District Court hearing and that they did not amount to anything. They did, however, use said records a little but only for a bluff. After I had watched this ridiculous grandstand play for awhile I came to the conclusion that I had to get rid of these attorneys and either conduct the case myself or else get some other attorney. I therefore stood up the first thing in the morning one day and showed them the door. Being the defendant in the case, I naturally thought I should have the right to say what I wanted to represent me, but to my surprise I discovered that the presiding judge had the power to compel me to have these attorneys in spite of all my protests. He ruled that they remain as "friends of the court" and that settled it. Mr. Scott went after one of the State witnesses in a way that convinced me that he really could do good work when he wanted to. After he got through with this witness (Mrs. Seely) he came up to me and said: "Now then how did you like that?" I said: "That's good, but why didn't you do some of that before?" "Well—er—" he hesitated, "this was the first witness we had marked for cross-examination." If that is not a "dead give-away" then I don't know anything. It will be noted that Mrs. Seely is one of the last witnesses for the State.

I will now say something about the pistol which I had in my possession when I called at Dr. McHugh's office to have my wound dressed. That pistol was a "Luger" caliber 30, a pistol of German make. I laid my pistol on the table while the doctor dressed my wound and I thought that he would be able to tell it apart from other pistols on account of its peculiar construction. He said he did not know, however, what kind of pistol mine was. That was an even break, and whenever I get an even break I am not complaining. He did not, like most of the State witnesses, commit perjury, and is therefore, in my opinion, a gentleman. There was an-

other doctor, however, by the name of Bink, who dropped in while Dr. McHugh was dressing my wound. He only saw the pistol as I put it in my pocket; he so said at the preliminary hearing, but at the district court hearing he came up and deliberately swore that my pistol was exactly the same kind of pistol as the one that Morrison and his son were killed with.

As I said before, my pistol was a "Luger" 30. It was bought less than a month before my arrest in a second-hand store on west South Temple street, near the depot. I was brought down there in an automobile by three officers, and the record of the sale was found on the books; price, date of sale and everything as I had stated. The books did not show what kind of a gun it was, however; and as the clerk who sold it was in Chicago at the time, a telegram was sent to him to which he sent this answer: "Remember selling Luger gun at that time. What's the trouble?" I bought the pistol on Dec. 15, 1913, for \$16.50. Anybody may go to the store and see the books.

Now, anyone can readily understand that I am not in a position where I could afford to make any false statements. I have stated the facts as I know them, in my own simple way. I think I shall be able to convince every fair-minded man and woman who reads these lines that I did not have a fair and impartial trial, in spite of what the learned jurist may have said to the contrary. Now if you don't like to see perjurers and dignified crooks go unpunished; if you don't like to see human life being sold like a commodity on the market, then give me a hand. I am going to stick to my principle no matter what may come. I am going to have a new trial or die trying.

Yours for Fair Play,

JOSEPH HILLSTROM.

The report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report was made a special order of business for 11 o'clock Wednesday morning, with the understanding that if another committee should be reporting at that time it would not be interrupted.

The report of the Committee on Adjustment was made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Thursday morning, with the understanding that if the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report was not completed it would not be interrupted.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows upon the subjects in the report of the Executive Council referred to that committee:

#### Protection of American Citizens' Rights.

Upon that portion of the report of

the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommended concurrence and approval by the convention of the subjects dealt with.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Pan-American Labor Relations.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this convention endorse the action taken by the Executive Council in connection with the subject referred to in this portion of the report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Labor Day.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the sentiments expressed in this portion of the Executive Council's Report be endorsed and that the Executive Council's recommendations be concurred in.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### New Legal Opinion on Eight-Hour Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to express its gratification over the decision relating to the application of the Federal Eight-Hour law which has been made by Attorney General Gregory, and which sustains the position relative to the application of the law which has been maintained by organized labor since the law was enacted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Report on Legislative Progress.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to call particular attention to the magnificent record of accomplishment contained in this portion of the Executive Council's report. Never before in the history of the American labor movement or in that of the American Federation of Labor have so many measures of vital importance to

labor's welfare, its protection and its rights, secured the approval of Congress.

These measures enacted by the Sixty-third Congress have given legal sanction and approval to conditions and rights which labor had vainly endeavored to have established since the beginning of modern industry.

Labor has been freed from the authority which had been usurped by Federal courts when issuing injunctions in connection with industrial disputes. Labor has been delivered from the decision of the United States Supreme Court which had placed trade-union activities under the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and it has now been emphatically declared by Congress that labor can no longer be considered as an article of commerce or subject to the laws relating to property rights.

This remarkable and unparalleled record of achievements is most important evidence of the soundness and practical value of the policies adopted by the American Federation of Labor to secure legislation required for labor's welfare.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### **Public Versus Private Construction of Naval and Other Vessels.**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Bureau of Labor Safety.**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommended concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Employers' Liability—Workmen's Compensation for Injuries.**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that full endorsement be given to this portion of the report, and that approval be given to the additional provision which

has been prepared by the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan: The additional provision is that compensation be paid for death or illness from occupational diseases. This is a very important subject and it is a very valuable addition. The committee may have something of a general nature to recommend to the convention upon the subject of workmen's compensation and employers' liability after it has been further discussed by the committee.

I may state in connection with this addition to the list that recently a decision was given in the State of Massachusetts which is very far-reaching and affects a great many trades where they have consumption that is attributed to occupational diseases. Some of the compensation laws will not permit of the decision that was rendered in Massachusetts, and I mention it so that it will be in the minds of the delegates for what it may be worth. A member of my own trade in Milford, Massachusetts, died from consumption. The consumption was traced to what is known as stone-cutters' consumption, an affection of the bronchial tubes because of the dust the men breathe which irritates their throats. This man died from consumption traceable to the breathing of dust in the granite industry, and about ten months after he died, the fight having been made in the courts, consumption was decided to be an occupational disease and the amount of money warranted by the law in the State of Massachusetts was paid to the man's family.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Political Liberty of Civil Service Employees.**

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of all that is contained in this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Eight-Hour Law.**

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs with the recommendation contained in that portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Piecework—Taylor System—In Government Service.**

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends concurrence with this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Amendment to the Hours of Service Law.**

The committee recommended the adoption of the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Government Ownership of Mount Vernon and Monticello.**

The committee recommended approval of the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Old Age Pensions for Government Employees.**

The committee recommended approval of the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Popular Government.**

The committee recommended approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Amendment to Postal Savings Bank Law.**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommended as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the proposed amendment to the Postal Savings Bank Law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Denatured Alcohol.**

The committee recommended approval of the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Manufacture of Stamped Envelopes.**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the legislation desired.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Bureau of Mines.**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with satisfaction the passage of this act.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Safety Appliances and Regulations.**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to have the measure enacted into law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Postoffice Clerks—Night Work—Salaries, Etc.**

The committee recommended concurrence in the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Secretary Frey:** The committee refers Resolution No. 23 to the Committee on Report of Executive Council, as that committee is dealing with the subject-matter contained in the resolution.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 1 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey



of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, The then Attorney General, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy; and

WHEREAS, Since this decision the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., the best-paid and provided-for enlisted band in the world, has continued to practically monopolize the music business of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the District of Columbia, to the detriment of the musicians of the whole country, by offering its services for expositions, state fairs, and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various states from such employment; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band, or sections thereof, is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties as every other enlisted band is; and

WHEREAS, It is within the prerogatives of the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, respectfully requests His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue the necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians, either in or out of the District of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a decision of the then Attorney General of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with an official of the American Federation of Musicians, endeavor to secure a personal interview with the President to lay this matter before him.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The civilian musicians of the United States of America have for the past 25 years made every possible effort to secure legislation which would absolutely prohibit the enlisted musicians of the army and navy of the United States from entering into the competitive field, and more particularly the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, In this effort the civilians were supported by the National League of Musicians, which has since developed into the American Federation of Musicians, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and after 25 years of agitation a bill, approved May 11, 1908, was passed by Congress prohibiting enlisted musicians in either the Army or Navy from competing with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, When this bill was approved and about to be enforced the commander of the Marine Corps did not apply it to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, This being a question of law, was referred to the then Attorney-General of the United States, Charles Bonaparte, who in June, 1908, took the matter under advisement and did not come to a decision until the day after the general election, November of that year, and then he made the astounding decision that the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., was not a part of the Naval Service of the United States, which decision resulted in this band, which was really the objective point to be reached by the law, being allowed to continue in the competition with the civilian musicians of the country; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the absurdity of such a decision, the American Federation of Musicians, through its proper officers, made an appeal to the President of the United States to have the matter again referred to the Law Department of the United States, with a view of exactly defining the relationship of the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., to the United States Government, which decision was by the President referred to the Attorney-General, and to which no answer has to this day been received; and

WHEREAS, To forever settle this question, a joint bill was introduced in the House and Senate, which, if passed, will forever end the competition of enlisted musicians in the United States service in any capacity with civilians, to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment of local civilians in their respective arts, trades or professions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Fed-

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eration of Labor, hereby records and declares itself in favor of the said bill, as appended to this resolution, prohibiting the said enlisted musicians from competing with civilians for civil employment and instructs its Legislative Committee to do everything in its legitimate power to have the said proposed legislation enacted.

## JOINT RESOLUTION.

In Reference to the Employment of Enlisted Men in Competition with Local Civilians.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter no enlisted man in the service of the United States, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire, or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in their respective arts, trades, or professions.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

Treasurer Lennon: Does that include men assigned to technical teaching in some of the colleges and schools?

Secretary Frey: The resolution refers only to enlisted men. It was not the intention of the committee to bar out the services of army and navy officers. The committee intended it to refer only to enlisted men.

Delegate Miller, Musicians: That bill, exactly as it was read by the secretary of the committee, was introduced in the House of Representatives, when Mr. Wilson, the present Secretary of Labor, was chairman of the Labor Committee. The same question was asked by members of the committee. The answer was that it referred only to enlisted men who come in direct competition with civilians in these occupations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee recommends that Resolution No. 3 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The machine has finally invaded the field of music, and today there are concerns manufacturing machines that are displacing musicians all

over the United States and Canada. In many instances such machines have displaced orchestras of as high as fifty musicians, and the American Federation of Musicians has determined to do as the printers did with the Mergenthaler machine when it was introduced, namely, to claim the right to operate it; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians has absolutely no more objection to the music machine than the printers had to the Mergenthaler, and have decided that wherever these machines are placed that they shall be operated by members of the A. F. of M.; and

WHEREAS, These machines are being placed, more generally in picture and vaudeville houses. In many instances the regulation in picture houses is but one musician; from that on up, according to the size of the building, seating capacity and price of admission; and

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extend every possible assistance to the American Federation of Musicians in enforcing their demands on the employers of music where machines are placed.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: Resolution No. 4 was taken up in conjunction with Resolution No. 10. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 4.—By the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many unions at the present time are unable to properly protect the interests of their members or protect their cause; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of modern machinery and methods of doing work is rapidly bringing a number of the crafts so closely together that it is practically impossible to define the line of demarcation in relation to the jurisdiction of said crafts; and

WHEREAS, Federation by affiliation, as under the present system, will not solve the problem, but only by amalgamation of all trades into groups that can be known as the Mason Group, Iron Group, Pipe Trades Group, Building Finishing and Wood Working Group, Printing Trades Group, Tobacco Industry Group, and the Leather Industry Group, etc., can this condition be met and the solution found; and

WHEREAS, This amalgamation should be brought about without undue friction, but by mutual consent; all trades amalgamating to cover jurisdiction and membership; and

WHEREAS, Said amalgamation can be perfected by establishing a district or divisional form of organization, working under one general constitution and

one set of general officers and by granting to each division the right of self-government to the fullest extent, subordinate to the constitution of the division of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, assembled in Superior, Wis., recommend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held during the year 1915, that the General Executive Board be instructed to take this matter up with all affiliated International Unions; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That in the event of any organizations being agreeable to said plan of amalgamation, the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor shall proceed to work out such plan of amalgamation with the favorable organizations at the earliest possible date and that all affiliated organizations be requested to support said amalgamation whenever the opportunity presents itself.

**Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Fred L. Bourne of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, It is a well recognized fact that organization of the workers in the industrial field is a necessity; and

**WHEREAS**, Such organizations of the workers have to contend with powerful industrial organizations of employers for the just portion of the product of their members' toil; and

**WHEREAS**, This continuous struggle makes imperative the most strong and efficient and non-frictional organization among the workers; and

**WHEREAS**, The development of our modern industries, and the activities of employers' associations makes the craft union, with its jurisdictional problems and the possibilities therein for the employer to array one set of craftsmen against another set or sets of same, inoperative in many instances, and slow of results; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, by the State Federation of Labor, That this Convention instruct its delegate to petition the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in San Francisco, 1915, to elect a committee of twelve representative men of labor, whose duty it shall be during the period elapsing between conventions of the A. F. of L. held in 1915 to investigate the feasibility of Industrial Unionism vs. Craft Unionism; to get the sentiment on this question insofar as possible, of the individual unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and if said commission finds Industrial Unionism is practical and popular with the general membership of the A. F. of L. it shall devise ways and means whereby the A. F. of L. may gradually change from a Craft Union organization to one of Industrial Unionism.

Your committee recommends non-con-

currence with both resolutions and the reaffirmation of the principles relative to forms of organization presented by the Executive Council in its report to the Rochester (N. Y.) convention in 1912, which reads as follows:

In connection with this declaration it is necessary to call attention to a frequent misconception of the term "autonomy" as it is used by the American Federation of Labor. Some have mistakenly interpreted it to mean that a trade union cannot expand its jurisdiction, or amalgamate with another organization of the same or if a kindred trade in the same industry. The term "autonomy," as applied, has been used as an obstacle to such extension, growth, and amalgamation. No such construction or interpretation can be justly given the term. Broadly and specifically speaking, the term "autonomy" means self-government, as automaton and automatic, self-acting; autobiography, self-writing the history of one's own life; automobile self-propelling; deriving its general application from the root word, auto, self. We are prompted to this explanation by several instances in which the term "industrial unionism" is applied, as against trade unionism, with its autonomous self-government, as well as by a circular which was recently issued by the Metal Trades Council of Toledo, Ohio, in which the affiliated organizations and the delegates to this convention are urged to favor an amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, so that—

"National and International trade unions shall have the right to amalgamation; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting upon such amendment in each organization, shall be necessary to make the amendment legal and binding."

Such a proposition is based upon the misconception that the American Federation of Labor prevents, or has the power to prevent or place obstacles in the way of, amalgamation of national or international trade unions when they so desire to amalgamate, when as a matter of fact every effort has been made by the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions, and where that has been impossible for the time being, to endeavor to have them co-operate and federate for their mutual advantage.

Attention is also called to the provision of this suggested amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, that if it were adopted it would require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting to bring about amalgamation, when as a matter of fact, amalgamation of several organizations has been effected by conference and agreement ratified by a majority of the membership, or a majority of the convention, voting upon the ques-

tion. Thus it will retard and not facilitate.

Years ago we severed the affiliation of the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and declared that inasmuch as its members performed the work in several of the machinery trades, the members thereof should belong to the International Association of Machinists. The Allied Metal Mechanics' International Union became part of the International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists' Helpers' unions have become part thereof.

The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union amalgamated with and became a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters has had its charter revoked because it refused to amalgamate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

In accordance with the instructions of the Atlanta Convention, efforts were made to have the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers amalgamate with the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers. Because of the refusal of the former, we have endeavored to carry the instructions into effect that there should be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, and that the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers. The United Association has within its membership those branches of the trades included in its title.

The International Molders' Union of North America now encompasses molders of all metals, and some years ago the Coremakers' International Union became amalgamated with it.

The Longshoremen have pilots and steam shovelmen in addition to their own workers, longshoremen.

Blacksmiths have chain makers and helpers.

The Lasters' International Union became amalgamated with the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union.

The Iron and Steel Workers are organizing the unskilled with the skilled of the trade.

The miners have jurisdiction over all work in and around the mines.

Granite Cutters have added polishers, rubbers, sawyers, and the tool sharpeners have been part thereof from the beginning.

Quarry Workers have added derrickmen, boxing and strapping.

Railroad Telegraphers have added station agents, signalmen, train dispatchers, telephoners, pneumatic interlockers and staffmen.

The Journeymen Tailors' International Union, the United Garment Workers of North America, and the Ladies Garment Workers' International Union are endeavoring to bring about an amalgamation of the three organizations, or to bring about a closer co-operative effort.

So on might we quote nearly all of the national and international unions in

their constant effort to a more thorough and comprehensive organization of their own fellow workers in the trade, or in kindred trades.

And yet it is also true that in some few organizations the amalgamation of various branches of one industry having been accomplished, they have voluntarily separated into a number of international unions of their respective branches. That is especially true of the International Typographical Union, which until some years ago had under its jurisdiction and part of the organization the compositors, proofreaders, pressmen, bookbinders, stereotypers, and electrotypers, mailers, news-writers, photo-engravers. By agreement the bookbinders, stereotypers and electrotypers, and photo-engravers, have formed separate organizations from the International Typographical Union, and generally co-operating in their local and national councils.

The American trade union movement is one of constant growth, development and expansion. Since its inception, the American Federation of Labor has been the most practical and beneficial general organization of the wage-workers of the continent; has taken cognizance of the constant change and transition in industry and by every means within its power has sought not only to effect the organization of unorganized workers, but to bring about unity, solidarity, and fraternity among organized workers, and has stimulated by every means within its power the necessity for closer co-operation, federation and amalgamation of existing trade unions to the end that each may be helpful to all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; that the grand army of organized labor cannot advance much further than its most backward column; that the labor organizations are made up of human beings who are not cast in plastic molds; cannot be placed in rigid forms, and therefore, it must concede that the authority vested in the affiliated unions and their members must be the largest consistent with the general progress and the welfare of the entire wage-working masses.

The American Federation of Labor has organized central bodies in hundreds of cities, and State federations in nearly all the States in America; has instituted a large number of international unions and numberless local unions, and has developed the system of Industrial Departments which federate the organized workers of the different crafts, trades and callings and which co-operate for the common protection and advancement of the interest of all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that there is still much to do, but repudiates the insinuation which is implied by the term "Industrial Unionism" as it is employed by the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World" in antagonism to "Trade Unionism" for in that implication the false impression is conveyed that the trade unions are rigid, unyielding, or do not adjust themselves to meet new conditions and do not ad-

vance, develop or expand, whereas the whole history of the trade union movement in the past thirty years demonstrates beyond successful contradiction, that there is not a day which passes, but which witnesses in the trade union movement in America the highest and loftiest spirit of sacrifice in order to co-operate with our fellow-workers for their interest and common uplift.

In line with the historic, intelligent, and comprehensive attitude which the American Federation of Labor has pursued since its inception, we urge still greater effort and energy in the work of more thoroughly organizing the unorganized workers, pursued to its fullest extent; to urge upon the organized workers a more thorough co-operation, to advocate amalgamation of organizations of kindred trades and callings, and a more thorough federation of all organized labor, to the end that economic, political, moral and social justice shall come to the toilers, the wealth producers of America.

Delegate Bourne stated that Resolution No. 10 did not deal with the same question as Resolution No. 4, but merely asked for a committee to investigate the question of organization by industries, to learn the sentiment of organized labor on the question, and if the committee or commission should find industrial unionism practical and popular that the American Federation of Labor devise ways and means to change from a craft union organization to an industrial union organization. He stated the resolution was endorsed by the Portland Central Labor Council, and urged that the convention consider its merits.

Delegate Smith, Portland Central Labor Council, stated that the resolution originated in that body and was considered favorably by many members of the labor movement in Oregon and the entire west.

Delegate Walker (H. H.) discussed the question at some length. He referred to a number of instances in Illinois where the employees of large industries could have been organized if it had been possible to place them in one organization, but they refused to be divided up among several of the international organizations that claimed jurisdiction. He urged that some means be devised to take care of men in such industries.

Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, in discussing the question, said in part: If we are not mistaken, the policy carried out by the American Federation of Labor provides for the organizing of these men at the present

time and for keeping them in their local federal unions until such time as they either can be welded into a national or international union or placed in some union where they properly belong.

Secretary Frey discussed the question at some length, and referred to the amalgamations that have taken place in various organizations in recent years.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee, spoke at some length in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that there are in the American Federation of Labor now, and always have been since its institution, industrial organizations as well as trade organizations; that men and women composing the industrial organizations and the trade organizations decide for themselves the form of organization they desire.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Bourne and Delegate Smith.

President Gompers discussed the question at length. In referring to the incidents mentioned by Delegate Walker, he stated that the American Federation was doing its best to reach the classes of employees mentioned, and called attention to the report of the Executive Council for the past year, which shows that efforts were made to amalgamate different organizations. He stated that some of the efforts had been successful, and some had failed because organizations would not consent to amalgamate. In discussing the request for a committee or commission to investigate the subject, President Gompers stated that the declarations of the Rochester convention were the result of the deepest and most careful investigation of the subject that could be had within the labor movement.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists, spoke in favor of the adoption of Resolution No. 10. He urged that something new might be brought out by an investigation and that the declarations of the Rochester convention should not be considered as a final declaration on the subject of industrial or craft organizations.

Delegate Brown, Timberworkers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He referred to the fact that in the Rochester convention the jurisdiction of the Shingle Weavers had been extended to embrace the other two divisions of

the timberworkers, the loggers and the saw mill men; that the amalgamation had not proved entirely successful; that although the Shingle Weavers had voted almost unanimously for the amalgamation, if the proposition were again submitted to them the Shingle Weavers would probably vote to go back to their former organization and allow the loggers and saw mill men to go into organizations of their own.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that the Electrical Workers believed the American Federation of Labor gave the right to each affiliated organization to determine for itself what form of organization best suited it, and if that form of organization should ever be changed it would be

done only by the vote of the members themselves.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Hines of the Sheet Metal Workers.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 181 in the affirmative to 31 in the negative.

The following delegates desired to be recorded as voting in opposition to the report of the committee:

Thomas Van Lear, Machinists; F. L. Bourne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; J. A. Taylor, Machinists; Eugene E. Smith, Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon; C. L. Mayo, Minneapolis Trades Council.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

## SEVENTH DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. Tuesday, November 16, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Balne, Metz, MacPherson, Christman, Brennan, Baxter, D'Andrea, Sullivan (J. L.), McSorley, Brock, Letroadec, Kean, O'Connell, Irwin, Call, Britton, Diehl, White (J. P.), Hayes (F. J.), Green (W.), Flaherty, Stedde, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Short, Golden, Fitzpatrick, Coffey, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Sleeman, Camomile, Castro, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Sullivan (John), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Riley (T. G.).

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Henry F. Broenig, of the Journeymen Horseshoers' Union, Baltimore, Md., stating that it was the desire of his organization that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Baltimore.

Delegate Walker, United Mine Workers, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution from the Mining Department:

Resolution No. 158—By James Lord, President, and James Roberts, Acting Secretary, Mining Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The miners of Morenci, Clifton and Metcalf, Arizona, for the first time in the history of these camps have organized; and

WHEREAS, The mining companies issued notices to the men, to the effect that they must sever connections with their union and sign a blank form prepared by the mine management to that effect; and

WHEREAS, Upon their refusal to so do, they were forced to strike for the right to belong to a labor union; and

WHEREAS, For more than two months they have maintained their struggle, as not a wheel is turning, or a man working in any of the three camps, except those authorized to so do by the union; and

WHEREAS, The powers of the Governor's office or those of the office of the Sheriff are not being used to demoralize or defeat the strikers, and be it said to the great credit of the Governor of Arizona and the Sheriff of Greenell County, that they have zealously guarded the honor and trust placed in their keeping by the people of that State and country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the strike of the miners and kindred workers of Morenci, Metcalf and Clifton, and that it urge upon the affiliated organizations that whatever assistance be within their power, be rendered to the Arizona strikers in this struggle, and sent to F. B. Hocker,



Treasurer Relief Committee, Box 511, Clifton, Arizona.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Harrison obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate G. B. Harrison, of Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union, No. 14605:

WHEREAS, The sick and death benefits administered through our local, trade and federal labor unions are a great factor in getting and retaining members; and

WHEREAS, Members, when changing their vocations, often fail to transfer to the organization having jurisdiction over their work, because of the fact that the benefits to which they were entitled have increased materially in value by reason of their long membership; and

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that this condition be corrected, in order that unionists, driven by unscrupulous employers and other forces from one trade or craft to another, should not be made to suffer unnecessarily; and

WHEREAS, It appears practicable to evolve a plan whereby the American Federation of Labor could administer such benefits (with the possible exception of strike benefits), and thus make the amounts of benefits due dependent upon the number of consecutive years an individual has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor rather than to any particular craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Board to investigate thoroughly the feasibility and possibility of such a scheme, and submit a detailed report, together with a practical plan, if possible, to the next annual convention.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 7 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are now certain organized crafts that are opposing the efforts of the Butcher Workmen in some localities in their efforts to secure the closing of meat markets on Sunday; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at several conventions gone on record as favoring one day's rest in seven; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation

of Labor endorses the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure one day's rest in seven or the Sunday closing of meat markets in all localities and pledge them their moral support in their efforts.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee has acted upon Resolution No. 9 in conjunction with Resolution No. 122. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate F. H. Ainsworth of Federal Labor Union 14,374:

WHEREAS, It is a fundamental principle for which democracy has long struggled against the powers of autocracy, that no one man might decide the right of another man in matters pertaining to life, liberty or property; and

WHEREAS, This principle finds expression in our courts of equity and criminal procedure by the provisions for appeals from the decision of any tribunal of original jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the military branch of the Government, findings of courts-martial are subject to review and appeal by superior independent authority; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law is found the only organization wherein the members may be deprived of the fruits of years of faithful and valuable service by the judgment of one man; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law there is no appeal from the decision of the head of the department reducing or dismissing any subordinate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the principle of appeal in any case of decision or ruling affecting the welfare of any public employee; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor are empowered to take such steps as they may deem advisable to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to the end that an appellate tribunal, upon which the employees shall have representation, be created for the purpose of reviewing appeals from the decisions of department heads in demoting or removing public employees from office.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Under the present Civil Service laws Government employees may be removed from the service or demoted without the right of a fair trial before

a tribunal where witnesses for the accused may testify; and

WHEREAS, Under the Constitution of the United States, the meanest criminal, whatever his crime, is assured a trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, It appears to be simple justice that when the Government employee's removal or demotion in rank is sought, that he be given an opportunity to have his case reviewed before an impartial board of review; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse and instruct its officers to seek the establishment of a Court of Appeals to be created in the Civil Service Commission, consisting of three members, one of whom shall be an employee of the United States under the classified Civil Service law, with the power to review and hear testimony in cases where employees in the Civil Service have been demoted or dismissed.

The committee recommends that both resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: Your committee has acted upon Resolution No. 12 in conjunction with Resolution No. 132. The committee recommends that the resolutions be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in this condition: men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employees is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the position taken by previous Conventions by indorsing the efforts of affiliated civil service bodies to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Government workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist representatives of affiliated civil service employees in calling the attention of the Sixty-fourth Congress to the urgent need of this legislation.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The United States is the only large country in the world that has not made suitable provision for its superannuated and otherwise disabled civil employees; and

WHEREAS, The governments, firms and corporations that have established plans of retirement on service annuities for employees of this character have found this method of dealing with superannuation not only just and reasonable from a humane point of view, but also in the interest of efficiency and economy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to use every available means to secure the establishment of a retirement system for Federal civil employees which will not, either directly during employment or indirectly, cause them to suffer a reduction in wages during employment.

The committee recommends that both resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postoffice clerks throughout the country are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks is endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the postal service by securing a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m. for postoffice clerks and letter carriers—a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of affiliated postoffice clerks to effect a reduction of night work in the postal service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in seeking legislative relief from the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 15 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates E. William Weeks, E. M. Ware and W. J. Adames of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen:

WHEREAS, The men engaged in the repairing and building of cars, trucks, and other railway equipment, are compelled to work a large part of the time in rain, heat and other inclement weather because of inadequate shelter to protect them from same; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are injurious to the health, safety and comfort of such employees; and

WHEREAS, In several states in the Union efforts have been made to have remedial legislation enacted, requiring railway companies to provide adequate shelter for such employees, and have failed because of the combined opposition of the railways; and

WHEREAS, The railways are usually interstate concerns; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we in Convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen in having introduced in Congress a bill requiring the railways to build adequate buildings over their repair tracks for the protection of the men engaged in the repairing or building of cars, trucks and other railway equipment.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 20—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity, in an effort to abolish involuntary unemployment in Oregon, has drawn up for submission to the people thereof by the initiative and referendum a measure designed to accomplish this purpose and make the land and natural resources accessible to the people, said measure being known as the "People's Land and Loan Measure;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to aid us in placing this measure on the ballot and passing same at the coming general election, as follows:

(1) By commending the measure to the workers and producers of Oregon and urging their undivided support of same.

(2) By recommending to all affiliated organizations voluntary moral and financial assistance.

(3) By instructing the organizers of the American Federation of Labor who

may be in Oregon during either campaign to aid us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

(4) That the convention urge all affiliated internationals to aid us by instructing organizers and officers when in Oregon to co-operate with us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take up the subject with the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: This legislation in Oregon is being urged by the Central Labor Council of Portland. It will be presented to the voters. We have the entire support of the labor movement in Oregon, and we would like to have some endorsement from this convention. I would like to ask the committee how long it will take to get action on this proposition.

Secretary Frey: The question will probably be taken up by the Executive Council immediately after the adjournment of the convention.

Delegate Bourne spoke briefly in favor of the resolution, and stated that quick action was desired.

Delegate Smith, in explaining the measure, said in part: This measure is the direct result of study and investigation on the part of the Central Labor Council of Portland of the question of unemployment, and what can be done in a legislative way to abolish that evil. In Oregon, as in many other States, or practically all the States, the large interests are backed by the money power and have control to a greater or less degree of the land and the natural resources. In Oregon we have as our fundamental industry the timber industry, and the Southern Pacific Railroad and the great timber barons have possession of our resources. In studying the unemployment problem we decided there was only one way to get these resources back. We have many men in our State, as you people have in your States, who would like to get out on the land. They cannot do so without paying the inflated speculative prices, and if they do have an opportunity to get on the land they haven't the money

to do so. This bill is a combination of what is familiarly known as single tax and State aid. It does not go all the way. The only way we can hope to get the land and the natural resources back to the people is through taxation. It seems government has never been able to limit taxation, and we propose to levy as a State tax such a sum per year as is equal to the land rent, whether it is used or whether it is not. A third of all this rental will be placed in a homeseekers' loan fund. From this fund men and women in the country and in the city can borrow from the State a sum equal to \$1500. They will have twenty years to repay it. The first five years they will pay no interest except the administrative expense of the loan. The next fifteen years they will pay a small rate of interest. We hope this will grow and develop so that in time we will not have any private banks in Oregon. Under this bill there can be no tax levied on personal improvements by a mere scratch of the pen. It will have to be done by and through the consent of the people. If property is sold for delinquent taxes the State will pay all the delinquent taxes and the value of the improvements that have been made. When the State once acquires title to a piece of property because of delinquent taxes the title from that time on is vested in the State and it cannot be sold to private individuals. It must be leased.

Delegate Smith described at some length the benefits that would accrue from the legislation and the work that had been done in perfecting the bill.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 21—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, On July 24, 1915, the excursion steamer "Eastland," her decks packed with human beings, capsized while lying at her dock in the Chicago River, drowning nearly 900 men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, Four officials of the Chicago-St. Joseph Steamship Company, owner of the vessel, are named in an indictment returned by the grand jury in Cook County, said indictment containing five counts charging substantially the following:

1. That they knew the "Eastland" was unseaworthy and had no stability.
2. That they permitted 2,500 passengers aboard the vessel, which is more than its carrying capacity.
3. That they were negligent in hiring an incompetent engineer, and that because of his lack of skill he was unable to control the boat properly.
4. That there was not sufficient help on the ship to manage and control her properly.
5. That the ballast tanks were allowed to be out of repair, and not filled with water.

WHEREAS, The United States Steamboat Inspection Service, a bureau of the United States Department of Commerce, is, under the law, charged with the duty of correcting the very faults mentioned in every one of the five counts; the officials of the inspection service are required by law to examine into the seaworthiness of such vessels; they are required by law to determine the maximum number of passengers to be allowed on board; they issue and may revoke the licenses under which the engineers and the master serve; they are required by law to determine the number of crew in the deck and engine departments of such vessels; and it is their duty, under the law, to see that the vessels are kept in proper repair; and

WHEREAS, It is proper that the owners should be brought to the bar of justice to answer for the terrible loss of life, but the government bureau which permitted the owners to operate the vessel under such dangerous conditions should also be made to answer for its negligence; particularly since it is the same laxity and disregard of the law made possible the terrible disaster in New York some years ago, wherein about 1,000 persons lost their lives in the burning of the excursion steamer "General Slocum"; it is the same bureau, with exactly the same personnel, whose disregard of the law was admitted by its officials after the disasters on the Great Lakes in November, 1913, when twelve ships were lost with every person on board; it is the same bureau that remained inactive while many other disasters have occurred; and

WHEREAS, The uselessness of the Steamboat Inspection Service cannot be justly charged to underpaid subordinates, but must be laid at the door of the higher officials, particularly to those whose decisions have affected the actions of the subordinates; and

WHEREAS, The law is such that the higher officials cannot be reached under the criminal statutes; and

WHEREAS, It has been announced by the Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, that as soon as Congress convenes steps will be taken to bring about a general and thorough investigation of the entire United States Steamboat Inspection Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Feder-

ation of Labor in convention assembled that the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois be requested to insist upon the selection of an impartial commission to conduct such investigation, and to oppose the creation of any alleged investigating body having in its membership any official of the inspection service; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois and to all other Senators and Representatives.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The original resolution did not provide that copies be sent to all the Senators and Representatives, but merely to those from Illinois. At the suggestion of President Gompers provision for sending to all Senators and Representatives was added to the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended by the addition of the sentence suggested by President Gompers.

Resolution No. 26—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, The shipping on the Sound now centers in such manner as to make the City of Seattle the most convenient port to be reached by any seaman who is sick or injured; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we endorse the petition of the International Seamen's Union of America with reference to the establishment of a Marine Hospital in Seattle, Washington.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to ship subsidies which take public moneys for the purpose of promoting private gain; and

**WHEREAS**, An American merchant marine can be built up on a basis that will give freedom to the seamen and safety to the traveling public without resorting to subsidies; and

**WHEREAS**, The present world crisis has demonstrated that the building up of an American merchant marine is essential for the extension and protection of our foreign trade and vital to the interests of all classes of our people; and

**WHEREAS**, An American merchant marine with an American personnel is the only safe method of providing an

effective naval auxiliary which will promote our commerce in times of peace and furnish us the means of defense in times of danger; and

**WHEREAS**, Private capital has failed during the past fifty years to develop or maintain a merchant marine under our flag, leaving the vital interests of the country unprotected either by the building and operation of the necessary ships or the creation of a trained body of seamen upon whose allegiance the country must depend in a crisis; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor is heartily in favor of the immediate creation by the United States Government of an American merchant marine to be manned by American seamen under conditions that will make them an effective naval reserve, and recommends to the Congress of the United States prompt passage of legislation for the establishment of a shipping board for the building or purchase of vessels by the United States Government to be operated for the development of our foreign trade under conditions that will give safety to the traveler and freedom to the seaman and to be available as an effective naval auxiliary for the protection of our country in time of war; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

**WHEREAS**, The United States is one of the few civilized countries that has no retirement provision for its superannuated civil service employees; and

**WHEREAS**, The absence of retirement legislation is costly to the Government and to the employees; men are either retained beyond their years of usefulness or they are dismissed after giving their life's work to the service; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled that we endorse the efforts of the Federal civil service employees to secure the early enactment of an equitable retirement measure; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to give all possible aid to affiliated civil service employees in calling the urgency of this situation confronting aged Government workers to the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Secretary Frey: Your committee rec-

ommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

Delegate Smith, Portland: Does that recommendation carry with it approval of the resolution?

Secretary Frey: If the committee disapproved of the resolution they would have so reported.

The committee considered Resolution No. 35 in conjunction with Resolution No. 50, and recommends that the resolutions be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Each year large sums of money are expended in the building and maintaining of Army and Naval Stations in the United States and its various Territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that a considerable portion of the labor employed on the construction work is of an alien or non-citizen character and to the detriment of the citizen workmen of this United States who, in many, if not nearly all instances have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby go on record as being opposed to such procedure and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizens' labor. In the building, equipping and maintaining our Army and Naval Stations within the United States and its Territorial possessions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, and to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the rights of the American workman be safeguarded, and that he be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government, whether such work be done directly or indirectly, by day labor, or through the use of contract labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to draw up a petition to Congress asking that body to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien labor on all Government work in preference to citizen labor of these United States and its Territorial possessions.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates J. E. McClory, J. D. Barnes and Sam Tobin,

of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, Each year the Government of the United States expends large sums of money in the building and maintaining of army and naval stations in the United States and its various territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that nearly all of the labor employed on the construction work is of alien or non-citizen character and to the detriment of the citizen workmen of these United States who in many, if not nearly all instances, have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to such procedure, and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizen labor, in the building, equipping and maintaining of our army and navy stations within the United States and its territorial possessions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Secretary to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, and to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the inalienable rights of the American workmen are safeguarded, and that they be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government either directly or indirectly being constructed for the United States Government by day labor or through the use of contract labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor have its Executive Council draw up a petition to Congress asking that august body of lawmakers to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien non-citizen and Oriental labor on any Government work in preference to citizen labor of these United States and their territorial possessions.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 36 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Within the past few years public opinion and sentiment has become much awakened to the justice of



adequate compensation to workmen injured by industrial accidents, and during that time marked progress has been made in favorable legislation providing compensation for injuries or deaths of employees and giving recognition to the rightful liability of an employer for the safety of workmen in his employ; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should properly be foremost to set a high example and take the lead over the several States in humanitarian measures of this character, the scope of which is world-wide; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the compensation acts of the United States Government applying to accidents and injuries of its employees, are inadequate and not up to the standard of similar laws in a number of the States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, hereby pledges fullest support to secure Congressional enactment of laws for compensation of injuries to the Government employees in keeping with the best of the recent State laws. We urge that such Government laws embody provisions (1) Compensation of every day of injury; (2) a more adequate death benefit instead of one year's pay as at present; (3) compensation to extend for a greater period than one year if injuries are serious, and partial or total disability results; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted through proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable action by that body.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, More than half of the entire distribution of mail in the postal service is done at night, necessitating the service of thousands of clerks; and

WHEREAS, Neither by a time or a wage differential does the Postal Department recognize the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, In practically all industries where night work is necessary those performing it receive some recognition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we pledge our support to the efforts of affiliated clerks in attempting to secure remedial legislation granting a time differential to night workers in the postal service.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 53 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger and Solomon Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Fourteen separate indictments have recently been found by the grand jury of the County of New York charging twenty-four officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with various serious crimes, including murder in the first degree, robbery, extortion and riot; and

WHEREAS, The trial of the murder charges, involving eight officers and members of the organization, was concluded a few weeks ago and has resulted in a full and speedy acquittal of all defendants; and

WHEREAS, The evidence upon the trial has clearly demonstrated that all charges against the union members and officials were wantonly and deliberately manufactured by a notorious gang of scab herders aided by a group of unscrupulous employers and connived by a prejudiced and biased public prosecutor; and

WHEREAS, The wholesale prosecution on trumped-up charges against our brothers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is manifestly aimed at the union as such, seeking to exhaust it by extensive taxing and costly litigation and to brand it before the public as a criminal organization;

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we denounce the prosecution of the officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as a revolting surrender of the machinery of justice to the enemies of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our moral support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and that we call on all affiliated labor organizations to respond generously to its appeal for funds to defray the cost of the defense of the numerous cases still pending against its members and officers.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Through the endeavors of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, meritorious provisions were added to the Army and Naval appropriation bills, on March 2, 1915, by which it will be less difficult to ob-

tain positive, clear-cut legislation which will permanently prohibit the objectionable stop-watch, speeding-up, premium bonus Taylor system, of driving and intimidating employees in Federal departments; and

WHEREAS, This work of the Executive Council meets with the unqualified approval of this Convention; yet, it being a certainty that efficiency committees have been selected in other departments of the Federal Government, and are now at work in the various bureaus, interviewing employees, timing their work, and recording the use of materials, and in various other ways demonstrating that when a final report is made it will contain recommendations looking toward the establishment of some so-called efficiency system kindred to the notoriously unfair Taylor system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, That the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law prohibiting the use of moneys appropriated by that body in the furtherance, encouragement or advancement of any stop-watch speeding system in any department of the Government of the United States.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate H. M. Lornsen, of the Astoria Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The special privileged parties in the salmon industries operating on the Columbia River, in the States of Oregon and Washington (the salmon packers operating fish-wheels and seines on the upper Columbia River, where no commercial fishing should be permitted, some of which are also interested in the deadly fish-traps on the lower river), managed by means, best known to themselves, to have a law passed during the 1915 legislative session in both States, which provides for a treaty in which it is stipulated "that neither of the States can alter or amend its salmon laws covering the Columbia River, unless the other State consent thereto," also that the next session of the United States Congress be petitioned to ratify this treaty, thus taking away from the citizens of these States their right to avail themselves of the initiative and the referendum on the very much needed legislation for actual salmon protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that proper steps be taken, by every means possible, to stop this attempt of the aforesaid packers to prevent proper salmon legislation.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate B. W. Sleeman, of the Central Labor Council, Salem, Oregon:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to child labor, its opposition being one of the declaration of principles; and

WHEREAS, There is in this country a movement to make child labor laws less effective, and more difficult of enforcement; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the agency now being used to create a sentiment against strict "Child Labor Legislation" is the National Congress of Mothers; and

WHEREAS, Prominent women in the latter named organization are attempting to break down child labor laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention direct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to investigate conditions governing the employment of children and women in the mills at Clifton, Pennsylvania; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the result of the investigation be furnished to all State branches and central bodies.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to take up with the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 71 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate F. A. Scooby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Seventeenth General Convention of the Coopers' International Union, held in San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1915, unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the different State Boards of Health to better inspect packages and containers used for the transportation of food stuffs and the necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, Burlap, cotton, and paper bags as well as unclean second-hand barrels, are fast coming into use as containers for the shipment of sugar, meats, flour, cereals, fruits, vegetables, and other commodities; and

WHEREAS, The use of the wholesome, clean and sanitary wooden barrel will soon be discontinued if the attention of the general public is not called to the menace that now confronts the public health by the use of such substitutes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, and the Executive Council in particular, call the attention of the National Health

Commission at Washington, D. C., to this evil and through Federal legislation agitate the enactment of a law that will insure the transportation of all articles of food in clean receptacles that the public health may be better safeguarded.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Conclusive evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission in Chicago this year, shows that the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies vigorously oppose the organization of their employees by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, by the use of the blacklist, intimidation, extensive secret service and other means; and

WHEREAS, The evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission affirmed (facts long known to organized labor) that telegraphers work under conditions in regard to wages, hours of labor and freedom of speech and action so deplorable, that it is hard to believe they could exist in a free country; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America is conducting a campaign to thoroughly organize the employees of these telegraph companies, a campaign which is daily increasing in vigor, despite the fact that a large per cent. of those engaged in this craft are employed by this telegraph monopoly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention here assembled heartily endorses House resolution No. 355 introduced and supported by Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland in the Sixty-third Congress of the United States, providing for the Government ownership of the telegraph, and advocates and will support any similar measure introduced in the next Congress of the United States, with a provision included, granting to the employees of the Government engaged in such service the right to organize.

The committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The San Diego, California, Panama Exposition has announced that this enterprise is to be continued for another year; and

WHEREAS, This Exposition has been declared unfair by the American Federation of Musicians on account of its unfriendly attitude in persistently using

non-union civilian musicians and securing the services of bands of enlisted musicians of the United States Army and Navy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that a protest be filed with the War and Navy Departments against permitting enlisted bands to be used by this Exposition detrimental to the American Federation of Musicians; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the Secretaries of War and Navy as the sense of this convention.

The committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates John Williams and John J. Sullivan, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

WHEREAS, Realizing that the interests of labor would be immeasurably improved if the wage schedules of all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor terminated on the same date of each specified year, and that efforts should be directed with a view of achieving this end; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take the matter under consideration, and if in their judgment they deem the plan feasible, that they be requested to refer the proposition to the various national and international unions for their approval or disapproval.

Secretary Frey: The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have considered this question and recommended that correlated trades endeavor to have their trade agreements terminate at the same time, but there are many trades who find that certain periods of the year are the more favorable to them for the entering into of trade agreements with employers and for this most valid reason your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is on record as being opposed to an exorbitant initiation fee; and

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that certain organizations within the American Federation of Labor still impose an unreasonably high initiation fee

upon those who desire to become members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that no labor organization should charge a higher initiation fee than ten dollars, and that an appropriately worded circular letter upon this subject be submitted to all affiliated organizations urging upon them to act accordingly.

The committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate F. C. Severance, of the Sacramento Federated Trades Council:

WHEREAS, It is a familiar thing in moving pictures to exhibit scenes of drunkenness in which the principal actors are represented as working men; and

WHEREAS, The place of revelry and excess in many instances is shown as a saloon or cafe of the type generally patronized by working men; and

WHEREAS, The constant parading before the minds of the people of the United States of the untrue charge that drunkenness and debauchery are common among the toilers and the poor is a stigma upon the entire laboring element of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as representative workers unanimously disapprove and condemn such pictures as described above and protest against them as being unfair to that vast army of sober and industrious men who form the ranks of the labor unions of the United States.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 98 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, there are many violations affecting the membership of Local 847, International Longshoremen's Association, of the port of New York, N. Y., because of the violations of laws pertaining to safety at sea, and more especially those pertaining to the safety of the men employed on the various barges and harbor crafts of the port of New York and vicinity on account of the laws not being enforced, this being more noticeable in the smaller ports of New Haven, Conn.; New Bedford, Conn.; Providence, R. I., etc.; and

WHEREAS, Local 847 of the Inter-

national Longshoremen's Association has not had the power to force this question to an issue; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, have the United States Government instruct its inspectors to insist upon the enforcement of the law relating to safety at sea.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended,

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 100 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Supreme Court has made a decision interpreting the Illinois State Compensation Law, and the Federal Liability Law as applied to the workers in the transportation industries in such a manner that, where the injured worker or his dependents have no case under the Liability Law, it must be settled under that law, and where he has a good case and could collect large damages under the Liability Law, that it must be settled under the Compensation Law; and

WHEREAS, Various States have compensation laws either elective or compulsory, while the workers engaged in transportation or in interstate commerce are governed by the Federal Liability Law, which is confusing and gives judges great latitude in construing compensation and liability legislation in favor of the corporations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its officers to draft and present to the next Congress, and use all their influence to have enacted a compulsory workmen's compensation law, to be applied to all industries, or as far as it is practical to apply it within the federal jurisdiction.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends that the resolution as amended be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee acted upon Resolution No. 103 in conjunction with Resolution No. 130, and recommends that the resolutions be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate J. B. Dale, of the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Commission has invaded the rights of the

workmen employed on Mare Island Navy Yard by an order forbidding them to participate in politics in the city of Vallejo; and

WHEREAS, They have further invaded their rights by an order forbidding them to hold office in the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council, contending that said Council is a political organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council to use all honorable means to secure a law that will circumvent further invasion by this non-legislative and non-judicial body.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech and freedom of the press is a fundamental principle of our Government and was engrafted into the Constitution of the United States, which says that freedom of speech and freedom of the press shall not be abridged; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of our citizens are employed under the civil branch of our Government, and they do not enjoy in a full measure freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which was vouchsafed to them and guaranteed them by the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service employees can take no part in political campaigns in which the welfare of city, state or nation is concerned, no matter how meritorious is the cause; and

WHEREAS, This is a menace to the Government itself and a blow to the rights of a free people, and was never intended by the patriots who fought to throw off the yoke of tyranny; and for the preservation of our Republic, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of San Francisco, register its unrelenting opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech to any class of citizens or to any man, and that the Executive Council frame a bill which shall be enacted into law, with the purpose of curing the evil of preventing any person or persons from enjoying full freedom of speech.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Dale, in discussing the question, said in part: Last January the Secretary of the Navy issued an order to the citizens of Vallejo that if they did not morally clean house and reduce the number of saloons in the city the

Navy Department would transfer work elsewhere. Then the Civil Service Commission issued an order to the effect that if they participated in the politics of the town they would lose their jobs. A naval officer, retired, is serving as one of the commissioners of the city of Vallejo. He is retired, of course, but a naval officer just the same. How the Civil Service Commission can reconcile itself to a proposition of that kind is more than I can understand. The workmen of Vallejo ask that the Executive Council use its good offices to the end that a law be framed to permit the citizens working in the various arsenals and navy-yards the right to have something to say about their own cities and towns. I urge you to keep the proposition in mind when you return to your various fields of labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 105 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Periods of industrial depression are of frequent occurrence and cause loss of employment to thousands of wage earners throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, These industrial depressions are often prolonged and made more acute by the political methods that have been followed in dealing with the question of tariff schedules; and

WHEREAS, An agitation is now in progress throughout the country in favor of taking the tariff out of politics, through the creation by Congress of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the idea of a non-partisan tariff commission.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is a law in effect known as the 65-foot Motor Boat Law, which permits a boat under 65 feet in length to be operated by a non-licensed pilot and engineer and by so doing not only works a hardship upon the members of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, but endangers the

lives of those operating these boats as well as the lives of such persons as are carried as passengers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the incoming President of the International Longshoremen's Association be, and is hereby instructed to use every effort in his power to assist the officers of the I. L. T. P. A. in having this law repealed, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be given the delegate representing the International Longshoremen's Association in the American Federation of Labor Convention and that he urge that body to lend all possible assistance in having this law repealed.

The committee recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 111—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:**

WHEREAS, Federal, State and municipal commissions having power to fix rate for the transportation of commodities and determine terminal charges, must necessarily take into consideration the wages paid to the employees engaged in the work of transportation; and

WHEREAS, Rates and terminal charges have a direct influence on wages; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, refer this subject to the American Federation of Labor, in order that the Executive Council may be instructed to make a thorough investigation and take the proper steps to protect the rights of the wage-earners.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 115 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli, of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:**

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 2, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against the growing departmental policy of requiring terminal railway post office clerks and transfer clerks to perform certain necessary tasks connected with their work on their own time, thus obliging such clerks to work in excess of a standard of

eight hours a day; and that the officers of the Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to secure redress of this grievance"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist the affiliated postal employees in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 118 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:**

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by a referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 1, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against any departmental policy calculated to increase the hours on duty of road clerks and to decrease the necessary lay-off period, whether by taking off crews, 'swing men' or helpers, or by any other reorganization methods; that the officers of this Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to make such protests effective; and that, if the need for such action shall arise, the officers of this Brotherhood shall carry an appeal for an investigation of the question to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention, on page 103, after citing interviews and correspondence between officers of this Federation and Postoffice Department officials on the subject of reductions and demotions, declares as follows: "We recommend that this convention declare emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, as well as the report of the Executive Council of this



Federation bearing on this matter; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention declares emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions, and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries; and that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to be prepared to assist in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:**

**WHEREAS**, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 4, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall call the attention of Congress to the fact that railway mail service employees are discriminated against in that they are required to perform service averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, being allowed no holidays nor any vacation period (contrary to the rule in every other branch of the Federal service); and that the officers of this Brotherhood agitate this question and seek the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation"; and

**WHEREAS**, Besides averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, exceedingly arduous extra duty is performed by employees of the railway mail service during each December without any extra compensation, thus indirectly further justifying the just claim for an annual fifteen-day vacation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the claim of the employees of the railway mail service, and pledges its moral influence and assistance in seeking the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation for railway mail service employees.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 126 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:**

**WHEREAS**, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 3, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall seek the enactment of legislation defining the number of hours of duty to be required of railway postal clerks"; and

**WHEREAS**, In seeking the enactment of such legislation the arduous duties and the excessive physical and mental strain inseparable from the occupation of railway postal clerks should be given full consideration; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in seeking legislation defining the number of hours of duty of railway postal clerks, with due consideration of the excessive physical and mental strain and arduous duties of railway postal employees.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:**

**WHEREAS**, An effort was made to incorporate in last postoffice appropriation bill a clause providing for biennial in lieu of annual promotions, which proviso was defeated with the whole postal appropriation bill principally because certain irreconcilable differences developed over the question of railroad rates for carrying mails; and

**WHEREAS**, Postal employees' salaries are none too high, and have not kept pace with the increased and increasing cost of living, and when it is considered that the Income Tax Law provides a tax of only 1 per cent. on incomes in excess of \$4,000 and up to \$20,000, and only 2 per cent. on incomes from \$20,000 to \$50,000, while biennial promotions would affect postal employees' salaries from 6 to as high as 10 per cent; and when it is further considered that none denied that the proposed alteration in the law was in effect a war tax upon postal employees, and of a nature apparently confiscatory; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor unalterably opposes any attempt to change the present annual promotions to biennial promotions, and that the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor is pledged to the affiliated postal em-

ployees in opposing any such change in the next postal appropriation bill.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegate John J. Deviny, of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is in agreement with public sentiment that the United States Government in the exercise of the function of an employer of labor should take the lead in establishing ideal working conditions for its employees; in other words it should be the model employer; and

WHEREAS, The custom of suspending work on Saturday afternoons, thus giving their employees a half holiday each week throughout the entire year, has been very generally adopted by private employers, and by some of the United States Government departments; and

WHEREAS, The Federal employees in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, have enjoyed a half holiday on Saturday afternoons during the summer months only, for several years past, and this practice has demonstrated its desirability both from the viewpoint of the Government and of the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby instruct the President and Executive Council to use any and all means to secure the extension of the Saturday half holiday period throughout the entire year to all divisions and departments of the Federal service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this federation is hereby instructed to forward copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet and to labor representatives in Congress.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 142.—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union at the request of Omaha Typographical Union No. 190:

WHEREAS, The winter is coming near and will throw out of work thousands of men, who, in many cases, after their few saved dollars are gone, do not see any other way of existence than to stand on street corners begging from passers-by for a nickel or a dime, in this way constituting a most troublesome nuisance for the public; and

WHEREAS, It is the Christian duty of our most glorious nation to do everything for this unhappy class of people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our union communicate with the American Federation of Labor, that said federation take steps to induce the Congress to build at Government expense in every city of over 100,000 population homes where this most suffering class of people may find shelter in the cold winter nights and a few warm meals over the day.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the following substitute for the resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to prepare measures to be introduced into Congress, State Legislatures and municipalities which shall provide for the erection of buildings in which unemployed may find lodging during the winter months and in which they shall be supplied with nourishing meals while unemployed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the substitute offered by the committee.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, opposed the substitute offered by the committee, and offered the following as a substitute for their report: "That instead of asking for free lodging houses we recommend that the governments—State, city and national—provide means whereby the undeveloped resources of the country shall be brought into operation in a way that will put the unemployed workers at work." (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan, in speaking for the report of the committee, said in part: The committee in recommending a substitute for the resolution offered by the printers had no thought of doing anything to prevent employment for the unemployed. The purpose of the recommendation of the committee is to cover such emergencies as happen in our great cities in the winter time when employment is bad and men have no money with which to secure shelter. The resolution came to the committee specifying that the federal government should do a definite thing in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or over, and instead of simply endorsing that excellent idea of finding shelter temporarily for unfortunate men and women, the committee asked the general labor movement to use its influence to see that these unfortunates have shelter during such periods as I have spoken of, not limiting it to cities

of 100,000 or over, and including States and municipalities.

Delegate Smith, Portland, spoke in favor of the report of the committee, and referred to his experience as a member of a municipal committee on employment and a similar committee of the Central Labor Council of his city.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, stated that he regretted the motion of Delegate Cannon was offered as a substitute for the report of the committee and favored separate action on the propositions. He stated that he favored both propositions but wished to have them acted upon separately.

After further discussion Delegate Cannon offered his motion as an amendment to the report of the committee.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), suggested that the question be acted upon separately, or that the amendment be referred back to the committee in order that the committee might bring in a report that would represent the sentiment of the labor movement better and meet the needs of the situation in a more adequate way than did the motion of Delegate Cannon.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Van Lear, Vice-President Duncan, and Fraternal Delegate Stelzle. Delegate Van Lear suggested that the committee had overlooked the second "whereas" in the resolution, which referred to the Christian duty of the nation, and suggested further that the great houses of worship be opened to the migratory workers when in need of shelter.

In reply to the statement of Delegate Van Lear, Vice-President Duncan stated that when men and women were hungry and in need, the churches were usually found doing everything within their power to help alleviate their condition.

Fraternal Delegate Stelzle spoke of his connection with the Mayor's committee on unemployment in New York City during the past winter, and of his connection with the employment committee of the federated churches of New York City, and stated how each committee had done its best to relieve suffering.

Delegate Woll arose to a point of order and stated that matters of religious discussion did not properly come before the American Federation of Labor. Presi-

dent Gompers stated that the point should have been raised when the first reference was made to the churches.

Delegate Woll repeated his point of order, and President Gompers ruled that the question of religion was not being discussed. Delegate Woll stated that he would not appeal from that ruling.

Delegate Stevenson, Typographical Union, spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment of Delegate Cannon.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.) stated that the question of employment was being considered, and would be reported upon, by the Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll moved that the entire subject be referred to the Committee on Report of Executive Council to bring in a comprehensive report on the question of unemployment in all its phases. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment.

Delegate Woll withdrew his motion and Delegate Smith moved that the entire matter be referred back to the Committee on Resolutions for further consideration. (Seconded.)

Secretary Frey opposed referring back to the committee, as the committee had dealt with only a very small part of the problem and had not endeavored to take up the question of unemployment, which was already in the hands of another committee.

The motion to recommit to the Committee on Resolutions was lost.

The amendment offered by Delegate Cannon was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Frey: That completes the partial report of the Committee on Resolutions.

President Gompers, by direction of the Convention, transmitted the preamble and resolutions adopted by the Convention in the case of Joseph Hillstrom to the Governor of the State of Utah, to the Board of Pardons of Utah, to the Swedish Ambassador in Washington, and to the President of the United States.

In his telegram to the Governor and to the Board of Pardons, preceding and

following the resolutions, President Gompers said:

"The American Federation of Labor in Thirty-fifth annual convention assembled in San Francisco by unanimous vote adopted the following preamble and resolutions and directed that I transmit them to you by telegraph:

(Resolution quoted.)

"The sentiments, judgment and desires expressed in the above are earnestly shared by me, and I trust that clemency may be exercised in the interest of justice and humanity."

In his telegram to the Swedish Ambassador preceding the resolution he said:

"I have just telegraphed the Governor and the Board of Pardons of Utah the following, which was unanimously

adopted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, now assembled in this city." (Resolution quoted.)

In his telegram to the President of the United States preceding and following the resolutions he said:

"The convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled here unanimously adopted the subjoined preambles and resolutions:

(Resolution quoted.)

"May I not prevail upon you to exercise your great influence to at least help in saving the life of Joseph Hillstrom, particularly when there is so much doubt concerning his case."

At 5:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Wednesday, November 17th.

## EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 17, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. Wednesday, November 17, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kramer, Sovey, O'Brien, Barnes (J. D.), Boyden, Mahoney, Brock, Letrodec, Kean, Call, Curran, Slissman, Steidle, Pettit, Gaviak, Hanley, Harris, Jennings, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Spooner, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson, Leber, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Bomar, Holm, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Carter, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

The White House,  
Washington, D. C., Nov. 17, 1915.  
Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation of  
Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

The President has received your telegram embodying resolutions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor concerning the case of Joseph Hillstrom, and has this morning again telegraphed the Governor of Utah urging the justice and advisability of a thorough reconsideration of the case.

J. P. TUMULTY.

### Report of the Committee on Education.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has carefully considered those parts of the Executive Council's report referred to us, as well as having thoughtfully examined the several resolutions offered and submitted to this committee for attention.

The introductory chapter to the Executive Council's report, as well as its concluding chapter, describe in the most effective terms possible and in a clear, concise, convincing and intelligent fashion, the true objects and purposes, the struggles and trials, the hopes and aspirations, the triumphs and achievements of the organized workers of our country.

A careful review of these accomplishments, a fair and accurate analysis of the procedure followed, and a sincere, honest and thoughtful observation of the high and humane ideals prompting the associated activities of the workingmen and women of our country, can lead to no other conclusion than that the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor in co-operation with all its component parts, has secured to the workers immense advantages and has made for the greater physical, moral and educational force in dealing with all problems confronting the workers in all their social, political and industrial relations.

It is not the purpose of this committee to commend upon the physical advantages secured for the workers through their organization. We do desire, however, to call attention to the great mental progress realized, both in conception of ideals and in the procedure adopted for the ultimate attainment of labor's hopes and aspirations so well expressed through the Executive Council's report. Indeed, we believe that the advantages of co-operation in the mental phase of our movement is as great and as essential as in the physical expression of our organization. We realize that many minds view any single object or event from as many different points of view and that it does not fall within the gift of any one mind to grasp all the various sides and phases of all objects or events. In every line of endeavor each contributes his mite, and it is the co-ordination, the combined effort of many minds in each line of activity and of thought which leads to a better understanding and greater perfection of our movement.

To-day we find almost every line of activity having its association, local meetings, national or international conventions, for the purpose of enabling all the workers in a given line of employment to profit by the experience of all others similarly engaged, and to secure harmony of action. Almost every trade and vocation has its association meeting to discuss all matters pertaining to their specialty. Ultimately we meet in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of enabling all the workers of our country to profit by the experience of each other and to secure the greatest and most extensive voluntary co-operation and unity

of action possible of attainment. All this is a mental association, the united efforts of many minds to a common end.

The report of the Executive Council, both in its generalization as noted in the introductory and concluding chapters, as well as in its detailed description of the most important events and occurrences of the past year, is therefore a most valuable document. Its importance is due not only because of its relation of physical accomplishments, but also because of its educational achievements in bringing into one concrete united effort, the hopes and aspirations, the ideas and ideals of all workmen and women of our country.

We congratulate the Executive Council upon its thorough understanding and ever ready and willing response to the hopes and aspirations of the workers, and we strongly urge and recommend the careful reading and study of this report by all who are connected with and who would have a true and accurate conception of the ideas and ideals of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Suffrage in the District of Columbia.**

Under the above caption of the Executive Council's report, we are advised that the residents of the District of Columbia are still disfranchised. We also note that the financial and commercial interests are opposed to the granting of right of suffrage to the people of the district because of mercenary and selfish motives.

We concur in the Executive Council's suggestion for public discussions to persuade the people of this district to assert themselves in securing the voting privileges. We recommend that the Executive Council should not only foster and encourage such discussions, but that all national and international unions urge members of their local unions and residents of the District of Columbia to actively participate in the development of a public demand for the franchising of residents of the district.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Mother's Day.**

Under the caption "Mother's Day," the Executive Council's report directs attention to the endorsement of the pro-

posed enactment of the law designating the second Sunday in May as "Mother's Day," and of the effort having been made to have same enacted into law. We recommend the Executive Council continue its effort in whatever manner it is deemed best to secure the early enactment of this proposed law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **The American Federation of Labor Exhibit.**

Under this caption the Executive Council in its report describes quite fully the exhibit of the American Federation of Labor constructed in the Palace of Education and Economy, Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The members of our affiliated unions having personally viewed this exhibit unquestionably have been greatly impressed with the graphic description of labor's struggles and triumphs and of the immense benefits realized and enjoyed through co-operation of the workers. Perhaps its greatest educational value is not the impress it has left on the minds of members of organized labor who have viewed this exhibit, but the impress left upon the general public, which only too often is ill-advised and misinformed of the actual beneficent deeds and accomplishments of organized labor. No better agency could have been devised to familiarize the general public in attendance at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, of organized labor's true hopes and ideals, deeds and accomplishments, than this magnificent exhibit.

Your committee while conscious of the recognition and favorable commendation due the Executive Council for the successful inauguration and management of this enterprise, is also mindful of the splendid co-operation extended it by affiliated international and national unions in contributing charts, literature and publications. We believe that thanks are due all who actively participated in making this exhibit such a splendid success, a great tribute to the cause of organized labor.

Your committee views with a deep feeling of regret the possible destruction and dismembering of this exhibit at the termination of the Exposition. Indeed, we believe this exhibit should prove but a beginning of a new avenue of creating a public opinion favorable to organized



labor. We, therefore, recommend that this exhibit be retained permanently and that the Executive Council shall arrange for suitable space in the new headquarters of the American Federation of Labor building, now in process of construction. We further recommend that all national and international unions who have not contributed a graphic description of their respective successes and accomplishments, be urged to do so, and we likewise urge upon all affiliated unions to continue in sending a number of copies of their official journals to this department each month, for general public distribution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### American Federationist.

The Executive Council's report, under the above caption, has a comprehensive expression as to the true purpose and actual achievements of the official journal of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is heartily in accord with all these expressions. We are firmly of the opinion that the articles and editorials presented from time to time have proven a great stimulus to thought and reflection, that they have aided in preventing a confusion of thought and action among the workers, that they have clearly and intelligently expressed labor's concept of right and justice, and then too, that they have considerably influenced the minds of many of our educators, students, legislators and other government officials.

Grant that the newspapers do continually report some of the detached rays from the thoughts and actions of the American labor movement. These disconnected and often distorted glimpses do not take in the full blaze of light which streams from the American labor movement ideas. Then, too, the ideals and ideas of labor are often dimmed or altogether hidden by the clouds of ignorance or prejudice.

Preoccupied by the cares of life, misled and advised by a partisan and often vicious daily newspaper, members misinformed by designing demagogues, conscious of the ills they bear, but regardless of others they know not of, how often do many of our members exhibit indifference to the vital ideas of our movement?

Such reflections as these impels your

committee to urge all national and international unions to encourage their membership in subscribing for the American Federationist. Then, too, we recommend that central labor bodies encourage their delegates to subscribe to this work. We are also mindful of the good accomplished in publishing articles relating to high dues and recommend continuance of this policy.

Your committee would feel itself remiss in the duties devolving upon it if we failed in highly commending the editorial work of the Editor of the American Federationist, Mr. Samuel Gompers. The clearness and breadth of vision so ably manifested, the comprehensive conception of labor's needs, so forcefully, effectively and accurately described in the editorial work of the American Federationist, is cause not only for commendation but is in itself an educational factor not to be overlooked or to be lightly regarded by our movement.

In connection with the foregoing, your committee has also considered Resolution No. 138. While the substance of this proposal is meritorious, and while we approve of the idea that every delegate to our central bodies should have a clear and accurate conception of the purposes and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and as expressed from time to time through the American Federationist, we find ourselves unable to report favorably to the adoption of this resolution, because of the large financial requirements involved. In lieu thereof, we recommend that not only should all central labor bodies encourage and undertake to subscribe for all its delegates to the American Federationist, but we also recommend that an offer be made to central bodies for a club subscription rate, based on the actual cost of production and distribution.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The official organ of the Federation, "The American Federationist," is a monthly magazine which contains official reports, news items and editorial utterances of much value to members of organized labor who represent local unions in central labor councils; and believing that by furnishing this magazine free to such delegates would greatly benefit the entire movement as well as make the magazine of more value to the advertisers of union

product, thus benefiting the international unions which compose this Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Educational Committee, to whom was referred subjects relating to the "American Federationist," submit some practical plan which will insure the sending of the official organ to the home of every representative of a local union in a central body affiliated with this Federation; and, further, that said committee be requested to report on this resolution at the earliest possible date and suggest financial recommendations, in order that the purposes of this resolution may be carried out at this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.

Under this caption of the Executive Council's report, the value of the Weekly News Letter is eminently set forth. It is an undisputable fact that the American newspaper is becoming almost indispensable to our institutions. What is true of the general newspapers is equally true of the Weekly News Letter. It, too, is becoming rapidly indispensable to our movement. It is essential that we gather from all quarters of the country, materials for contemporary history, and furnish same to the labor press. Under the name of "News," we should communicate all passing events dealing with the workers' welfare. Controlled by able minds among our fellow workers, it serves to inform our membership of war and peace, of the dealings of government, of the movements of commerce, and of progress made by the struggles of the workers.

We note with keen interest the great good the Weekly News Letter has accomplished, the invaluable service it has rendered the labor press and its responsive extension to the ever increasing need. We commend the Executive Council for its successful conduct of this department, and approve of all suggestions urged for its extension in its report.

In connection with this subject we have also considered Resolution No. 18. This resolution is not without some merit. A careful review of the cost involved and the many difficulties to be overcome in successfully establishing a news service so extensive as herein proposed, impells our disapproval of same and in lieu thereof, we recommend the

extension of the Weekly News Letter service to such proportion and in such direction as will best suit the needs and requirements of the labor press in keeping within the finances allowed for the conduct of this department.

Resolution No. 18—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of our nation depends upon the welfare and progress of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of Labor are best promoted by a thorough organization of the workers into trade unions as chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such organization would be given a decided impetus by the establishment of labor newspapers containing telegraphic news and a correct interpretation of current events and world happenings (particularly of those directly concerning Labor); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity in regular meeting assembled October 22, 1915, that it petition the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, to direct its Executive Council to, as soon as practicable, organize and establish an International Labor Press News Service, said service to be owned and controlled by a corporation whose stock and bond holders shall be confined to labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation, and papers and journals published and owned by same, and having in its articles of incorporation a provision making it impossible for any one such organization to control the physical properties of the corporation or its policy.

The committee reports that this resolution is covered by the Weekly News Letter.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon recommended that central bodies appoint correspondents to furnish the news promptly to the Weekly News Letter.

The committee incorporated the suggestion as part of the report.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as amended by the suggestion of Treasurer Lennon was carried.

President Gompers: It was called to my attention this morning that at one of our sessions yesterday afternoon there was some sort of demonstration, both of approval and disapproval, by visitors. There is probably no limit to which the delegates of the convention may not indulge themselves, either in approval or disapproval, so long as it conforms to

decent conduct and decent regard for every other delegate's feelings; but while all visitors to this convention are welcome, while our doors are open to them that they may see us at work, and while they are invited here, they must not be and cannot be permitted to give expression to any sentiment or any demonstration either of approval or disapproval. I repeat that visitors are entirely welcome, but I ask them all, in the interest of all, to permit us to proceed with our work without any demonstration of any character. We want you here, but if you make your presence incompatible with the work of our convention, we shall then be compelled to ask the visitors to leave the hall and leave us in peace to do our work.

**Vice-President Duncan:** Since the chairman has referred to this matter, perhaps my arising should be considered more a question of personal privilege than otherwise. A statement appears in the San Francisco Chronicle of this morning about the incident referred to yesterday afternoon which makes special reference to myself. I have been attending these conventions since 1886. I was present at that time at the formation of this body, and for many years there has scarcely been any delegate present in our conventions that attended that convention except President Gompers and myself. Never in the course of that time have I so conducted myself that I was hissed from the floor, nor was I hissed from the floor yesterday afternoon. I endeavor to transact business in a gentlemanly manner and with a dignity becoming the great movement we here represent. In this morning's Chronicle is a glaring headline, for which the news gatherers, of course, are not responsible. I have great respect for the news gatherers; they work under great difficulties, and sometimes the statements they take to their offices which are not in accord with the policy of the paper are twisted to suit the policy. The headline in the Chronicle says: "American Federation of Labor Vice-President Hissed from the Floor." I will state that I had finished my remarks in full in presenting my views at that time. There may have been those who differed from me. They

are as much entitled to their views as I am entitled to mine. There may have been hisses—the President says they came from the gallery. I was not speaking to the gallery, I was addressing myself to a humanitarian proposition before this convention. I had finished my remarks and sat down. There was evidently applause and there may have been hisses interspersed. I do not know where they came from. The story goes on to say that: "First Vice-President Duncan of the American Federation of Labor was jeered and hissed from the floor at the all-day session of the Federation yesterday." It goes on to say that after Delegate Cannon had spoken Vice-President Duncan leaped to his feet. The fact of the matter is there was no leap about it. I sat composedly in my place. Secretary Frey was about to arise to reply to the statement, but suggested it would be better for the chairman of the committee to do so. I stood as calmly as I stand now at my desk and addressed the convention. The statement on the second page of the paper goes on to say, quoting me: "I might add that I know of no class of people in the nation who help the workers in ——" Closing with a dash as though I had not completed the sentence because of the hissing. I completed the sentence. I referred to the fact that the churches in time of stress and storm helped the working people and helped other people who were in need to the extent of their ability in that direction. I was not prevented from completing the sentence. In concluding the article the statement is made that a motion to refer the entire subject back to the Committee on Resolutions for report later was carried unanimously. That statement is absolutely untrue. The different amendments offered to the report of the committee were dealt with in order in a deliberate manner; they were rejected and the report of the committee was carried; not unanimously, but it was carried. The statement evidently was inspired for some purpose that is not clear. Whether the writer or the paper had something against myself or the convention I know not, but the statements from beginning to end, as far as I am concerned, are absolutely untrue, and I think it would be advisable for this convention in its own way to say to the management of the paper re-

ferred to that the statement is not correct and should be corrected.

Secretary Woll continued the report of the Committee on Education, as follows:

#### Labor Press.

Under the above caption the Executive Council in its report ably sets forth the good accomplished to our movement by the labor press. The highest degree of civilization yet attained by man is from the greatest knowledge of history and of human nature and endeavor. So, too, the greatest perfection of the labor movement is attainable only by the greatest knowledge of the history, past and contemporary, of the struggles of organized labor. After all, much of our success depends upon public opinion, which in turn depends largely upon the ability to form and express individual opinions. Every individual member of organized labor should be more or less educated, or else our associations shall weaken to a proportionate degree. Conversely, in proportion to the excellence and universality of this education will be the progress and power of our institutions and the happiness of our members.

As indicated in the report of the Executive Council, the labor press is an invaluable aid in the development and in the extension of this latent power of our members.

The labor press, therefore, should receive our most wholesome support and encouragement, and in return the labor press must respond to that declaration made in the Executive Council's report that it "must be clean, free from outside or political partisan domination," if it is to merit continuance of labor's good will and support.

We agree fully in this part of the Executive Council's report and again urge members of organized labor to give the labor press its wholesome support, not only by subscribing, but by also becoming constant readers of the labor press.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Germer, Mine Workers: I am in hearty accord of the sentiment expressed by the committee, and the only request that I have to make is that editors of labor papers and official organs of labor organizations confine

themselves strictly to labor matters and desist from industriously and continually attacking members of the trades unions who happen to differ with them on some matters that are not directly connected with the labor movement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Henry Abrahams, of the Chelsea Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, An opportunity has been given to those desiring an industrial training by many, if not all, of our States; and

WHEREAS, A like opportunity should be given all young men and women who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of law, medicine, architecture, civil engineering or any of the learned professions, and as many of our colleges are controlled by the donors, who dictate the policy of such institutions so that knowledge has become a monopoly of the rich; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor the establishment of free State universities where text books, tuition and laboratory work shall be free.

Your committee fully concurs and recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 101.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Industrial Education—Vocational Training, Democratization of Schools.

While distinguished by separate captions in the Executive Council's report, the subjects under the above titles, and as reported by the Executive Council, are practically similar in character, and your committee therefore reports on same under the general subject, Industrial Education.

Education is necessarily the foundation of any republic. Education is necessary to the perpetuity of any republic. It is, therefore, the essential duty of this republic to guarantee every child an adequate education. Everybody believes in education. Differences arise not upon its value, but upon questions of what a true education should consist of, who should be educated, how far and by what method they should be educated, and what persons should conduct such education.

Education should include whatever we do for ourselves and whatever is done for us by others, and for the express purpose of bringing us nearer to the perfection of our nature. In its largest

conception education should comprehend even the indirect effects produced on character and on the human faculties, by things by which the direct purposes are different, by law, by forms of government, by industrial arts, and by modes of social, economic and civic life. Education should comprehend the culture which each generation gives to those who are to be its successors, in order to best qualify them for at least keeping up, and if possible for raising the improvement of human kind which has been attained.

Industrial education in the sense in which this term is ordinarily used, and in which your committee now employs it, means that sort of education which is specially adapted to the needs of men and women whose business in life it is to pursue some kind of handicraft and as defined in the great number of reports made on this subject by the American Federation of Labor, which reports are included by reference in the observations of the Executive Council and upon which your committee's report is predicated.

Judged by a careful observation of all opinions and conclusions agreed to by the American Federation of Labor on this subject, it is clearly and unmistakably evident that the American Federation of Labor has and does approve and favors including the industrial or vocational education into our public school curriculum.

Whilst urgent for industrial education, there is also evident some apprehension that this proposed industrial education may ultimately give way to an attempt on the part of large commercial interests, whereby the opportunities of the workers' children for a general education will be limited, and which will tend to make the workers more submissive and less independent. To prevent this possible menace it is essential that some standard is agreed to by which to judge and determine whether the education fostered tends to a full development of American freedom and of American manhood and womanhood.

We hold the child must be educated not only to adapt itself to his or her particular calling they are to enter later in life, but that they should be educated for leadership as well; that they should have the power of self-direction

and of directing others; the powers of administration as well as ability to assume positions of responsibility.

It is not only essential that we should fit our boys and girls for the industries, but it is equally essential to fit the industries for the future employment of our young men and young women

A careful review of our industrial conditions will further evidence that there are many industries which formerly offered the workers opportunities far more than a sustenance or physical existence, which have been divided and subdivided until the vocation itself, in some instances, is becoming a lost art. The ever-increasing specialization in industrial pursuits, due to existing industrial practices, which limit the workers to but one form of automatic work, or confines them to a highly specialized branch of work, is a very serious evil confronting the workers and society today. As specialization increases, this evil will logically and proportionately increase unless stringent measures are adopted to prevent the evils of monotonous and automatic work. What good will come in imparting industrial education in our public schools, if our children are permitted to be fastened to a machine, requiring but the repetition of a few muscular motions? Vocational education is not enough; extreme specialization must be abolished. The future industrial life of our children demands that their immature years are spent in a proper physical and mental upbuilding. Then, too, industrial education should not be allowed to co-ordinate itself with any arrangement which will bring trained and experienced workers into any trade without regard to the demand for labor in that particular trade or calling. A proper apportionment of the supply of labor to the demand for labor must be maintained. What good will industrial education serve; what benefit can be derived, if by such teaching we are to produce a greater number of trained and skilled workers than is required or is possible to be employed in the respective trades or callings? Industrial education under such conditions can only increase the existing economic pressure upon the workers. Industrial education must, therefore, be based on a careful survey of industrial

conditions and trade requirements, and should meet the needs and requirements of the workers, as well as those of employers and of the industry.

Ever since the establishment of our public school system, there has been a constant and persistent attempt by large commercial interests to control our public system of education, and to do it for their own selfish purpose. These interests have tried time and again to control the courses of preparation and of training our children solely for the purpose of using them in turning out a maximum amount of articles of exchange and commerce at the lowest possible cost to themselves. In substantiation of these assertions we need only reflect upon the effort made a few years ago in Cleveland, Ohio, and more recently in Chicago, Illinois, where the commercial interests succeeded in influencing the respective Boards of Education to adopt rules which denied our public school teachers the freedom of expression and the right of association. To that degree at least, the teaching force of our public schools has been rendered submissive to the will of these commercial interests. These and other manifestations, on the part of the employing and commercial interests to dominate our public schools' affairs, impel your committee to utter a word of caution and to fully advise you that the future of our public schools and the character of teaching our boys and girls, depend largely upon the attitude and exercise of the forces of labor. It is for labor to say whether their children shall receive a real education in our public schools, or whether they are to be turned out as machine made products, fitted only to work and to become part and parcel of a machine instead of human beings with a life of their own, and a right to live that life under rightful living conditions.

Perhaps the most vicious element threatening to divert the movement of industrial education in our public schools from our American ideals of democracy in education, is the continuous effort made by the commercial interests to place industrial education under the direction of a distinctive board of management, separate from the board of administration governing the general education of the children. A division

and separation of authority in educational studies, we believe, will establish a division of educational systems in the minds of the school children and their parents, wherein industrial education instead of proving supplementary to our general education, will be looked upon as the main and most important public system of education. Vocational school courses should at all times be under the guidance and control of school authorities having control of the general education of the children. The unit system of administration is best adapted to educating our children properly for their future guidance as citizens and as workers.

We highly commend the Executive Council for its thorough analysis of the educational needs and problems confronting the workers to-day. Prompted by this analysis of the Executive Council and by the observations, opinions and conclusions herein expressed by your committee, we recommend the concurrence in the several recommendations of the Executive Council noted in its report with the following additional requirements:

1. That in approving industrial education, equal attention should be given to the general educational studies and requirements of the school children. Your committee believes the latter of greater importance to the future welfare of the workers than the former instructions.

2. That industrial education shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the various industries and industrial pursuits being taught, their historic, economic and social bearings.

3. That all courses in industrial education shall be administered by the same Board of Education or Trustees administering the general education; that no federal legislation on this subject shall receive the approval of the American Federation of Labor which does not require a unit system of control over all public school studies, general and industrial.

We recommend that the Smith-Hughes bill be endorsed by this convention, but that such approval is dependent upon the amending of the bill so as to eliminate the optional system, and that the States accepting the terms of the bill



shall be required to comply to the unit system of control. The bill should also conform to the several recommendations herein submitted.

4. That the Department of Labor, at Washington, be requested and urged to cooperate with the Executive Council in conducting a thorough investigation into existing vocational or industrial schools and systems of industrial education in vogue, in order to determine wherein such teaching has benefited or harmed the workers. That this survey also include a careful investigation into existing shop practices and trade conditions in order to determine what industries, if any, are lacking of trained and experienced workers; such investigation to also determine the number of workers who are trained and experienced and who are out of employment, due to their inability to secure employment, because there are more trained workers in that particular trade or vocation, than the industries can employ. It is likewise desirable that a comprehensive investigation be made to determine the extent of monotonous and automatic work in vogue.

5. That Congress be urged to make a proper and sufficient appropriation to the Labor Department in order to permit of this investigation being made in the most complete manner possible, as well as to enable the Labor Department to enforce all such rules, regulations and laws enacted and intended for the benefit of the workers of this nation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

In discussing the question of the unit and dual systems and the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, Treasurer Lennon said in part: I wrote this report for the Commission on Industrial Relations. It was signed by two members besides myself. The report that was made by the Industrial Relations Commission emphasized specifically and positively that whatever of vocational work is to be done must be done in and by the public school system, in contradiction of those who have advocated the dual system, of which perhaps Professor Cooley, of Chicago, is the leading man, or one of the leading men, whereby they designed to create a board separate from and entirely in-

dependent of the public school system to carry on this work. That there is a possibility of the Industrial Relations Commission's report approving the dual system is a mistake; it must be under the control of the public school system and under no other control. The only way we approved of the Smith-Hughes bill was in the principle of federal aid to carry on this work. We differed with the bill in the manner of carrying it out. The report of the Industrial Relations Commission favors absolutely, unqualifiedly and without any reservation the unit system of such education in the public school system.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He urged the labor movement to take an interest in everything connected with the public school systems, to encourage the teachers to organize and affiliate themselves with the labor movement, and to take part in the administrative department of the schools.

Secretary Woll stated that the committee had endeavored to deal particularly with some of the more important elements of danger confronting the movement in the matter of vocational education; that the committee had not only dealt with the question of education but called attention to the necessity of protecting industrial production so that education itself will ultimately serve some useful purpose, and quoted the portion of the report of the committee dealing with that matter. He stated that the committee had not touched upon the question involved in the action of the boards of education of Cleveland and Chicago in denying the teachers the right to organize, as that matter would be covered fully in the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Fraternal Delegate Nestor discussed the question at some length, and explained in some detail the Smith-Hughes bill. She stated her appreciation of the fact that the committee had dealt so fully with the question, which is very well understood in Illinois but may not be in other sections of the country.

The question was further discussed by Secretary Woll.

The motion to adopt the report of the

committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,  
Chairman,

C. C. SHAY,  
M. M. DONOGHUE,  
JOHN H. FERGUSON,  
MARGARET C. DALEY,  
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,  
CHARLES SUMNER,  
E. B. BOYDEN,  
A. J. HOWLETT,  
JOHN O'HARA,  
JOHN J. SULLIVAN,  
H. L. MORRISON,  
JOHN J. FITZPATRICK,  
FRANK W. COTTERILL,  
MATTHEW WOLL,

Secretary,  
Committee on Education.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Spiegl obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate Frank Spiegl, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Every incorporated municipality in the United States has its Fire Department, the membership of which is composed exclusively of the working class; and

WHEREAS, In almost all of these municipalities these men are compelled to be on continuous duty 24 hours per day, with only short intervals for meals; and

WHEREAS, To improve such intolerable conditions is one of the objects of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every legitimate effort to organize locals of firemen connected with the municipal fire departments of the country, with a view of forming a national organization of members of municipal fire departments to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Green obtained unanimous consent to the introduction and immedi-

ate consideration of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates John P. White and Wm. Green, United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, We have learned with feelings of deepest sorrow that a mine explosion occurred on Tuesday, Nov. 16, at Ravensdale, Wash., resulting in the loss of more than thirty lives; and

WHEREAS, These men who lost their lives were all members of the United Mine Workers of America, and were therefore united to us in a special manner by the bonds of fraternity and brotherhood; and

WHEREAS, It is reported that practically all the unfortunate victims were heads of families who are thus made dependent while left to mourn the loss of their loved ones; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we deplore this awful loss of life and we extend to the bereaved families and friends our sincere sympathy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand a most thorough investigation by the properly constituted authorities of the cause or causes of the awful catastrophe, so that if possible a repetition thereof may be effectively prevented.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Vice-President Alpine in the chair.

Report of Committee on American Federation of Labor Office Building.

Delegate William P. Clarke, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on American Federation of Labor Office Building begs to submit its report upon the matters referred to it as fully set forth in the Executive Council's report.

It is not necessary for this committee to attempt to report upon the history of the movement looking to the establishment of an office building for the American Federation of Labor nor the details necessary for such a building. The fact that previous conventions have instructed for investigation of the matter and finally authorized the Executive Council to make such arrangements as were considered essential for the consummation of the plan, and that the offices now occupied are totally inadequate to meet the requirements of the Federation and its various departments is sufficient within itself so far as refer-

ence to past actions in this regard is concerned.

It will be noted by the report of the Executive Council that a lot has been purchased consisting of 5133 square feet at a cost of \$40,000.00, that ground has been broken for the erection of a five-story and basement building for the sum of \$90,450.00, the building to be completed not later than April 7, 1916. It is also noted that the Executive Council has selected as trustees of the office building, Messrs. Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell.

Your committee desires to recommend concurrence in all that has been done to date by the Executive Council and the trustees as reported upon by them.

The erection of an office building for the American Federation of Labor marks an historical epoch and is indicative of the steady advancement of the American labor movement and its permanency as an institution for the protection and advancement of the interests of humankind. The very spot upon which we are to erect the business home of the Federation indicates stronger than any other one thing the great evolution that has and is taking place in the social and economic improvement of society as a whole. It should be especially noted by this convention that the site purchased was formerly occupied by an old mansion with its slave pens and accessories of slave days and is now to be substituted by a building to be devoted to the business office of the greatest labor movement of America; a movement that has done so much to free the workers from every kind of oppression and slavery. It is the opinion of your committee that in this work looking to the establishment of our office building there appear historical instances that are deserving of record and should be conserved for the future history of the American labor movement.

Your committee believes that the workers of the country will be responsive to the sentiment as well as to the business features of the proposed office building and that many individual members as well as organizations will welcome the opportunity of assisting the trustees in many ways in bringing to completion the building and relieving it of financial burden, and to the end that the trustees may not be

embarrassed but feel at liberty to act, your committee makes the following recommendations and suggests to the convention to urge them upon the trustees for their consideration in the work before them:

First—That all international unions which form the foundation of the American Federation of Labor be invited to subscribe for a marble slab to be appropriately set in the building, it to bear the proper insignia of the organization making the appropriation.

Second—That for the purpose of awakening a genuine interest in this work and in the furtherance of the general purpose and permanency of our movement the trustees shall be empowered to issue such prospectus, emblematic designs, etc., to be furnished to the membership and friends at a price that will be within the reach of all and at the same time be a financial advantage to the trustees in the work assigned to them.

Third—The trustees to be authorized to accept such general help, financially or otherwise, as may be tendered by members and friends of the labor movement, it being understood that the title to the property shall always remain intact as the home of the American labor movement and under the arrangements that have been so ably laid out by the Executive Council.

In the financial requirements of your building, your committee begs to bring to the attention of this convention that the interest upon \$90,450 will approximate \$4,625 per year. Arrangements have been made for three years for the payment of \$2,500.00 per year upon the principal. This is a comparatively small sum to be paid upon a principal which aggregates \$130,450.00. Your committee is therefore of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor should not place itself in a position of being embarrassed in connection with its office building, but that it should meet the principal as quickly as possible. Moreover, the general work of the Federation is such that it cannot permit of disturbance at this time, therefore some emergency plan is required by this convention to the end that the momentary difficulty may be met in a business-like way, so we may enjoy the full ad-

vantages of the great and essential work we have undertaken.

For the purpose referred to above, your committee would recommend that the tax be changed from 2/3 (two-thirds) of 1c (one cent) to 3/4 (three-fourths) of 1c (one cent), establishing an increase of 1/12 (one-twelfth) of 1c (one cent) or, rather, one cent per year per member. Such an increase, though apparently insignificant, will be of a sufficient amount to carry the Federation over this period and bring us early to the point where our office building may be operated on a self sustaining basis. Your committee recommends therefore that the law be changed so as to comply with the recommendations contained herein.

Fraternally submitted,

COMMITTEE,

GEORGE L. BERRY,

Chairman.

J. C. SKEMP,

JAS. G. HANNAHAN,

C. L. SHAMP,

WM. W. CAMPBELL,

EDMUND RALEIGH,

J. B. ETCHISON,

CHAS. MacGOWAN,

CHAS. H. McKENNA,

C. F. FOLEY,

J. A. TAYLOR,

J. M. SUAREZ,

M. E. DECKER,

JAS. L. FORREST.

WILLIAM P. CLARKE,

Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Weeks: If this report is adopted, will the per capita tax be increased to three-fourths of a cent per month?

Vice-President Valentine: It is the recommendation of this committee to the Committee on Laws and it will be so interpreted if it is adopted.

Delegate Smith, Portland: What does the committee mean by saying the trustees will be authorized to accept contributions from members and friends of organized labor?

Secretary Clarke: Several members of the committee intimated that the American labor movement has friends throughout the country who would gladly donate towards the erection of the office build-

ing, and in order that the trustees will not be embarrassed if such donations are offered, the committee has paved the way to accept them.

Delegate Germer: I am not yet entirely clear upon the matter of per capita tax. Do I understand this will come up for final settlement when the Committee on Laws makes its report?

Vice-President Valentine: It will be the recommendation of this convention to the Committee on Laws and they will report on it. It will have to be acted upon again when that committee makes its report.

Treasurer Lennon: The report of the Committee on Laws must be dependent upon the action of this convention on this recommendation. If the recommendation is favorable the Committee on Laws will report as the convention instructs; if it is not favorable, it will be done with. It will not come up on its merits in the report of the Committee on Laws; it will come up under the instructions given by this convention.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building was carried unanimously.

#### Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Secretary Morrison's Report.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a detailed summary of the work of the Secretary's office during the year elapsed since the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention.

Secretary Morrison has presented in an easily accessible and impressive manner the scope and activities of the American labor movement, which is most eloquently summed up in diagrammatic form showing the membership for the year of depression and hard times to have been 1,946,347, a figure in itself eloquent of the power and importance of the American labor movement in the economic and social fields.

The tremendous influence wielded by this body of men in all the avenues of human life, but more particularly in the industrial and commercial world is beyond understanding. It is a law of physics that matter once set in motion never again can be brought entirely to

rest, nor can one particle of matter be distributed in its position without in some way affecting every other of the innumerable myriads of particles of matter throughout the entire created universe. The operation of this law is as immutable and inexorable as any of nature's laws. No man can live entirely to himself or for himself. His influence for good or for evil, for progress or retrogression is inevitably felt by those around him and he can not so completely withdraw himself from communication and intercourse with his fellow men as to entirely be without influence and power in determining finally the result of human achievement during his lifetime, and when this power is multiplied by the association of two millions of earnest, thoughtful, industrious, sober and thrifty men, each with his eye on the future, with his face set firmly to the front, marching shoulder to shoulder in an indomitable phalanx with his fellow workers, who will dare to undertake to compute or determine the far-reaching, overpowering influence of these men on the affairs of the world of which they are so great a part.

We are inclined to be impatient of achievement, fretting and chafing when delayed by one or another of the obstacles we encounter in our efforts to advance, and because of this we often fail to fully appreciate the accomplishment that comes as a result of our united effort.

The year just closed was one of abnormal business and industrial conditions, and labor suffered by reason of the restricted output resultant on the disturbance incident to world conditions, yet we find the closing months of the year full of promise, big with possibilities and inviting all to a renewal of confidence and endeavor. Such decreases as are shown in Secretary Morrison's report for the year are incidental to the depressed conditions and not chargeable to any failure of organized labor either in purpose or effort. The care which Secretary Morrison has bestowed upon his office during the year is reflected in his report. The services he has been able to render to the officers and members of the various affiliated organizations are too numerous to be detailed, but have been fully appreciated by those directly affected.

Your committee desires to congratulate Secretary Morrison on another year of faithful service.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### **Treasurer's Report.**

On page 47 of the Executive Council's report, Treasurer Lennon in making his annual report to the American Federation of Labor confines himself to the mathematical coldness of expression possible in a balance sheet. He sums up his service with a statement that during twenty-six years as treasurer he has handled \$3,377,438.49 of the money of the American Federation of Labor.

It is not possible within the limits of this committee's report to review the history of Treasurer Lennon's connection with the American Federation of Labor, or his services as a member of its Executive Committee, nor would your committee presume to place a money value on the service performed during those years by Treasurer Lennon, realizing that if it were to be expressed in dollars and cents the figures would amount to many times the sum of three million dollars.

The accounts of the Secretary and the Treasurer have been reported on to you by the Auditing Committee and your present committee must be content with merely commending these officers for their fidelity, their punctuality and their accuracy.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### **History of the A. F. of L. Departments.**

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that these histories be published during the coming year in the American Federationist, and we would further recommend that whenever funds for the purpose are available that the histories be reprinted in pamphlet form for distribution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Gompers in the chair.

#### **Colorado Mine Workers.**

Under this caption will be found an analytical review of the case of the Colorado mine workers, together with references to articles discussing it in

detail, published in the American Federationist since March, 1914, up to and including November, 1915.

This case has been reported on to the convention by the Executive Council and your committee for the last three years, and the end is not yet. However, conditions that did prevail in the Colorado mining districts seem to have been ameliorated in some degree, if not actually improved. The farcical trial of John B. Lawson on a charge of constructive murder was so impudent in all its aspects as to shock a world whose sensibilities had already been somewhat deadened by reason of events transpiring in Colorado under the pretense of maintaining law and order. The protest aroused by the result of that travesty on justice was such as to bring to the powers behind the government of Colorado a realizing sense of the dangerous path along which they were proceeding and caused them to, for the time at least, abandon the pursuit of their victim. John R. Lawson has been admitted to bail pending the disposition of his appeal from the proceedings and sentence in Judge Hillyer's court, with every reason to hope that the higher court will reverse the action there taken, and that Lawson will be given the justice that is his right. In the meantime, Judge Hillyer has been debarred by order of the Supreme Court of Colorado from proceeding any further with the cases growing out of the Colorado strike, and the accused to be brought to trial will be heard before courts wherein justice may be expected.

Another development growing out of this industrial struggle marks a decided change in the attitude of one of the foremost representatives of the money power. Whether or not the union of the employees in the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company will secure the rights of those men, or will have the effect of making them more certain in the enjoyment of the privileges of free men need not at this time be discussed. The point is that the granting even of the questionable right to organize into the isolated and perhaps ineffective union that has been formed by these employees is significant of a change of heart on the part of a man who had reasoned himself into the remarkable position of believing that he

alone should determine for good or evil the conditions and circumstances under which his employees should toil. That John D. Rockefeller, Jr., should even thus remotely acknowledge the rights of men to associate themselves together for the accomplishment of a common purpose, to present their common grievances, or to further their common interests is a victory for the principle of organized labor much wider than is generally appreciated.

We commend the Executive Council for the attention it has given this case during the year, and recommend that it continue its watchfulness in this direction to the end that so far as possible the best interests of labor in the premises may be fully conserved and protected.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### Hatters' Case.

Under the above caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a synoptical review of the proceedings in the case of Lawlor against Loewe and the part that has been played by the Executive Council in the proceedings. The comment of the Executive Council in the closing paragraph of this section of its report is commended because of the brevity and clarity with which it states the position of the American Federation of Labor. We commend the action of the Executive Council in dealing with this important matter during the year just closed.

In this connection your committee considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 144.—By the delegates of the United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States enacted certain legislation known as the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which was intended to apply to combinations of capital and not to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Sherman Anti-Trust law is also applicable to labor organizations, as shown in their decision in the Danbury Hatters' case; and

WHEREAS, Under this decision the bank accounts of 186 members of the United Hatters of North America, the savings of a lifetime, have already been taken from them, and within the next two months their homes will also be



taken away, although they were never charged with any crime other than that they belonged to a labor organization, nor was it intimated that they participated in any strike or lockout; on the contrary it was openly stated in court by Mr. Loewe and the attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Society that the selection of the defendants was based on ownership of property and not on conduct from which the plaintiffs claim to have suffered injury; and

WHEREAS, The National Association of Manufacturers, through the Anti-Boycott Society, was determined to get the courts to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust law to the organizations of labor, and the fight made against the members of the United Hatters of North America was not against the hatters alone, but against all organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The decision of the Supreme Court against the members of the United Hatters was largely instrumental in securing the passage of the Clayton bill, which prevents such suits in the future, and is of inestimable value to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges its support to the 186 defendants whose savings of a lifetime are about to be taken from them, thereby leaving them homeless and penniless, and make provisions to raise sufficient funds by assessment or otherwise as will indemnify the defendants for the loss of their homes and savings.

The situation in which the individual members of the United Hatters of North America, whose homes and life-time savings are threatened by the unrelenting rapacity of the American Anti-Boycott Association, which has masqueraded behind the name of D. Loewe and Co. through all this long and bitter struggle, must appeal most potently to our deeper sympathies. We have watched with admiration the patience with which these men have contested in court to save their little property from the greed of those who are now about to clutch it from the grasp of its owners. The offense of these victims of a perversion of the law is that they were members of a trade union and had through thrift and industry laid by a little substance of wealth against the years which have now overtaken them, when they are no longer able to work. When the enemies of organized labor began their desperate onslaught against the United Hatters of North America, a few were singled out from among the affiliated organizations as the ones to bear the brunt of the

test. These men were picked by the vulpine lawyers as the ones whose sacrifice would render the greatest return in cash.

Now that they have exhausted their last remedy at law and are lying prone and helpless at the feet of the victor they look in vain for mercy from those who have pursued them with such tenacious malice and vindictive purpose. The struggle just terminated was not in vain, for from it comes the enactment into the Clayton law of the principle whose application will remove the menace of the attack that has stripped these Hatters of Danbury.

While your committee is in hearty sympathy and full accord with the spirit of the resolution offered in this case, it does not believe that conditions at this time are such as to warrant asking this convention, nor does it believe this convention has the power, to take the extraordinary step of levying an assessment through its affiliated bodies on the membership of the American labor movement. In lieu of such an assessment your committee would recommend that this convention authorize and instruct the Executive Council to send out a notice and appeal to all affiliated international and national unions, and through them to their local unions, and to the state, county and city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions, apprising them of the present predicament of these Hatters at Danbury, Connecticut, and urging upon each member of organized labor who is employed on the.....day of January, 1916, that he donate his earnings of one hour to a fund for the relief of the Hatters who are being despoiled of their property by the American Anti-Boycott Association, and in order that this donation may be made at a uniform hour your committee would suggest that for daylight workers the hour between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and for night workers the hour between nine and ten o'clock at night on the day designated by the Executive Council be set apart as the hour to be donated for the purpose herein set forth.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: Is the fund that is to be collected through the appeal of the American Federation

of Labor to be distributed by a committee of the Hatters or a committee of the American Federation of Labor?

Chairman McCullough: That is a matter of detail. I suggest that we go along with the reference to the Executive Council, and that the Council provide for the details of the matter.

Delegate Woll: If the report is to be understood in that light it meets with my approval. I wish to utter a word of caution; the labor movement will not try to pay the fine in this case, but will permit the Hatters to administer the relief in such a way that the manufacturers will not obtain any of the money.

Delegate Smith, Portland: The Theatrical Federation, Stage Employees, Moving Picture Operators, Engineers and Bill Posters of Portland have declared a strike on a local theatre. The management of the theatre has brought suit for damages against the Central Labor Council, that approved the strike. It is a purely local matter. What bearing has the amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law on a situation of that sort?

President Gompers stated that the Clayton Act applied to interstate matters and would have no bearing on the matter referred to by the delegate. He referred to the declaration of the Philadelphia Convention urging the labor movement in the various states to endeavor to secure legislation based upon the principles of the Clayton Act.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.) suggested that the hour for which day workers would contribute their wages be from 11 to 12 in the forenoon, as many of the men in the street and electric railway service complete their day's work before 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Suggestions were made by Delegate Altman and Vice-President Perham as to the hour to be selected that would meet the conditions of their trades.

Delegate Cannon suggested that there were organizations that worked two or three days a week, and the report might provide that they contribute their wages for a certain hour on the first day they would work during that week.

President Gompers stated that the committee wished to concentrate thought upon the hour and the day, and if workers who did not work during that particular hour wished to contribute

they could do so; that it was entirely voluntary.

Delegate Miller (O.) spoke of the irregular hours worked by musicians and the difficulty of fixing a time at which they could all contribute.

From the various suggestions offered the committee finally recommended that the report provide that the contribution be for the second hour of any shift worked on Thursday, January 27, 1916.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted as amended.

#### Detective Agencies and Pseudo Employment Offices.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a report of the action taken in pursuance of resolutions No. 7 and No. 68 of the Philadelphia Convention. This report is an exhaustive résumé of the activities of the several detective agencies and pseudo employment offices, together with some explanation of their methods of working, which will afford valuable information to all who are not thoroughly familiar with the operations of these organized strike-breaking agencies. The report also suggests the remedies that may be applied, together with the text of the law of Illinois dealing with employment agencies and detective bureaus, also legislation introduced into Congress at its last session, and finally the conclusions of the special committee appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to study, investigate and make report, with a model form for a law proposed by the Executive Council.

We heartily commend the Executive Council for its activity in this connection, and recommend that the delegates to this body familiarize themselves with the contents of the special report in order that they may be prepared to take proper action in connection therewith.

In connection with this your committee has considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate T. V. O'Connor and John Kean, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, There are many so-called detective agencies whose sole business is the supplying of strikebreakers in industrial disputes; and

WHEREAS, Many of the strikebreakers thus secured by the so-called detective

agencies, are unskilled aliens, ignorant of our language and customs; and

WHEREAS, Their ignorance and lack of knowledge of the work they are forced to do, often results in accidents fatal not only to themselves, but to the public at large; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the International Longshoremen's Convention in session assembled that we urge our delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to protest against this nefarious system, to the end that some legislative measures be undertaken by the American Federation of Labor to do away with this nefarious system.

The committee recommends concurrence with the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Report on the Dick Military Law.**

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found report of the action taken by the Executive Council taken in pursuance of instructions from the Philadelphia Convention.

Your committee desires to commend and endorse the action and report of the Executive Council on this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Panama Canal Rules and Regulations.**

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found the report of the proceedings of the Executive Council in pursuance of resolutions introduced in the Philadelphia Convention.

We commend and endorse the action of the Executive Council in this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Anti-Trust and Injunction Limitation Legislation.**

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a statement of the efforts made by the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee to secure legislation for the purpose of preventing the use of the Federal funds to prosecute organizations of wage-earners under the anti-trust laws. This report very clearly tells its purpose and we commend the action of the Executive Council in again bringing it before the membership.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Minimum Wages for Federal Employees.**

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a memorandum of the effort made to secure the adoption by Congress of H. R. 16541 by Representative Gorman of Illinois, in conformity with resolution No. 99 of the Philadelphia convention, presented by the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

We endorse and commend the activity of the Executive Council and Legislative Committee in connection with this bill and recommend that they be instructed to continue their efforts to secure the enactment of a law covering the ground and providing the remedies proposed by the so-called Gorman bill.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Prevention of Accidents Among Longshoremen.**

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a record of the activities of the Executive Council in conformity with Resolutions Nos. 109 and 114, adopted by the Philadelphia convention.

We commend and endorse the work of the Executive Council in pursuit of these resolutions and recommend that it be instructed to continue its activity along these lines.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Prohibit New York Boat Owners From Compelling Captains' Families to Live on Boats and Barges.**

Under the above caption in the Executive Council's report will be found report of the action taken by the Executive Council in conformity to the provisions of Resolution No. 107 of the Philadelphia convention.

We endorse the steps taken by the Executive Council and commend its activities in this matter and recommend that it be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the legislation requested to provide the relief sought.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Citizenship for Porto Ricans.**

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found reference to H. R. 14866 and the efforts of the

Executive Council to have it enacted into law. The failure of Congress to pass this bill makes it necessary to renew the effort to provide reasonable relief for conditions in the Island of Porto Rico, that are rapidly becoming intolerable. The social and economic conditions of the inhabitants of this Island are such as can be nowhere else found under the government of the United States and the longer continuance of these people in the position of dependence under the government of which they are a part is a perpetuation of an injustice for which all good Americans must blush for lack of reasonable excuse.

We recommend that the Executive Council and Legislative Committee be instructed to use all due diligence in their efforts, to secure the passage of a law that will grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws.

Under this caption the Executive Council deals with various efforts made to secure the passage of legislation dealing with the condition of unemployment. It also recommends that a special committee be appointed by this convention to study the subject and make a report of its conclusions and recommendations.

Your committee desires to commend the action of the Executive Council in dealing with this important matter and recommends that the special committee asked for be named by this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Teamsters in Postoffice Employ.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a reference to the action taken during the year, under instructions from the Philadelphia convention, directing that the efforts commenced under Resolution No. 54 of the Seattle convention be continued.

We note with pleasure that the Executive Council reports the likelihood that the evils complained of will eventually adjust themselves without the need of specific legislation. We approve and endorse the activities of the Executive Council in connection with this matter

and recommend that it continue its efforts along the line of adjusting the situation to the end that the occasion for complaint be fully removed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Locomotive Inspectors.

In the Executive Council's report under this caption is given information concerning efforts to secure proper legislation to extend the locomotive inspection from the boilers to the engine and tenders of locomotives used in interstate commerce.

Your committee desires to commend the activity of the Executive Council in this connection and to endorse its action in connection therewith.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Impeachments.

In the Executive Council's report will be found references to the outcome of the impeachment charges made against Judge Alston D. Dayton of the Federal bench of the Northern District of West Virginia.

The outcome of this case, while different from what had probably been anticipated by many who had followed the course of Judge Dayton's conduct in dealing with matters presented to him involving the ordinary rights of man, shows very plainly the difficulties that arise when relief is sought from oppression or injustice through means now available. It is absolutely necessary to establish beyond peradventure of doubt the unfitness of a judge for his high position before it is possible to remove him from that position and thereby displace a constant menace. It is unfortunate that the "sweet reasonableness of the law" should be perverted or distorted through the very refinement of reason to the extent that the lay mind is no longer capable of following the thought but becomes lost and bewildered in the maze of syllogistic propositions laid down by those skilful jugglers of phrases who find their pleasure in debating legal points rather than in adjusting human rights.

We concur heartily with the comment of the Executive Council on this case and endorse its expressions without reserve.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Agricultural Credit Legislation.**

In the Executive Council's report, under this caption, will be found reference to the matter designated together with the names of the Congressional Joint Committee which is charged with the duty of examining into the question and making report to the next session of Congress.

Your committee does not believe that it is either wise or expedient for this convention to make recommendation of a definite plan for the basis of securing rural credit. The several plans that have been presented for general consideration possess each its own distinctive quality of merit and while we believe that legislation of a national character to secure the funds for the extension of rural credits, in order that farm operations may be carried on with the least possible expense and with the greatest avoidance of hindrance, to the end that producer and consumer will be brought closer together and on terms that are mutually advantageous, we believe that national conditions vary so widely with the several sections of the country that it would be unfair, if not actually dangerous to undertake to prescribe one system or plan for the guidance and control of all.

We would, therefore, recommend that the matter of rural credits aside from the enactment of a general law to govern the fundamentals be left to the determination of the different sections or States for the carrying out of the matter in detail, until such time as experience shall have determined what, if any, is the better course to pursue to insure the rights and properly safeguard the interests of all.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Summary of Legislative Measures of Interest to Labor Which Failed to Pass During Last Session of Congress.**

In the Executive Council's report, under this caption, will be found a list of fifteen measures in which labor is directly concerned and more or less vitally interested which failed to pass at the last Congress.

While we share with the Executive

Council in its expression of regret at the failure of these measures, we realize that it was through no lack of earnest effort on the part of the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee that the desired result was not achieved. We congratulate the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee most cordially on the fact that measures of the utmost importance, vital in the highest degree to the interest and advancement of the cause of organized labor were enacted into law through the efforts of the Executive Council and that labor in general has and will greatly benefit thereby.

We commend the activities of the Executive Council in connection with these matters and recommend that it renew immediately on the commencement of the coming Congress its effort to secure the passage of these measures so far as they are yet available.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Carpenters—Brewery Workers.**

In the Executive Council's report will be found a copy of the agreement entered into between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, which agreement has the effect of adjusting and settling a jurisdictional difference between the organizations concerned.

We congratulate these organizations on this removal of a cause for friction and commend the Executive Council for the part it had in bringing about this desirable result.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Cigarmakers—Stogiemakers.**

In the Executive Council's report will be found a brief reference to the amalgamation between the Cigarmakers and Stogiemakers and the removal of all causes of difference or dissension between these two organizations.

Your committee desires to congratulate the members directly affected by this amalgamation and to wish for them all possible success in their new relations. We commend the activity of the Executive Council in carrying out the recommendations of the conventions which dealt with this matter.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Corcoran, West Virginia State Federation: Having been a member of the Stogiemakers' organization for fourteen years, and having participated in the fights on the floor of the American Federation of Labor conventions in Rochester and Seattle, I feel I would be an ingrate if I were to let this opportunity pass without saying to the American Federation of Labor that the reason the Stogiemakers agreed to amalgamate was owing to the fact that those two conventions treated the matter fairly and gave the Stogiemakers an opportunity to present their case; and to the further efforts put forth after those conventions by the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor, who participated in the conference that brought about the amalgamation. The Stogiemakers to-day are working eight hours a day, are satisfied with the terms of the agreement, and feel that through the amalgamation both organizations will benefit and be

able to organize the many thousands of unorganized stogiemakers and cigarmakers.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

#### Proposed Miners' Amalgamation Failed.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found a reference to the failure to bring about amalgamation between the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America. As this case is one which concerns directly only the two organizations involved, your committee desires to join with the Executive Council in its expression that "we submit that there can be no criticisms on our part or the part of any one of the course pursued by those most vitally interested."

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2:00 p. m. of the same day.

## EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:00 p. m. Wednesday, November 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kramer, O'Brien, Proebstle, Rader, Barnes, Christman, Brock, Letroudec, Leary, Slissman, Carey, Triggs, Baker, Morris, Clark, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Hansen, Coffey, Cozzolino, Harris, Jennings, Hart, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Leber, Reagan, Severance, Sleeman, Camomile, Castro, Kraneffeld, Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Milton, Bomar, Holm, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Joss, Riley (T. G.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

San Francisco, November 17, 1915.  
Frank Morrison.

Secretary American Federation of Labor, San Francisco.

Dear Mr. Morrison:

Please extend to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor a cordial invitation to visit the Safety Museum of the Industrial Accident Commission. This museum is located in room 209 in the Underwood Building at 525 Market street, San Francisco. We have a large number of exhibits showing safety devices and plans for preventing industrial accidents, and the Safety Department of the Commission is actively engaged in reducing the

death and accident lists in the industries in California.

With best wishes to the delegates, I remain,

Faternally yours,

WILL J. FRENCH,  
Commissioner.

The Secretary read communications from the Mayor of the City of Buffalo, the President of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Keepers' Association, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Buffalo, New York.

The local committee announced that the Label Section of the San Francisco Labor Council would meet this (Wednesday) evening in the Labor Council Temple, Sixteenth and Capp streets, and that all delegates of label unions were especially invited to attend.

The Secretary read a communication from the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Aerie No. 5, extending an invitation to all visiting brothers to visit a meeting to be held Friday evening at 8 o'clock in Eagles' Hall.

A communication was read from Joseph T. Duffy, Vice-President of the



Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' International Union, inviting all the officers and delegates to attend a smoker and entertainment to be given this (Wednesday) evening at 8:30 p. m. in the Knights of Columbus Hall by San Francisco Bricklayers' Union No. 7.

President Gompers: The chair would ask whether the convention would consider it appropriate for the Committee on Education to report to the convention sometime this afternoon a correction of the statements that appeared in one of the morning papers. If it meets with the approval of the convention, that committee will draft a correction and ask for its publication.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): I move that the Committee on Education be instructed by this convention to have such corrections made. (Seconded and carried.)

Treasurer Lennon: I move that the Committee on Education be requested to submit to this convention a definition of the terms "unit system" and "dual systems" of education. There are two dual systems and only one of the other.

Delegate Woll: The committee has not attempted to define the various systems that may be styled "dual systems," but it has expressed its viewpoint as to the "unit system" and I do not know that we could add much to what we have in the report.

The motion offered by Treasurer Lennon was carried.

#### Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Wm. F. Quesse, of the Chicago Flat Janitors' Union Local 14322:

WHEREAS, The federal and local labor unions in the building service line, such as elevator conductors and starters, janitors, janitresses, scrub-women, watchmen, window washers, porters and other kindred crafts, at the present time are unable to properly protect their interests; and

WHEREAS, There is a large field to organize the wage workers in these crafts in every city where there are office and apartment buildings or theaters; and

WHEREAS, With the amalgamation of these locals they can better safeguard their interests and extend their organizations to new fields; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant them an international charter, subject to the laws and constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Secretary be instructed to call a convention of all the locals interested in the city of Chicago during the month of January, 1916, for the purpose of forming an international union of the Building Service Employees of America.

Chairman McCullough: Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that it make the necessary investigation and if it be found that the proposed international organization can be formed without violating or infringing upon the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated bodies, and it deems such action wise and expedient and for the best interest of all concerned, that it grant the charter requested for the formation of the International Union of Building Service Employees of America.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers—Seceding Local Unions.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a report of the efforts made during the year to bring about the amalgamation of the seceding locals with the affiliated International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union in conformity with the resolution of the Philadelphia Convention.

Your committee regrets to note that this effort failed. However, we commend the action of the Executive Council taken under the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and endorse the efforts made to secure the carrying out in full of the purport of that decision.

In this connection your committee has considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor appointed a special committee to investigate the situation affecting the Brick and Clay Workers, and after a thorough investigation the committee reported in part as follows:

"Since Feb. 1, 1915, a mass of new evidence has been introduced that shows the officers of the international union are not giving their best effort, as all true union leaders should, towards bettering the conditions of labor or increas-

ing the wages of the men employed in the brick and clay industry. We find from the evidence introduced, that the United Brick and Clay Workers of America has made steady progress since Feb. 1, 1915, even though denied recognition by the American Federation of Labor. We find that these union brick and clay workers are working honestly and earnestly for recognition from the American labor movement, so that they may prosper under the guidance and protection of the American Federation of Labor. We feel that if the American Federation of Labor is desirous of having a good, true, loyal, progressive Brick and Clay Workers' Union, they should grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America, or allow state and city central bodies to give them recognition so that the unorganized clay workers can be organized and no obstructions placed in the path of progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor request the American Federation of Labor to reopen the Brick Makers' secession dispute, make a thorough investigation, and if conditions exist such as the evidence submitted shows to exist, grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we comply with the request made upon us by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and that inasmuch as all parties concerned are present in this city, that a special committee be appointed to meet immediately for the purpose of hearing whatever evidence and information placed before it, and to report back to this convention any recommendation of action, which in their judgment will conserve and advance the best interests of the labor movement.

Your committee heard the parties at interest to this case, and recommends non-concurrence in the resolution. We would further recommend that the decision of the Philadelphia convention in this case be reaffirmed and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor lend its assistance in whatever manner it may to the end that a complete amalgamation of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union and the seceding local unions may be brought about.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: The recommendation of the committee is to the effect that the action of the Philadelphia convention be reaffirmed and that the Executive Council use what efforts it may to bring about a complete reaffiliation of those local unions. I am not quite sure what the intent is,

but if that means that the Executive Council will make an investigation where there is dissatisfaction, that they will try to bring about an adjustment of the differences between those men and the international on a basis of fairness and in keeping with the precepts of the labor movement, I would not have any objection to it, because I do not think the Executive Council would be a party to anything that would be an injustice to those men. However, if it means that the Executive Council is simply to use its influence to drive these men back into the international organization, leaving the international in its present status, I feel the right thing is not being done and the chances are that the local officers, and particularly those connected with the organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor, who are located in the district where these disputes are in existence, will be asked—and I presume the State Federation of Illinois will be asked—under penalty of the American Federation of Labor, to drive those men back into the organization.

Delegate Walker spoke at some length on conditions existing in Illinois in the brick-making industry, and recited an incident that occurred at Murphysboro, Illinois, where an officer of the international union referred to made a contract with the brick company for its employees, without consulting the men as to its terms, which contract retained the old scale of wages, conditions of employment and customs, the contract to run for five years. He stated that under the contract the men were not given the right to take up grievances or make any effort to adjust them with the company and could be discharged at the discretion of the company; that the men rebelled, repudiated the agreement, left the international and joined the other locals that were outside of the international; that then under a new agreement for a shorter term they were given an increase in wages, shorter hours and the right to have their grievances taken up and adjusted. He stated that in the agreement made by the international officers the dues and initiation fees were to be paid by the company.

In closing, Delegate Walker said: I do not want to go contrary to the dictates

of the American labor movement; I would much rather go along, much rather do almost anything than refuse to agree with your decision here, but if you take action that requires me to ask men to turn themselves over to that kind of machinery, I will refuse to do it, no matter what the consequences may be. I believe provision should be made for an investigation on the ground to learn the actual conditions, and I hope no action will be taken that will appear to be an endorsement of the wrongs that have been done to those men. I feel if you take the action contemplated, you will do an injustice to those men and create a weakness in the movement of that State.

Delegate Butterworth, Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers, in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: We freely admit that a mistake was made in Murphysboro; that perhaps it was not good policy. We have made efforts for years to organize the Murphysboro plant, organizers of the American Federation of Labor had made efforts to organize it, as the plant was in an important strategic locality for our organization. The local people in Murphysboro, the central bodies, and especially a volunteer organizer of the American Federation of Labor, practically camped on the job for two years in an effort to organize the men. They discovered, as we had, that the men could not be organized without the consent of the company. Unless that plant was organized it would be almost impossible to organize other plants in that neighborhood. Our secretary, Mr. Van Bodegraven, went to Murphysboro, and the proposition was made to him that the company would employ members of our organization, run a union plant and give us an opportunity to boost the label in that part of the State, but they were not willing to bind themselves to pay additional wages and give shorter hours at that time, but verbally made that agreement. They promised that from time to time they would raise wages. The situation was that we had either to accept the agreement as presented or let the men go unorganized. We did not know the company was paying dues. They signed a check-off agreement and later on we received a communication from the secretary of the union that the company had been al-

lowing them a sufficient increase to pay their dues. I am opposed to anything like that.

Delegate Butterworth discussed briefly the injury that had been done the international union by the secession movement, stating that at the time the locals seceded the organization was in a better condition than it had ever been in its existence previous to that time; that it had a good treasury, and was in position to accomplish something for the men. He referred to the action taken by the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and urged that the report of the committee be adopted as read.

Delegate Abrahams, Chelsea, Mass., Central Labor Union, stated that he hoped the convention would do nothing to encourage secessionist or dual organizations, as they were a menace to every national and international organization represented in the convention.

Chairman McCullough, in defending the report of the committee said in part: The committee, in giving consideration to this matter, found its possible action circumscribed by the laws and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and was therefore moved, if not compelled, to report on the matter in conformity with those laws and convention proceedings. It is not a question of the sympathy of the members of the committee with the condition of the brick-workers at Murphysboro; it is not a question of the nature of the contract that was made and then repudiated by those workers; nor is it a question of the relations between the seceding locals, their grievances against their international, and the international itself. The proper place and the only place where the brick-workers can secure remedial action, can obtain the relief they seek, is in the organization from which they seceded, and no matter how they feel today or will feel tomorrow, or how they felt yesterday, in the final analysis, before they can have any harmony, before they can obtain the conditions they seek, they will have to go back to the international union and begin their work for reform there. The committee had that fact and that fact alone before it.

Chairman McCullough stated that the request of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was that the matter be re-

opened for hearing the introduction of new evidence; that the new evidence was placed before the committee; that it was not entirely disregarded by the committee, but they felt it could not be properly considered in connection with the main fact; that even had the evidence been produced before the Philadelphia Convention it would not have affected the decision there, for no matter how much the convention might disapprove of the acts of affiliated organizations or their officers, the American Federation of Labor has no right to inquire into their internal affairs; that such a right belongs solely and exclusively to the membership of the affiliated organizations.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor, in discussing the matter said in part: When we were before the committee we were asked if, by complying with the request of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, they would nullify or set aside any of the previous decisions or actions of the convention, and we answered that they would not, that all decisions of the conventions and Executive Council in this matter would stand against the people who are outside of the international union; but if a committee of this organization had found it was necessary to change its policy on that particular question, then that committee might make such recommendations as would conserve and protect, and advance the best interest of the labor movement. That is the request of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; it is not asking you to go contrary to any previous decision or action.

Delegate Fitzpatrick spoke briefly of a conference in which he represented the American Federation of Labor and which was attended by President Gompers, when an effort was made to settle the strife in the brick-makers' organizations. He stated that in a convention held in Blue Island the officers of the international had been elected for a period of one year, and through some referendum action taken they had fastened themselves on the organization for a number of years and the membership had no chance or opportunity to vote upon it, and because they would not consent to reconsider that action the program of the conference could not be carried out. Delegate Fitzpatrick spoke

at some length of the effect upon the labor movement of his State of the troubles existing in the organizations of the brick-workers.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.) spoke at some length in support of the report of the committee and stated that if grievances such as the one under consideration were adjusted it would have to be done within the organizations and not on the outside after locals had seceded. He stated he was opposed to the convention taking any action that would lead in any way to a recognition of the right of men to secede from their organizations because they were dissatisfied with prevailing conditions.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), spoke of his experience with secession movements in the organization of the teamsters, and argued that if the report of the committee should be defeated it would encourage the dual movements in the teamsters' organizations and other organizations to remain outside. He stated that the question under consideration, and similar questions in regard to other organizations, had been brought in by delegates of city central bodies or State federations and not by representatives of international unions. He urged the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland, defended the action of representatives of city central bodies and state federations in bringing up questions such as the one under consideration, referred to a secession movement in which he had taken part in the Electrical Workers, and urged that some court of appeals be provided to which aggrieved members can go prior to seceding.

President Gompers, in speaking on the subject, said in part: On Labor Day I was in Marion, Illinois, when a committee of the Brick Makers' Union of Murphysboro came to see me. They showed me a copy of the agreement to which reference has been made. I felt astonished that any organization would ever enter an agreement of such a character. I took a copy of the agreement to Washington and submitted it to the Executive Council. The Executive Council expressed its views upon the agreement very strongly. I, did not hesitate to express my own feeling and judgment regarding the agreement. By direction of the Council, I addressed a

letter to the officers of that organization. I received a reply from Mr. Butterworth, who has addressed the convention upon the subject. He expressed himself in the reply as he did upon this floor—that he regretted deeply that such an agreement had been entered into, and hoped the subject-matter would not be brought to this convention. While the matter is referred to in the report of the Executive Council it does not deal with it in such a way as would cast a reflection upon the organization. As stated by Delegate Fitzpatrick, I helped in the endeavor to bring about a reaffiliation of the locals to the international. The effort did not prove a success. I will call the attention of both Delegate Fitzpatrick and Delegate Walker to the part of the report of the committee which says that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will lend its assistance in whatever manner it may to the end that a complete amalgamation of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union and the seceding unions may be brought about. If I understand the judgment of my associates of the Executive Council, if this declaration is passed by the convention it will mean what it says, that an effort will be made to bring about an amalgamation, and if the intentions of the seceding locals are fair, open and aboveboard if the intentions of the international union officers are honest, open, and aboveboard, it is more than likely the Executive Council will exert its efforts and energies to carry out the purpose as expressed by the recommendation of the committee. After all, not only secession but every activity of a union is interpreted by the intent, and if there be the intent to get together upon an honest and honorable basis, then you will find, the Executive Council doing its level best to accomplish that fact. So far as I am concerned, if I am permitted to aid in that work, that assistance will be given.

Delegate Walker: With the interpretation of the report of the committee given by the President, I have not a particle of objection to it; the only feeling I have in the matter is if possible to bring about an amalgamation and consolidation of that organization that

will be for the best interests of the movement.

Delegate Walker replied briefly to statements made by previous speakers in regard to the membership of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted, 152 votes being cast in the affirmative and none in the negative.

#### **Application of Retail Clerks for a Change of Title.**

In the Executive Council's report will be found a paragraph dealing with the request of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association for a change of name and charter and the extension of jurisdiction.

After hearing the arguments presented by the representatives of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, your committee is of the opinion that the claims for jurisdiction under the proposed change of name and charter are too broad, and that should they be granted would inevitably result in a multiplication of jurisdictional disputes and a greater confusion in the trades-union movement.

Your committee would recommend that the officers of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association revise their jurisdictional claims along lines which will avoid the complications, and we would further recommend that the Executive Council be requested to assist them if necessary in so adjusting their charter that they may be enabled to secure the advantages they seek under their new basis for organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics.**

In the Executive Council's report under the caption Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics will be found a report on the efforts made by the Executive Council to secure compliance by the unions interested with the decision of the Seattle convention which was endorsed by the Philadelphia convention. The Executive Council in a supplemental report, which is part of the proceedings of this convention, calls attention to the fact that the California State Building Trades Council did lately unseat the representatives of the Carpet Mechanics' Local of

San Francisco. The matter is submitted by the Executive Council to the convention for its further consideration and recommendation.

Your committee would recommend a renewal of the instructions of the Philadelphia convention and Seattle convention that the Executive Council use its utmost endeavors to secure the affiliation of the dual organizations in San Francisco and Portland with the Upholsterers' International Union, to the end that a condition which has been of great disturbing influence for several years be removed, and your committee in passing desires to again call the attention of the delegates to this convention, and especially to those delegates who represent the state, county and city central bodies, to the language employed in the report of the Adjustment Committee to the Rochester convention, in which the declaration of the Scranton convention was reaffirmed, and which report was reaffirmed by the Seattle convention. It is of the utmost importance, and emphasis cannot be too strongly laid upon the duty of the subordinate bodies, state, county or city, to co-operate cheerfully and at all times to carry out so far as is possible the expressions of the American Federation of Labor as coming from the convention. Sympathy with the members of a dual or seceding organization should not be allowed to go to the extreme of permitting those organizations to take part in the deliberations of the organizations that are legally represented. Grievances that exist can be more readily righted, evils can be more easily removed and difficulties more promptly remedied through the regular orderly course of procedure than through secession or rebellion, and when the membership of the local unions appreciate the fact that the success of the organizations whose affiliation makes up the American Federation of Labor has been achieved because they have pursued an orderly, regulated, reasonable course in their efforts to attain their ends, the quicker they will come to that point where they will be of service to themselves and to the movement as a whole.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Firemen-Engineers.

In the Executive Council's report is recorded the action taken by the President of the American Federation of Labor in conformity with the recommendation of the Philadelphia Convention and the efforts made to secure a better understanding between the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers regarding the jurisdictional control of these separate organizations. The President reports requesting these organizations to name committees for the purpose of formulating a working agreement which shall govern the organizations.

We commend and endorse the action of the President in this matter.

In this connection your committee considered the following resolution:

**Resolution No. 150—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:**

WHEREAS, By order of the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 14-26, 1910, the following agreement was made and ratified, John R. Alpine representing the American Federation of Labor (as taken from page 306 of those proceedings):

#### AGREEMENT.

"Agreement entered into this 25th day of November, 1910, between the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, to the end that in the creation of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the respective employers thereof, better understandings may prevail and the best interests of all be more generally protected. It is mutually agreed by the subscribers hereto that if the following plan is faithfully adhered to by the organizations at interest it will serve to effectually remove any and all disputes that have heretofore existed, or that may arise in the future, and we guarantee to carry into effect the full spirit and intent of this agreement mutually entered into.

"Section 1. The International Union of Steam Engineers and International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the directions of their respective international officers, cause to be created where local unions of both organizations exist joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's inter-



ests and promoting the creation of joint agreements with their employers. This action shall be taken as soon as possible and not later than January 1, 1911.

"Section 2. It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organization herein mentioned with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, as well as assisting in the settlement of disputes of any nature that may arise.

"Section 3. In the event of disagreement between the conference boards already referred to, the international representatives of both organizations in dispute shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor to properly dispose of the same. In the event of failure with regard to settlement, the president of the American Federation of Labor shall appoint some member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act as referee, and the latter's decision shall be final and binding on all parties to this agreement.

"Section 4. Since it is mutually agreed by both parties to this agreement that the question of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the employers thereof, as concerns the date of commencement and expiration of such agreements is primarily the cause for existing differences, it is therefore unanimously decided by the subscribers of this agreement that in the future, when creating new agreements with their employers, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall make such agreements jointly, and these agreements shall be identical with regard to date of commencement and expiration.

"Section 5. It is also further agreed that both organizations shall assist each other in organizing steam plants, and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers who have the hiring of firemen, water tenders, oilers or helpers shall hire members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen wherever possible.

"MATT COMERFORD,

"JOHN L. McNAMARA,

"JOHN J. GLASS,

"JAMES G. HANNAHAN,

"International Union Steam Engineers,

"TIMOTHY HEALY,

"C. L. SHAMP,

"JOSEPH W. MORTON,

"International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"JOHN R. ALPINE,

"Representing American Federation of Labor.

"Vice-President Alpine: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and the ratification of the agreement. (Seconded and carried.)"

WHEREAS, At the St. Paul Convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers, held in September, 1912, that

organization changed its laws to take in firemen, water-tenders, boiler-washers, oilers and helpers, which class of men rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, and by so doing violated the above agreement with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, made at the St. Louis Convention; and

WHEREAS, The Rochester Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 11-23, 1912, passed the following resolution, and the committee reported on this case as follows (as taken from pages 337 and 338 of those proceedings):

"Resolution 120: Whereas, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending Article XIX, Section 1, to read as follows:

"A candidate for membership in a local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership"; and

"WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen against the actions of the International Union of Steam Engineers for their infringements on the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted by the American Federation of Labor in violation of Section 2 of Article II and Section 11 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and in conflict with the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water-tenders, boiler-washers and firemen's helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above.

"The committee reported as follows: Section 2, Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that:

"No affiliated international, national, or local union shall be permitted to change its title or name if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization without having

first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor.'

"While the representatives of the Steam Engineers have assured your committee that it is not their intention to admit to membership anyone coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen without first having complied with the provisions of Section 2, Article IX, as quoted above, yet it is not denied that the constitution of the International Union of Steam Engineers has been so amended as to make eligible to membership therein as apprentices men now coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"In view of the plain provisions of the law, which requires that an organization must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor before it shall have the right to extend its jurisdiction over the members of another affiliated organization, your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

"The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried"; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 10-26, 1913, decided as follows on this question (as taken from page 303, Committee on Executive Council's report)

**"Engineers—Change of Title.**

"Under the caption of 'Engineers—Change of Title,' the Executive Council reports the action of the Engineers' organization changing its title so as to read "International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers," with the distinct understanding that this change was not for the purpose and should not give to that organization any extension of jurisdiction. Your committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council in this matter be approved.

"The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote."

And pages 334 and 335 of the Adjustments Committee's report:

"Secretary Golden: Your committee begs to report that the question of jurisdiction between the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the International Union of Steam Engineers has been the source of much discord and serious injury to both organizations; decisions have been rendered by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor which have defined, in concise and unmistakable terms, the jurisdiction of each. Notwithstanding this fact, the question of jurisdiction is still the cause of friction and of the further introduction of resolutions relating thereto. It is obvious to your committee, as it must be to the delegates to this convention, that if the greatest measure of progress is to be made by either, it is imperative that these organizations shall co-operate and shall work in harmony for the advancement of their members and the development of the organizations. Your committee has endeavored to impress upon the offi-

cers of both organizations the necessity and the advantage of such co-operation, and it is pleased to report that the prospect of harmonious co-operation between the Engineers and the Firemen is brighter now than it has been in the recent past.

"Your committee has been requested by representatives of both organizations to suggest a plan of action whereby harmony may be restored and co-operation secured. Your committee finds that some years ago an agreement did exist between these two organizations which, although since abrogated, might profitably be made the basis of a new understanding. With the hope that your committee may be correct in this opinion, it recommends:

"(1) That each organization shall faithfully and in a spirit of brotherhood observe the jurisdictional rights of the other, as they are laid down by the American Federation of Labor.

"(2) That as soon as possible after the adjournment of this convention the executive boards of these organizations meet in joint conference for the purpose of consummating an agreement along the following lines:

"The International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the direction of their respective international officers, cause to be created, where local unions of both organizations exist, joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's interests and promoting the creation of joint agreements with their employers.

"It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organizations with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, and to assist in the settlement of any internal or trade dispute that may arise.

"In the event of a disagreement between these conference boards, the international representatives of both organizations shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor properly to adjust it. In the event of failure with regard to the adjustment of any such dispute, the president of the American Federation of Labor should be authorized by this joint agreement to appoint some representative to act as mediator and, if necessary, to decide such internal questions of dispute.

"The agreement should further provide that wherever it is possible to do so contracts between employers and the unions should be made jointly, and should become effective and expire on the same dates.

"It should be further agreed that each organization shall assist the other in organizing all plants within its respective jurisdiction; all engineers, members of the engineers' union, who have authority to hire men whose work

comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen should be encouraged and urged by the officers and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers to employ members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"Your committee further recommends, if agreeable to both organizations, a representative of the American Federation of Labor be selected by the Executive Council to assist in formulating an agreement along the lines recommended herein.

"The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote"; and

WHEREAS, Said joint conference was held, as called for by the Seattle convention, John B. Lennon representing the American Federation of Labor, and although the Seattle convention laid down lines for a working agreement, the engineers' representatives refused to enter into any agreement unless it carried with it a plan of amalgamation; therefore, no further agreement was entered into, and the matter was again taken up by the Philadelphia (Pa.) convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 9-21, 1914, and the Adjustment Committee made the following report on the case, which was adopted (as taken from page 295 of those proceedings):

"Your committee is informed that a convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen is to be held August, 1915, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. We recommend, therefore, that the president of the American Federation of Labor attend the above convention for the purpose of laying before the convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen the purpose and benefits of amalgamation, and the officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen are requested to extend an invitation to the president of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to be in attendance at that convention.

"In the meantime both organizations stand instructed not to trespass on the jurisdiction of each other, the jurisdiction to mean that which is recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"The report of the committee was adopted;" and

WHEREAS, The international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen instructed all their local unions to take up the matter of amalgamation at at least four different meetings of their organizations and discuss it so that every member of their local unions would have a chance to express his own opinion on it as he saw fit, and then for the local unions to instruct their delegates to the Cincinnati Convention on this question so that the entire views of their membership could be expressed at that convention, and in

no case did any of the international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, or its organizers, try in any way to influence the membership on this question, but informed them that the opinions of the rank and file, free from any outside influence, was what was wanted; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers, and President Comerford of the Engineers, addressed the Cincinnati Convention, and the convention decided by unanimous vote not to amalgamate with the Engineers, and by the statements and arguments given by the delegates at that convention it was plain to see that amalgamation can never be successfully carried out by these two international unions, as it was clearly shown by the firemen from all parts of the country that in nearly every case an engineer has a right to hire and discharge and is the boss of the fireman, and in many cases the engineer contracts for a certain sum of money the whole job of operating the mechanical department of the plant of which he is engineer and hires his own help such as firemen, oilers and helpers, and no trade unionist wishes to be a member of the same union with his boss or contractor, and no one with the interest of the wage-worker at heart would insist on him doing so; and it was also clearly shown that in thousands of cases the firemen now have shorter hours and better pay than the engineers on other jobs. The firemen's convention then acted upon the suggestion of President Gompers, and elected a committee to meet with a like committee of the engineers for the purpose of establishing an agreement by which better conditions and co-operation of the mutual advantage of the engineers and firemen might be obtained; and

WHEREAS, The above is the action of the firemen's convention and previous conventions of the A. F. of L. on this subject, all of which have been ignored by the International Union of Steam Engineers, who never seemed to pay any attention to the laws of the American Federation of Labor or the guaranteed rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, waiting and expecting, it is supposed, to get some American Federation of Labor Convention which might render a favorable decision to them on this case and then no doubt they would respect it; and

WHEREAS, The engineers in many localities are taking firemen, oilers and helpers into their union on the threat that if the men don't join them they will lose their jobs, for the engineer is boss, and they also organized what they term apprentice engineers, composed of firemen, oilers and helpers, and these same men are working cheaper and longer hours for the purpose of displacing members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; these facts have been clearly shown, especially in Detroit, Mich., where an investigation was made by the Detroit Federation of Labor; and such action on the part of the Engineers' Union not

only works a hardship on the members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, but are against the laws and rules of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers to withdraw the apprentice charters they have issued in the city of Detroit, Mich., and elsewhere, and to drop from their membership all persons employed as firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers, and to not use the term "apprentice" to cover such tradesmen, and that they should appoint or elect a committee of three to meet a like committee of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, which is already elected, at the suggestion of President Gompers, to work out a working agreement on the lines laid down by either the St. Louis or the Seattle or this convention, so that the interests of both international unions will be promoted and the jurisdictional rights of each international be protected as defined by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, If the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers refuses to respect the jurisdiction rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, as already defined by the American Federation of Labor, and continues to take into membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers under the guise of apprentices or any other term, as long as they are working at the above class of work, or if it refuses to make a working agreement, as referred to above, that its local unions be deprived of representation in the different State and city central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor until such times as the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers agrees to respect the laws and carry out decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

The parties at interest having appeared before your committee and presented their case for the information of the committee, and it appearing that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has not as yet taken any step towards compliance with the instructions of the Committee on Adjustments to the Rochester Convention, and which report was adopted by that convention, and it appearing further that there is a trespass on the jurisdictional rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen at this time by the Engineers, your committee would, therefore, recommend that the Engineers again be instructed to take steps to comply with the decision of the Rochester Convention that they be instructed to revoke the charter of the dual organization of Firemen now existing in De-

troit and operating under a charter issued by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and we further recommend that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, at their earliest convenience, appoint committees to represent each organization party to this controversy with power to formulate a joint working agreement under which the members of the two international bodies may carry on their vocations without the one infringing on the jurisdictional rights of the other, and we would recommend that a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be designated by the President to lend such assistance as he may to these committees in their work of formulating the joint agreement.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Shamp, Stationary Firemen: I would like to ask the committee what notice they took of the cases where the engineers now have firemen in their organizations that they do not class as apprentice unions?

Chairman McCullough: I think that is fairly well covered in the report of the committee, which instructs the engineers—or asks that the engineers be instructed—to take steps to comply with the decision of the Rochester convention, which covered that point fully.

Delegate Shamp, in discussing the question said in part: While it is true the affair in Detroit is the only one referred to by the committee, I take it the intention is that they drop from their membership our members taken in since the Rochester convention. Ever since the contention has come up the American Federation of Labor has decided that the engineers should turn over to our organization the men they have taken from us and make working agreements with us. Nothing has been accomplished. Right now there are different employers appealing to us and to President Gompers to learn from which organization to hire members. There is nothing at all to hinder our organization and the engineers from working in peace and harmony. We do it in different places throughout the country. When the St. Louis agreement was made everybody thought the

matter was settled, but the engineers in their St. Paul convention changed their constitution and provided to take in our members as apprentices. In the Rochester convention the American Federation of Labor said its decision would have to be carried out. What will be done if it is not carried out? I want to ask the engineers here to-day if they intend to carry out the decision of this convention, no matter what it is. They do not answer.

Delegate Comerford, Steam and Operating Engineers, in discussing the question said in part: At the St. Louis convention we entered into an agreement with the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. The engineers tried their level best to live up to that agreement. What did we find? The first place that agreement should have been put into effect was in New York City. At that time our international union and the United Brewery Workmen were trying jointly to make agreements so that all the trades affected would enter into their agreements at the same time and have them expire at the same time. That was the first time the firemen had a chance to abide by the St. Louis agreement; but they signed an agreement with the brewers of New York City to terminate at a time different from the Engineers' and Brewery Workers' agreements. The result was that our people in New York City demanded that some action be taken by us, so that some time in the future men working in these plants would be able to make agreements that would begin on the same date and expire on the same date. I contend that the firemen are our helpers, and we have just as much right to control the men who assist us in operating power plants as any other trades represented in this hall have to control their helpers. Some day you will have to help these two bodies to get together, and I hope to see the day the report will be made from a platform of the American Federation of Labor such as was made to-day in the case of the Cigarmakers and Stogie-makers, when our young friend here stood up and told you the amalgamation of those two bodies had resulted in the greatest good to both of them. I know that if the engineers and firemen were in one body great good would accrue to

our members and to theirs. You can make decisions and I will comply, but we have twenty-five thousand men scattered over this country who are not willing to do it. You can not convince our people they haven't the right to organize all our trade; a right you have given to other members of the American Federation of Labor. I leave it to the representatives of any organization that has to deal with its helpers whether they would agree to a separate organization of their helpers and allow them to go in and make separate contracts. We know the separate contracts of the firemen have not only prevented them from getting better conditions, but have been a great detriment to the engineers of this country in securing shorter hours and better wages. Our men unanimously favor amalgamation.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

Delegate Shamp: If the committee had brought in a recommendation for amalgamation, would your organization comply with it?

Delegate Comerford: Certainly.

Delegate Holland, New York Central Federated Union, in discussing the question, denied some statements made by Delegate Comerford in regard to the New York situation. He stated that in New York City the firemen and engineers had worked harmoniously under administrations that preceded President Comerford's; that a joint board had been maintained by the two organizations; that President Comerford opposed it and threatened to suspend or expel locals of the engineers if they remained part of the joint board, and for that reason it was discontinued.

Delegate Holland stated that the firemen objected to belonging to the same organization as the engineers, as 95 per cent. of the firemen working in plants were employed by the engineers; that the superintendents and owners of plants did not hire firemen, oilers, boiler washers and that class of labor. He asked that the convention instruct the engineers to employ union men when employing firemen and the other classes of laborers mentioned and there would be no trouble. He stated that the firemen did not object to working with the engineers, but they did object to being controlled in their organizations by their employers.

Delegate Holland dealt at length with the situation in New York, and spoke of the disputes between the firemen and engineers, and referred briefly to the local union of apprentices chartered by the engineers in Detroit. He objected to such organizations, and stated that conditions would be different if engineers did not have the power to hire and discharge firemen and helpers; that if the owners or superintendents hired those classes of labor a different condition would prevail and there would not be so much objection to belonging to one organization. He cited conditions prevailing in many of the large plants in New York City, referred to conditions that had been obtained for the firemen by their own organizations, and stated that in many instances the firemen received better wages and worked shorter hours than the engineers.

Delegate Healy, in discussing the report of the committee said in part: That resolution recites the differences between the firemen and engineers since this controversy has existed, and there is not one instance in all that time where the firemen have not lived up to the mandates of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. And we intend to live up to the mandates of the American Federation of Labor. All we want is to be allowed to work out our own salvation. It is ridiculous to say that the fireman is the engineer's apprentice. Why are the engineers so anxious to have us for their apprentices? I don't put them all down as our enemies, but there are some engineers that are the hardest taskmasters the firemen have. The chief engineer is the boss of the plant; he hires and discharges the fireman, the water-tender, the boiler cleaner, the oiler and the ash-wheeler. He is one of the officials of the company, one of the office staff, or is looked upon as such, and his business is to run the plant as economically as possible. The chief engineer is the boss and he runs the plant as cheaply as possible. The only reason the engineers want the firemen in their organization is to put them out of business and get them down to thirty-five and forty dollars a month where they were before the firemen had an organization. The assistant engineers are very little better than the

chief engineers; they are looking forward to the day when they will be promoted to chief engineers, and to get those positions they must get in line with the policy of the company. I don't think the American Federation of Labor is going to force the firemen to destroy what they have built up during the last fifteen or sixteen years they have been organized. Do you delegates know the hardships the firemen suffered in the past, and what they still have to suffer, where they are not organized? In the larger cities they are working twelve hours a day two and three stories under ground. Some of the modern buildings have plants seventy-five feet under the sidewalks. We want to relieve these men. I do, because I worked twelve hours a day down in those hellholes and I know what it is. We interfere with no other organization. I will ask any one in this convention if there is a trade union that ever had a jurisdiction squabble with the firemen? Is there a trade union here that the firemen have not been on the level with, in case of strikes or labor troubles? Have the firemen ever put them out of their jobs? No; not once.

Delegate Healy spoke at some length of the work the firemen have done in different parts of the United States; their efforts to organize men in the Standard Oil plants and the plants of other companies; the measure of success they have obtained and the benefits that have accrued to the men by relieving them from the terrible conditions under which they labored; the reduction of their hours of labor, the increases in their wages, and the general betterment of their condition. He suggested that the engineers, in order to increase the number of their members, take into their international union various locals of engineers in New York and other places that are not now affiliated, and try to secure members in various places where there are large numbers of licensed engineers not in their ranks.

Delegate Hannahan, Steam and Operating Engineers, in discussing the question said in part: I want to take exception to Brother Holland and Brother Healy giving all the honor for what is being done to President Comerford, as



the membership of our organization insists upon being recognized as responsible for what has been done. Personally I am not greatly interested in this controversy as the branch of our trade I come from is not mixed up in this fight. I realize, and I am sure you will agree with me, that if we accept the responsibility of this organization, if it does come to us, it will not be an asset but a liability. Prior to the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor an agreement existed that was brought about through the splendid generalship of the chairman of the committee our case was referred to in the St. Louis convention. The decision of the St. Louis convention was reaffirmed in the Atlanta convention. It was decided in that convention that the apprentices should come under the jurisdiction of the journeymen. After that decision was made by the American Federation of Labor, our convention instructed the Executive Board to provide for apprentices, thinking we were carrying out the intentions of the American Federation of Labor. I object to the firemen standing in the way of the advancement of their members to be engineers. They say that few of their craft desire to become engineers. I am sure that hard work, long hours and none too high a wage scale is not desired for the men who do so much in the engine room to promote its efficiency.

Delegate Morton, Stationary Firemen, in discussing the question, said in part: The agreement that was entered into in St. Louis was carried out faithfully and everything was going on nicely until a circular was issued by President Comerford saying from that time on, owing to the situation in New York, any local of engineers that had anything to do with the firemen would suffer the penalty of suspension and possible expulsion. Immediately the local joint board disbanded, and it is not all peace and harmony in Chicago. We have the same fights they have in New York City.

Delegate Furuseth, secretary of the committee, in discussing the question, said in part: There is nothing mysterious in this question between the engineers and the firemen. I think everybody here understands that. The engineer orders the fireman, and, necessarily, thinks himself better than the

fireman. The fireman is a good deal of a democrat and he thinks himself just as good as the engineer. The engineer who has been at sea has got into a certain habit of treating the fireman and the fireman has got into a certain habit of how to take it. As far as President Comerford is concerned, I am very sorry for him, because I am just as sure as I am standing here that in most of these questions he can no more help it than he can fly. The men have interests to serve; that has been described here and need not be repeated. Taking it all together, this committee came to the conclusion to submit the report it has, feeling perfectly satisfied that the firemen are right in this question and that the engineers are wrong. I have no hesitation in saying that as far as I am concerned. Mr. Comerford represents the engineers, and in representing the engineers he does what he can. I hope and trust a great many of the things he has to do and tries to do go somewhat against his grain, but he is representing engineers and the sentiment that has been expressed at his conventions. We cannot, however, do anything else except what the committee recommends. The American Federation of Labor has no power to say to the firemen that they shall submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the engineers. There isn't anything for the American Federation of Labor to do except to contribute helpfully in getting them to understand each other and mutually respect each other. The committee has gone as far as it can go in the matter, or substantially as far as it can go.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Williams, President of the Building Trades Department, stated that a question had come before the committee of which he was chairman in regard to the dock builders in New York City and a dispute between the Carpenters and the Structural Iron Workers. He stated that it was a question of the revocation of the federal union charter by the Executive Council; that the committee desired the representatives of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to appear before the Executive Council, and asked

If such a meeting could be had, the Council to report on the matter to the convention.

President Gompers stated that the Council would meet for the purpose asked immediately after the adjournment of the Thursday morning session.

Delegate Woll stated that the chairman and secretary of the Committee on Education had not been able to secure a meeting of all the members of that committee in order to consider the subject-matter referred to them during the morning session, and asked for an extension of time. The committee had been instructed to report to the convention during the afternoon session. The request of the committee was granted.

Chairman McCullough: I have in my hand a rather long report on an important proposition. It will take a half hour to read it. I suggest that it be read now and published in the proceedings in order that the delegates may have it before them tomorrow morning in concrete form.

President Gompers suggested that the matter be printed without being read, and be taken up for consideration during the session Thursday morning. The suggestion of President Gompers was approved, and Chairman McCullough submitted the following proposition without reading:

#### Seamen's Legislation.

Under the above caption on pages 79 and 80 of the Report of the Executive Council will be found a report and comment upon the passage of the so-called Seamen's Act and the Licensed Officers' Act which calls attention to the far-reaching effect of this legislation upon the life of the seaman, upon the safety of the traveling public and to the world-wide opposition to this act, the strenuous efforts that have been and are being made to have the law either repealed or emasculated, and also to the vote upon the question of ship subsidies taken by the National Chamber of Commerce, which latter body by a very large vote records itself in favor of "subsidies from the Government sufficient to offset difference in the cost between operation of vessels under the American flag, and operation in the same deep sea trades under foreign flags."

We endorse the statements made by the Executive Council and owing to the very general campaign of misrepresentation through which it is sought to place this legislation in an unfair and prejudicial position before the people of this and other countries, and owing to the manifest lack of real information possessed by the public in general and by the National Chamber of Commerce in particular, we believe it to be of importance to state clearly the purposes of the legislation and to show the distinction between the old law and this act.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the Sixty-second Congress in reporting the bill to the House of Representatives states the purposes as follows:

"The enactment of this bill will accomplish three very important things.

"First. It will give freedom to the sailor.

"Second. It will promote safety at sea.

"Third. It will equalize the operating expenses of foreign and domestic vessels engaged in over-sea trade and tend to build up our merchant marine."

It ought to be plain to all that with the difference in wage cost of operating vessels ranging from 20 to 200 per cent. against the American vessels, even a large subsidy could not prevent the decay of our over-sea shipping. Over-sea shipping is competitive and unless this differential can be abolished, there is no hope of having any merchant marine worthy of being called American.

This differential arose and has been continued by the treaties under which we are bound to arrest, detain and surrender back to their vessels any seaman who deserts from foreign vessels in our harbors. The act under consideration abrogates these treaties and the laws based on them, and releases the economic law governing wages, and the inevitable result must be to equalize the wage cost. Two free men working side by side, doing the same work, will receive the same wage. This has been proven too often to need any further discussion. Seamen's wages depend upon the port and have nothing to do with the flag. Give freedom to the seamen, provide the same standards of skill and the same laws regulating the shipment

of men, and the wages will automatically become the same.

It must be equally manifest that there can be no safety at sea unless the men employed understand all orders given by the officers of the vessel. There must be perfect understanding of all verbal orders on part of the whole or at least substantially whole crew, and there must be sufficient skill in at least a part of the deck crew to be able to understand and obey all orders. It is not so important that this should be the case under ordinary conditions, but in emergencies this is indispensable for the reasonable safety of the passengers. It is equally important in freight vessels, because they otherwise become a menace to other vessels. What would be thought of a fire department in which the officers could speak but one language while the men could speak only another, and all orders had to be given through an interpreter? When a building is on fire you may get down into the street and be saved, but when a vessel is burning your route to heaven is by fire or drowning, unless there be the boats and the skilled men to save you from either, and so this act provides a percentage of skill and a knowledge of the language of officers sufficient at least to give some promise of safety.

It is deeply regretted that this act does not provide boats for all, and at least two able seamen for each boat, and we feel sure that disasters will ultimately compel this to become the law. The act, however, is in this matter so great an improvement upon conditions that existed up to the time of its becoming law that it marks an epoch in maritime legislation. Equally manifest is the fact that men of sufficient physical strength, intelligence and courage needed for sea service could not be obtained so long as the seaman was compelled to surrender all rights of citizenship on joining the service. The ancient status of involuntary service could not and cannot continue together with

modern education. Efficient men quit the sea and boys shunned it to such an extent that sea power was passing into the keeping of the races of Asia, whose home status and condition was and is such as to make the status and condition of seamen under Occidental law appear as an improvement. From either a racial or a national point of view this would be disastrous. We could not have safety at sea, safety to our nation, or our race, or an equal chance for a merchant marine without having men of Aryan blood and of American nationality come back to the sea. Hence the freedom of the seaman and the improvement in his condition was imperative as well as humanitarian.

We protest most earnestly against any weakening of this legislation. We urge that it be strengthened in its safety provisions. We regret very deeply that the Department of Commerce has deemed it to be its duty to give to some of the provisions of this law a construction which we believe to be contrary not only to the spirit of the law but to the letter. We cannot agree with the Department of Commerce or with the Attorney-General when, in spite of the definite enactment "that foreign vessels leaving ports of the United States shall comply with the rules herein prescribed as to life-saving appliances and equipment and manning of the same," it is held by the Department and the Attorney-General that this does not apply to vessels of certain nations, nor can we agree with the Department of Commerce when, by construction put upon the clause dealing with the requirement that seamen should understand all orders, the Department holds that only orders given under ordinary conditions are contemplated. Such construction tends to destroy two of the purposes of the act, namely, the promotion of safety and equalization of wage cost. We are opposed to subsidies of any sort. The following is a correct comparison between this act and the law and regulations as existing prior to the enactment of this statute:

COMPARISON OF SEAMEN'S ACT WITH EXISTING LAW AND REGULATIONS  
OF THE INSPECTION SERVICE.

## Provisions Under Existing Law or Regulations of the Inspection Service.

Provides that the master of any vessel becoming shorthanded away from a home port must fill up the crew by men of the same rating, if obtainable.

Nothing in the law or the regulations.

Deals with, when and how the Seamen shall be paid, and provides as a penalty one day's pay for each day beyond the time when it is due.

Provides that in any port away from the home port, where the vessel loads or discharges cargo, the seaman shall be entitled to receive half of his wages he has earned, provided there is no stipulation to the contrary in the shipping agreement.

Note.—The stipulation was always placed in the shipping articles, and this provision did not apply to foreign vessels in ports of the United States.

Gives the majority of the crew, when joined by one of the officers of the vessel, the right to demand an inspection of the vessel to determine its seaworthiness.

Deals with the quarters of the seamen and provides 72 cubic feet of air space, with 12 square feet on the floor.

## Provisions of the Conference Bill.

## SECTION ONE.

The proposed conference bill changes existing law so as to make it the same, or a higher rating.

## SECTION TWO.

Regulates the hours of labor at sea and in port and prohibits unnecessary work on Sundays and legal holidays.

By dividing the sailors into two, the firemen, oilers and water-tenders into three watches, which are to be on duty successively, while at sea.

Nine hours, inclusive of anchor watch, shall constitute a day's labor at port.

## SECTION THREE.

Increases the penalty to two days' pay for each day's delay.

## SECTION FOUR.

Provides for the half pay, and that any stipulation to the contrary shall be held as void.

Gives the sailor the right to release from his contract, and to receive his full pay, in case the half pay due is refused.

In disputes about wages due, seamen may first receive money that is offered, and then appeal to a court for adjudication as to what was really due.

This provision is applicable to foreign vessels in ports and waters of the United States.

## SECTION FIVE.

Confers upon seamen in the foreign trade the right to demand upon application by a majority of the crew, exclusive of any officer, an inspection of the vessel as to its seaworthiness.

It confers upon the first and second officer, the same right when they jointly make the demand.

## SECTION SIX.

The conference bill requires:

(a) 120 cubic feet, with 16 square feet on the floor.

(b) Prohibits the placing of more than one berth above another.

(c) Requires a light, clean and properly ventilated wash place for sailors, if more than ten are on deck, and a separate washing place for fireroom and engineroom men if more than ten in number. Such washing place must be equipped with hot and cold water, wash basins, sinks and shower baths.

(d) Requires the furnishing of a separate room as a hospital for the sick in all vessels with crews of more than twelve, running on voyages of more than three days' duration between ports.

(e) Provides for fumigation of forecables, under regulations of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service.

(f) Requires at least two exits from the forecables.

Provides prison penalty for seamen quitting work upon the vessel in a foreign port, and further provides that he may be arrested, detained and delivered back to the vessel by the Peace Officers of foreign nations, so that he can be compelled to continue to labor against his will.

Existing law makes it the Consul's duty to reclaim deserters (cause their arrest, to be sent to prison, or back on board of the vessel).

Prohibits corporal punishment and makes it the master's duty to surrender any officer guilty of applying corporal punishment to the courts upon arrival in port. Failing to do so, the master becomes liable in damages to the party who has been illegally punished.

Note.—The right to sue the master for damages was barred, as there was nothing to levy on.

Gives to each man one ounce of butter and four quarts of water per day.

Prohibits the allotment of seamen's wages (advance) or allotment to any near and dependent relatives. But permits allotment to original creditor (advance) or allotment to near and dependent relatives in American vessels in the foreign trade and on foreign vessels signing men in ports of the United States.

Prohibits the attachment or garnishment of the wages of a seaman.

Nothing in the law or the regulations.

#### SECTION SEVEN.

Changes existing law by abrogating the imprisonment of American seamen, as a penalty for quitting work on any vessel of the United States in a foreign port.

#### SECTION EIGHT.

Relieves the Consular agents of the United States from serving as "slave catchers" of American seamen in foreign ports.

#### SECTION NINE.

Extends to the vessel, or the owner of the vessel, the same liability for damages as the existing law imposes upon the master.

#### SECTION TEN.

Provides for two ounces of butter and five quarts of water.

#### SECTION ELEVEN.

Prohibits all allotment to original creditor (advance) on American vessels in any trade and on foreign vessels in ports of the United States.

Permits allotment to near and dependent relatives in any trade or any vessel signing its crew in ports of the United States.

Provides that the master of a foreign vessel shall bring his articles for inspection of a collector, and denies clearance if this section has been violated.

#### SECTION TWELVE.

Prohibits the attachment or garnishment of wages of seamen or of fishermen, except by a court, and for the benefit of wife or minor children.

#### SECTION THIRTEEN.

Establishes a standard of efficiency for crews of vessels of over 100 gross tons, except vessels navigating rivers exclusively and the smaller inland lakes.

(a) By requiring a number of able seamen beginning with 40 per cent. and gradually increasing to 65 per cent. of the deck crew, exclusive of licensed officers.

(b) By requiring that at least 75 per cent. of the crew of the vessel in each department thereof must be able to understand any orders given by the officers of the vessel.

(c) By making the departure of the vessel conditional upon compliance with this section.

Present law gives to the Board of Supervising Inspectors, with approval of the Secretary of Commerce, the power to make regulations for safety by determining the number of men to be employed, but sets no standard of skill or experience in the men so employed, except as to licensed officers, and to determine the kind and number of life-saving appliances, such as davits, lifeboats and rafts, leaving the standard of such appliances to be set by the regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Boats and rafts to be manned according to discretion of master of the vessel, and no standard of efficiency or time of experience for able seamen.

Standards left to regulations of Supervising Inspectors.

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Standards left to regulations of Supervising Inspectors.

The Inspection Department has determined the number of boats and rafts as follows:

(1) On the ocean 50 per cent. of boats and 50 per cent. of rafts to accommodate the maximum number of persons on board.

#### SECTION FOURTEEN.

Sets a standard for able seamen and lifeboat men by providing:

(a) On the ocean every person shall be an able seaman after three years' service on the deck at sea or on the Great Lakes.

(b) On lakes, bays and sounds a person shall be an able seaman after eighteen months' service on deck of vessels to which this section applies.

(c) Service in the Navy, or a coast guard vessel or a decked fishing vessel will be considered.

(d) Persons holding a diploma from a schoolship operated under rules prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce, may upon examination become able seamen, after one year's service on a merchant vessel.

(e) Any person after examination as to physical fitness and skill may become an able seaman after one year's service on deck at sea, but such able seaman may not be carried in greater number than one in every four.

(f) A person may become a certificated lifeboat man by compliance with rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce, amongst which must be that of understanding the lowering of a boat and the use of oars.

(g) Each boat and each raft carrying 15 persons or more shall be in charge of a licensed officer (licensed officer includes the licensed engineers) or an able seaman; and the lifeboats and all the rafts with certificated lifeboat men, according to the size and carrying capacity of the raft or boat.

It provides:

(a) A standard for lifeboats and pontoon rafts.

(b) Fixes the equipment of lifeboats and rafts.

(c) Provides for equipment of vessel with lifeboats and pontoon rafts.

(1) On the ocean, going more than twenty miles from shore, 75 per cent. of lifeboats and 25 per cent. of rafts for the maximum number of persons on board.



(2) On the ocean, within 20 miles of shore, from May 15 to September 15, 20 per cent. of life boats, 40 per cent. of rafts, and 40 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

(3) On the lakes, bays and sounds, from October 15 to May 15, 25 per cent. of boats and 75 per cent. of rafts for the maximum number of persons on board. From May 15 to October 15, 7½ per cent. of boats, 22½ per cent. of rafts, and 70 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

(4) From May 15 to October 15, within three miles of land or over waters whose depth is not sufficient to entirely submerge the vessel, 31-3 per cent. of boats, 62-3 per cent. of rafts, and 90 per cent. without either for the maximum number of persons on board.

(5) From May 15 to October 15, if equipped with wireless, navigating in daylight only and not more than 10 miles from shore, 3¾ per cent. of boats, 11¼ per cent. of rafts, and 85 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

Nothing in the law or the regulations.

By treaties and statutes for the arrest, detention and surrender back to his vessel of any foreign seaman on foreign vessel who in ports of the United States refuses to continue his labor and escapes from the vessel.

The master must in all cases appear before Consuls and provide for the care of sick seamen.

Under the rulings of the court the doctrine of "fellow servant" is enforced in damage suits as between men and officers whom the men must obey.

(2) On ocean vessels going less than twenty miles from shore from September 15 to May 15, 75 per cent. of lifeboats and 25 per cent. of rafts, for all persons on board. From May 15 to September 15, 35 per cent. of boats, 35 per cent. of rafts and 30 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

(3) Vessels on the Great Lakes from September 15 to May 15, 75 per cent. of lifeboats and 25 per cent. of rafts for all persons on board. From May 15 to September 15, 20 per cent. of lifeboats, 30 per cent. of rafts and 50 per cent. of either for the maximum number of persons on board.

(4) On the lakes, bays and sounds in waters within three miles of shore, or over waters not deep enough to submerge the entire vessel, the number of boats and rafts is left to the discretion of the Inspection Service.

#### SECTION FIFTEEN.

Provides means for ascertaining the number of people drowned on barges, and requires yearly report on this subject to be made to Congress.

#### SECTIONS SIXTEEN AND SEVENTEEN.

Gives the seamen the right to leave any foreign vessel in ports of the United States and abrogates so much of the treaties and repeals so much of the law as is found inconsistent with the bill.

#### SECTION EIGHTEEN.

Specifies when the law should go into effect.

#### SECTION NINETEEN.

Provides that the master need not in all cases appear before the Consular Officers, to provide for the care of sick seamen.

#### SECTION TWENTY.

Provides that the doctrine of "fellow servant" shall not apply in damage suits as between seamen and officers, whose orders they are to obey.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Washington, D. C., Nov. 17, 1915.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

Highly appreciate your courtesy in communicating to me your telegram to the governor of the state of Utah in behalf of a re-trial of Joseph Hillstrom, sentenced to be executed on the

19th instant for murder in the first degree. I herewith beg you, and through you, the American Federation of Labor, to accept my sincerest thanks for your praiseworthy efforts in this matter.

W. A. F. EKENGREN,  
Swedish Minister.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned under the rules, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m. Thursday, November 18.

## NINTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 18, 1915.  
The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kramer, Christman, Boyden, Morton, Morrison (H. L.), Letroade, Call, Curran, Kearney, Anderson (C.), Guscelli, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Hansen, Coffey, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Spooner, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomille, Batcheler, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, McAndrews, Bomar, Holm, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Carter, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Telegrams containing invitations to hold the next convention in Baltimore, Md., were received from the following: Alexander Shaw, Secretary Cooper's Union No. 32; J. W. Spare, Secretary Local No. 90, American Flint Glass Workers; Chris. Kinker, Secretary Local No. 44, and Mamie McKewen, Secretary Local No. 125, Bookbinders and Bindery Women; Henry Hardy, Locals No. 16, 31 and 61, International Printing Pressmen; John Riegger, Local No. 8, Brewery Workmen; H. Witmyer, President Local No. 20, Pavers; Frank R. Pollock, Secretary Baltimore Federation of Labor; W. W. Vantine, Carpenters.

A telegram from John Clark, Central Labor Council, Buffalo, was read, in which an invitation was extended to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

Delegate Moser, for the Committee on Credentials, read the following:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 13, 1915.  
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Hall,  
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This will certify that Anthony J. Chlopek and Richard J. Butler have been elected by the International Longshoremen's Association to act as delegates to the Thirty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,

T. V. O'CONNOR,  
President I. L. A.  
JOHN J. JOYCE,  
Secretary-Treasurer I. L. A.

The committee recommended the seat-

ing of the two delegates named. The report of the committee was adopted.

### Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Furuseth, secretary of the committee, read the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Seamen's Legislation," printed in the minutes of Wednesday afternoon.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee. The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Secretary Furuseth continued the report of the committee as follows:

### Amalgamation of Glass Workers with the Brotherhood of Painters.

Under this caption, the Executive Council reports the articles of agreement between the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, which articles have been ratified and signed by the officers of the unions at interest, and by Samuel Gompers for the American Federation of Labor, and have been endorsed by the membership of the unions at interest.

Your committee desires to congratulate these organizations on the happy issue of their efforts to advance their mutual interests and desires to commend President Gompers and the Executive Council for the assistance rendered in this case.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### Longshoremen—Marine Warehousemen.

In the Executive Council's report there will be found a reference to the efforts made under the reference from the Philadelphia convention on the request of the International Association of Longshoremen for extension of jurisdiction over men employed in marine warehouses. The Council reports that a further conference between the parties at interest is to be held during the time of this convention in San Francisco.

We endorse the activity of the Executive Council in this respect and commend its action in calling for a further conference.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### United Hebrew Trades.

In the Executive Council's report, under the above caption will be found a report of its investigations and action in connection with the activities of the so-called United Hebrew Trades of New York.

Your committee commends and endorses the action of the Executive Council in withdrawing the support of the American Federation of Labor from the United Hebrew Trades.

We would further recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to lend whatever assistance it may to the end that the cause for disturbance in the garment-making industry be removed as speedily as possible.

Delegate Schlesinger, International Ladies' Garment Workers: During this week and last week several conferences were held between the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, and Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, to consider the question of the United Hebrew Trades of New York City. We have succeeded in having the matter adjusted satisfactorily to the United Hebrew Trades as well as to the American Federation of Labor, and in view of the fact that the recommendation of the committee will tend to bring about harmony in the ranks of the garment workers, I move that the report of the committee be adopted. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: Since the opening day of our convention I have been advised by the Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades of New York that that body has decided to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor. Since then I have had several conferences with the secretary of that body, the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the General Secretary of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union, the officers of the Central Federated Union

of New York City and the officers of the United Garment Workers of America, in which the subject was discussed in a most general and generous manner. We hope out of the conference some good will come by which may be eliminated some of the controversies still existing; and the pledge was made by all participants in the conference that everything will be done that can be done to bring about unity and harmony in New York and wherever else there may be disunion now. What has been accomplished is that the United Hebrew Trades has officially declared that it will abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor. I asked President Holland and Secretary Boehm, of the New York Central Federated Union, whether, in view of the United Hebrew Trades having officially declared that it would abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor, in their opinion would the New York Central Federated Union object to a continuance of such fraternal cooperation as could be secured. I said if that was the view entertained by Mr. Holland and Mr. Boehm and Mr. Brindell of the Central Federated Union I had no doubt that the Executive Council would be pleased to withdraw its action requesting the international officers to direct their local unions in New York not to be represented in the United Hebrew Trades. I think it is due to all concerned that this statement be made, for it is helpful in clearing up a very ugly situation as it existed, and part of which exists in and around New York. I think it would be helpful if it is made a minute in the official proceeding of this convention that this new development has occurred.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): Has the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor chartered or approved the establishment of this so-called United Hebrew Trades?

Chairman Lennon: It has not.

Delegate Tobin: Then I want to know why is there a United Hebrew Trades? There are a great many delegates who do not seem to understand it and I think a word of explanation from the chairman might be of some benefit at this time.

President Gompers: About a year and a half ago the silver anniversary of the United Hebrew Trades was celebrated in New York City, and as President of

the American Federation of Labor I was invited to participate, as were other officers of the American Federation of Labor who could attend. That would indicate that that institution has been in existence for nearly twenty-seven years. About thirty years ago there was instituted a governmental official, or unofficial, action by several governments, and particularly that of Russia and of Poland, by which Jewish people were subjected to indignities, injustices and cruelties. They had to leave the country if they wanted to live. While many of them went to England, the great mass of them came to the United States. A number of philanthropic rich Jews of the United States contributed money to facilitate the opportunities of these people to come to the United States. A multi-millionaire, Baron Hirsch, of England, contributed several million pounds sterling to be utilized as a Baron Hirsch Fund to help these unfortunate people to come to the United States and to help sustain them from the time of their arrival until they could get something to do. I am called upon to tax my memory in regard to the incidents that followed.

Vice-President Duncan: Upon the landing of the people to which you refer, some jealousy was aroused in New York and they were forbidden membership in some unions. They then sought shelter in an organization of Hebrew Trades in order to protect them until they could prove they were loyal and faithful to the trade-union movement of America.

President Gompers: Owing to the necessities of these Jewish immigrants, the Gradgrind employers took advantage of them. Some of the immigrants had trades, but, regardless of the fact that they were coreligionists, some employers utilized the opportunity presented by the large number of Jewish workmen coming to the United States; and these people, having suffered all their lives from tyranny and injustice in their own country, found themselves helpless because of the exploitation of their greedy employers. And then the incidents occurred as related by Vice-President Duncan. Some of the unions refused to accept them to membership. They then formed unions of Jewish speaking, or more properly expressed,

of those who spoke what is termed Yiddish and who could read Yiddish and not English or German. And so that movement grew. It was tolerated and it has done splendid work. It required, of course, some time for the men and women to understand that there must be some sort of discipline in the whole American labor movement; but from time to time as the attention of the United Hebrew Trades was called to a violation of the laws of the labor movement, they corrected their action. In regard to the secession movement of some of the garment workers from the United Garment Workers of America. They had lived together in the old country, they had shared the misery here, they had enjoyed and celebrated their successes and triumphs together, and there was a feeling of group patriotism, they could not or did not seem to feel that they could go back upon even those seceders. I say this to you, my fellow delegates: that I expended a great deal of time and the best energies of which I am capable in trying to persuade the United Hebrew Trades to do the right thing. In conferences with their representatives, and at the direction of the Executive Council, I appeared before them at a splendidly attended meeting and delivered an address, appealing to their best conscience and judgment to stand by the decisions of the American Federation of Labor. I called attention to the fact that after all the United Hebrew Trades is and must be, of necessity, a transitory body and not a permanent body; that when the time shall come that it has outlived its usefulness, when the lessons they have taught the untutored Hebrew workers shall have passed, when the work has been accomplished, then there must cease to be a Jewish union, or a Protestant union, or a Catholic union, or an Atheist union, but a union of wage earners of America making common fight for the common right. I may say that that conception of the purposes of the United Hebrew Trades has also been declared authoritatively by the spokesman of that organization.

Delegate Cannon: What will result from the report by the committee?

Chairman Lennon: The report of the committee, it seems to me, does not interfere with the carrying on of the

conciliatory work as expressed by President Gompers.

Delegate Cannon: It will leave the situation in the needle trades as it is at the present time.

Secretary Lennon: With the understanding that they will clear the organization of the unions that are seceders; that is as I understand it.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): There were some circulars distributed by the United Hebrew Trades here in which it is alleged that they had pleaded, and pleaded in vain, for a hearing before the Executive Council. Their request was that they might be given a hearing. I want to ask of the Executive Council why they were not given a hearing heretofore?

President Gompers: I have not seen a copy of the circular, but Delegate Barnes at once assumes by his question that it is a fact; and he wants to know why the Executive Council did not give them a hearing. He does not say "as alleged in the circular," but assumes that question upon his own responsibility. I have said, in trying to summarize the activities of the Executive Council, as its representative by their direction, and as President of the American Federation of Labor, that I attended conferences; and to say that the United Hebrew Trades did not have a fair hearing upon this question or upon any question is a false assumption. I appeared at their silver anniversary by their invitation, and I think I am not exaggerating when I say I was the guest of honor. I mention this to show that at any rate personally and officially the very best relations of kindness and helpfulness were maintained between that body and the American Federation of Labor. When, at the Philadelphia convention, the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted by unanimous vote denying the right of seceding garment workers to representation or to be heard further in the convention, I had a conference with the delegates representing the seceders. I refer to President Schlesinger of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Mr. Hillman, Mr. Schlossberger, and others who undertook to represent the seceding garment workers. I left the chair to tell them that, the convention having officially declared against secession of any kind, they could rely upon me to be helpful in any way I

could to restore unity in their trade. There was introduced into the convention a resolution for the purpose of amalgamating the seceding organization with the affiliated United Garment Workers of America, and I gave some time to drafting a resolution, but I could not convince either Mr. Schlesinger or Mr. Hillman that the language of their suggested resolution would not be accepted by the Philadelphia convention. I think I know what the representatives of the American trade union movement will stand for and what they will not; but against my advice they insisted upon introducing the resolution they did. I said to these gentlemen: "If you pursue this matter in the proper way I will assure you of whatever assistance I can give in the convention, even perhaps to taking the floor and advocating its adoption; but if you intend to put in the resolution as you have drafted it I cannot support it, but I will say not one word, directly or indirectly, or take any action of any sort that will prejudice the minds of the convention against the adoption of the resolution." They evidently thought my advice was not worthy of that consideration which I believed it was in that instance at least. They introduced the resolution and it was rejected by the convention. I then appeared before the Committee on Executive Council's Report and asked that committee to make some recommendation regarding the efforts for unity of the garment workers, and the committee did report and the convention did adopt their recommendation. While our convention at Philadelphia was still in session the Journeymen Tailors entered into an agreement with the seceding garment workers, in entire conflict with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor convention that no recognition of any kind should be given to the seceding organization. Before this became known to me and my associates on the Executive Council I went to Delegate Schlesinger, Delegate Polokoff, Mr. Hillman and Mr. Schlossberger and told them they could count upon me in every way to try to help restore unity. When the convention at Philadelphia made that clean-cut declaration upon that subject there was not a man or woman in the labor movement but knew of it. At the meeting of the Executive Council the action of the Journeymen Tailors' of-



ficers became known. Of course, the Council took action. The United Hebrew Trades and every other organization was advised of the action and of the duty devolving upon every man or woman in the trade union movement. Instead of the United Hebrew Trades acting upon it in accordance with the decision, they flagrantly violated it. In spite of all they had done, at every one of my visits to New York I had conferences with representatives and officers of the United Hebrew Trades and of the Central Federated Union. I had conferences with representatives of the United Garment Workers and I went so far as to have a conference with the seceders. And, let me say, the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades and the representatives of the seceders were practically the same. At one of the conferences lasting hours and hours one of the representatives of the seceding organizations arose and began a rehash of all the ills and evils and wrongs which he alleged were caused by the officers of the United Garment Workers of America. I begged him to not bring up these old grievances, or alleged grievances, because it could not do any good to do so. He said: "I have got to say this, I have got to tell you. If I cannot tell that story I will not say anything." Utterly resigned to my fate I said: "Go on and talk and say what you want; I am going to sit here and I won't interrupt you if you take all evening and all night." I sat down and, as is my habit, smoked and listened. The man spoke for an hour and forty-five minutes. Finally one of the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, in sheer desperation, said: "You have talked enough. Sit down." So long as physical endurance permitted I would have listened to that man talk. Any man having any understanding of the Hebrew character and of the men in the Hebrew unions, knows that such a meeting is a talkfest. Why, when they have meetings at a theater they start at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and never quit till two or three o'clock in the morning. It is a talkfest among themselves; it is in their own language. I think I am within the limit of truth when I say that as a representative of the American Federation of Labor I had not less than fifteen conferences with

the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, the representatives of the seceding organizations, the officers and representatives of the United Garment Workers and the officers of the New York Central Federated Union. As a last effort I appeared before the United Hebrew Trades. They had a stenographer and the Central Federated Union had a stenographer to take down what I said. After it was transcribed some of the men said to me: "That speech ought to be published in the American Federationist," and as editor of the American Federationist I published that speech. Before delivering the speech that night I had a conference with the officers and representatives of the United Hebrew Trades. After their rejection and repudiation of the offices of the American Federation of Labor, I still had further conferences with them. There was not a word which the officers of the United Hebrew Trades had to utter or a suggestion they had to offer that was not laid faithfully before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and I venture to say that, no matter how any one member of that body may differ from me, no matter how much any one of them may dislike me, not one of them has ever charged that I misrepresented their attitude. It is true that formally and officially the United Hebrew Trades did not appear before the Executive Council, that is, as a United Hebrew Trades; but I have appeared by direction of the Executive Council to confer with them, to address them, to correspond with them and do anything I could within the laws and principles of the American Federation of Labor to help in the solution of this situation. The Executive Council is fully aware of everything that I have stated here, and many things which memory and time do not allow me to express. If ever men were given a square show for their position the officers of the United Hebrew Trades were given it. It is all very good, you know, to say that they have not had a chance to be heard before the Executive Council, while per se and in so far as the exact phraseology is concerned it is true; but essentially, in fact, in truth, for the purposes of having their case understood, the Executive Council knew and understood every phase of their

contention and the attitude of the United Hebrew Trades. There are some of the organizations that are intimately associated with the men of the United Hebrew Trades whose representatives are here, and I ask them if they will dispute the statement in any detail that I have made; I will ask them if I have untruthfully stated it, if I have exaggerated it, if I have shaded it. Let me say this: In view of the fact that we are trying to work out this situation in the best interests of these men and these women, and in the interest, in the long run, of the general labor movement of our country, I think we can approach that without misgivings or without placing a construction upon conduct that would have a seeming appearance that an injustice has been done either to these people or to any people in the American labor movement, regardless of opinions and differences which may exist.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): I would like to ask another question, and I would submit beforehand that the President could qualify for one of those talk-fests he has described. He admits that the United Hebrew Trades did not appear before the Executive Council, either as United Hebrew Trades or by representation. Did not the New York Central Federated Union bring charges against the United Hebrew Trades? Did they not repeatedly request a hearing before the Executive Council? And if they did, why was it not granted them? I want to ask that question in order to give President Gompers an opportunity to make another speech.

President Gompers: I am sure this does not reflect upon Delegate Barnes, but somewhere in the course of my reading I have seen it declared that one fool could ask more questions than a thousand wise men could answer. It is not unnatural or unracial that I can participate in a talk-fest. I am asked a question, and when a comprehensive answer is made, fault is found. I have asked if there be any representatives of the men who know intimately what occurred who will say I have made any misstatements. Yet that is not sufficient. The officers of the New York Central Federated Union came before the Executive Council and stated that the United Hebrew Trades of New York was acting in violation of the declarations and decisions of the

Philadelphia convention. What more could be done than was done? The Executive Council is made up of men who are all of them busy. They can give about three, four, or five times in the year a week's time to the meetings and the affairs of the American Federation of Labor. Other things have got to be done by correspondence. The Executive Council could not go to New York; it could not have the officers of the United Hebrew Trades come to Washington, because we were crowded with work. As this convention does not go into a committee of the whole to hear every side of every controversy, but refers subjects to committees so they can bring in the substance and the essentials involved in concrete form, so the Executive Council instructed me as its President, who must give all his time to the American Federation of Labor, to act as the representative of the Federation to confer with and hear what the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades had to present as to whether they were about to be unjustly treated. I have told you that, as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, I had not less than fifteen conferences with all of them, that I heard them, and heard them to such an extent that Mr. Shiplacoff, who is in the hall, said to this man who talked, and talked, and talked: "For heaven's sake sit down! You have talked yourself out and you haven't said anything!" I know, as a representative of the Federation, having heard these people so often and at such length, that I brought the word faithfully to the Executive Council and presented as faithfully as I could what the United Hebrew Trades had to say in defense of their own action. Why were they not given a hearing? They have been heard to all intents and purposes; they had an opportunity to present their case; there was not a thing hidden. For fear I may be charged with talking too long and, by implication, unnecessarily, I will now take my seat.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Koveleski: I move that the whole discussion on this question be printed in full in this morning's minutes. (Seconded and carried.)

### Capmakers—Hatters and Straw Hat Workers.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found a report of the action taken by the Executive Council in conformity with Resolution No. 3 adopted by the Philadelphia convention, and under which a protocol was arranged between the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America and the Local Union No. 14400 of Straw Hat and Millinery Workers.

We endorse and commend the action of the Executive Council in this case so far as it affects the development of a working agreement between the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and the Straw Hat and Millinery Workers, but regret that efforts to settle the jurisdictional dispute between the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers has not been fully adjusted.

We would, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be requested to continue its activity in connection with this case to the end that the jurisdictional dispute referred to be settled as speedily as possible and the members of Local Union No. 14400 and all other workers similarly situated be brought into the international organization of the craft in which they properly belong.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Zuckerman: Does that mean the agreement submitted by the Executive Council or the supplementary agreement submitted to your committee?

Chairman McCullough: The committee considered both of the so-called agreements which formed the basis of the protocol under which the operation of the industry is to be carried on. The supplementary agreement was placed in the hands of the committee, but there was a question as to whether it was properly before the committee or should be made a part of the records of this convention. It does not, as I take it, disturb the original agreement but is rather an extension of the same, and may perhaps be a little more satisfactory to the representatives of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. I am assured by the Secretary of the United Hatters, and the committee was assured by the Secretary of the United Hatters,

that the agreement was entirely satisfactory to that body, with the understanding that the hatters did not relinquish their claim over these people who are organized into Local Union No. 14400 and some other similarly situated people. The committee therefore reports to this convention its recommendation that the efforts of the Executive Council to secure an adjustment of this disputed question be endorsed, and that the Executive Council be requested to proceed further in the matter, to the end that the jurisdictional dispute will finally be adjusted and these unattached workers of a craft, the control of which is claimed by two organizations, be instructed into which they shall go in order to be affiliated with the regular movement.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

### Marble Workers and Slate Workers.

In the Executive Council's report is the report on action of the Council taken under Resolution No. 90 of the Philadelphia convention, providing for the extension of jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers, together with a report of the conference held and an agreement reached and signed between the Marble Workers and Slate Workers, and the protest entered against the proceedings by the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.

We endorse the action of the Executive Council taken in connection with this case and recommend that it continue its efforts to secure a conference and agreement between the parties at interest.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### The Coopers and Barrel-Stave Industry—Resolution 80.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a reference to the efforts made to secure a conference and adjustment of the differences between the National Association of Slack Barrel, Stave and Heading Makers and the Coopers' Union.

We endorse the activity of the Executive Council in this case and recommend that it be instructed to continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment of

the difference between the Coopers' Union and the Employers' Association.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Company.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found an account of its action taken under resolutions Nos. 47 and 157 of the Philadelphia convention. We note with pleasure that the Council reports that the situation has a favorable outlook.

We desire to endorse the action of the Executive Council in connection with this matter and recommend that it be instructed to continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Report of United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found reference to the appointment of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations and some comment on the activity of that Commission.

We commend the Executive Council for the part it has taken in this epoch-marking inquiry into the industrial and social conditions of life in the United States, and we endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council contained in the last paragraph under the above caption.

In this connection your committee considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates John B. Lennon and James O'Connell:

#### COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

A Committee on Industrial Relations has been organized to act as the agency through which all who agree to the fundamental principles embodied in the main report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and who desire to see its recommendations carried into effect, can act to the best advantage.

The final report of the Commission, which expired August 23rd, by statutory limitation, will be laid before Congress when it meets in December. Congress and the nation then, for the first time, will be officially advised of what many citizens have known for a long time: that vast numbers of the nation's workers receive wages too low to maintain a decent existence for themselves and their families; that the economic power of the employer in industries where the wage

earners are unorganized either has made him the political and social dictator, as well as the industrial dictator, or has left the workers with a political freedom of little immediate value, and in glaring contrast with their economic subservery; and, finally, that only through organization among themselves, and with their own leaders, can the wage earners rescue not only themselves, but the community from a situation that is repugnant to and subversive of American ideals.

Because of the wide public interest in the hearings and proceedings of the Commission, which in every instance has shared with the public the evidence and disclosures on which its report is based, there now exist probably a larger body of citizens than ever before who are alive to the need of improving our industrial situation as regards the well being of the men and women wage earners. Both before and during the life of the Commission on Industrial Relations, it became evident that a very large proportion of the country's citizenship was awake to the injustice, dangers and cruelties of the prevailing industrial order, and prepared to support, with zeal and enthusiasm, any movement that, to them, gave assurance of substantial results.

The Commission's conclusion is unanswerable, that genuine and lasting improvement must be achieved through the collective action of the workers themselves—the toilers and producers in field and factory, and elsewhere. This committee bases its existence on that fact. But we believe, also, that there exist many opportunities for the general citizenship to aid in the working out of a solution for this most important and pressing of all our social and political problems. On the public as a whole must be laid the important duty of removing governmental obstacles to the efforts of the wage earners to organize, and of insisting that wage earners and their representatives have a fair and free field. We believe that the best public opinion of the nation has failed of effective expression in regard to the industrial problem chiefly because it has never yet done justice to the importance of the labor union as the only effectual means yet devised by which the principles of democracy can be realized in the political field, and extended to the industrial field. Trade unions, economists, sociologists, public officials, and the disinterested public in general, long ago accepted the principle of collective bargaining. But in the application of this principle, we too often have strained at gnats in finding reasons for either opposing a particular union, or for withholding influence and support during a specific struggle for industrial democracy.

The Committee on Industrial Relations asserts that no alleged or actual altruism of more fortunately circumstanced classes will avail to remove existing injustices and to lift the workers to the place to which they are entitled within the circle of those who enjoy the fullest

possible measure of freedom and well being. It condemns the doctrine that an economically superior class should justify and perpetuate its existence by assuming and discharging the responsibility of benevolent control. It shares labor's distrust of so-called welfare work where such work is not in the hands of men representing the interests of the workers and directed primarily to fitting the workers to exercise an ever-increasing measure of control over the industry in which they are engaged. It repudiates, as a contradiction of the fundamental principle of democracy, the conception that any group of wage earners is unfit to exercise a voice in the management of the industry, and holds that only through exercise of the power of political and industrial self-government can the capabilities of the workers as citizens of a democracy be developed.

The committee declares that government intervention to control, or at all to affect, industrial relations, is warranted only to prevent special privilege, and to prevent the undue use of usurped governmental powers on behalf of special privilege and the wrongfully organized accumulations of wealth. It asserts that in industrial facts, as well as in political forms, government must wield only, in Jefferson's phrase, "the arm of the people." With government exercising only its own proper function, the committee believes that the problems of industry, or of capital and labor are not largely problems of legislation, but are to be adjusted by the voluntary action of the people themselves. The few laws that the committee will press on Congress, and at various times on the State legislatures, are for a fair field to labor and to the producing farmers. They are as nothing in number to the great welter of rules and laws annually enacted and constantly urged alike by politicians, special interests and bureaucratic "experts."

The Committee on Industrial Relations recognizes the need for constant, striving after improvement inside the unions. It sees the organized labor movement as the rise of a democracy in the field of industry, a democracy with some of the faults of other democracies, but nevertheless, as the medium through which the vital idealism of the age is finding expression, as the movement that in the century is to be the most potent factor in the upward progress of the race, translating democratic ideals into realities. This Committee is prepared to give its whole-hearted support to a labor union in any contest where the existence of the union is at stake.

A chief duty, as it comes home to us, after studying the evidence and findings of the Commission, is to insist that any struggle between employers and employees be accurately and fairly reported by the press; that the public authorities, including police, courts, administrative officials and militia, act with absolute impartiality as between capital and labor, and that the importation of armed guards, gunmen and strikebreakers be prohibited.

We believe that non-participants who

discharge this duty will be called upon more often than not to combat an unconscious, but strong and persuasive caste feeling, or class consciousness on the part of the great body of comfortable and well-to-do citizens, a prejudice rooted in misunderstanding and lending itself to the success of attempts to foster this very prejudice by the use of such catch words as "outside agitators" and "ignorant foreigners," and under it to pervert the use of governmental power.

In pursuance of the principles we have adopted, the Committee on Industrial Relations will give its support to every effort made by trade unions and individuals to extend the benefits of organization to the unskilled and the unorganized, and more especially to the vast number of wage earners in this category in the employ of the great corporations that conduct our basic industries. The greatest obstacle to the organization of the employees of large corporations is the feudalistic control which such corporations exercise over the communities in which their plants are situated. Through their suppression of free speech, of orderly assemblage of citizens, through their all-pervading spy system, through their power and practice of ejecting from the community any persons whom they deem undesirable, or of procuring their commitment to jail on false or trumped up charges, through their power of arbitrary discharge, they have made it difficult, or even impossible for organizers to work effectively in such communities. The aim of this Committee will be to break down the feudalistic power of the corporations, to expose every case of abuse, and to work unceasingly to protect the rights of those who carry the message of organization to such communities. The Committee hopes to aid also by calling attention to the economic as well as the political evils that exist in those communities, in which the poorly paid individual wage earner pits his feeble and entirely negligible bargaining power against that of the huge corporation.

#### PROPOSALS FOR ACTION.

Those recommendations of the Commission on Industrial Relations contained in the report of Basil M. Manly, director of research and investigation, that have been adopted by the Committee as the most immediately practicable and urgent, are all designed to aid the efforts of organized labor, rather than to substitute governmental action for such efforts. They are in line with the conviction of leading economists that, in the words of Prof. Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, "Any effective attack on the evil of poverty means, first of all, a decided revulsion of opinion toward trade unionism."

1. More important than any program of legislation is the accomplishment of this "revulsion of feeling" on which Prof. Hollander insists. Therefore, the first effort of the Committee will be to urge the printing and distribution, free of charge, of final reports of the Com-

mission on Industrial Relations, and also of the testimony taken at public hearings. It believes a reading of these reports by the vast number of men and women who already are vitally interested in the industrial problem would go far toward the creation of the understanding that is necessary if public opinion is to do its share in the great task of translating our democratic ideals into reality.

2. The Committee believes there is unusual need this winter at Washington for cooperation with the trade unions, and all organizations and persons favorable thereto through which democratic thought on industrial problems can make itself felt. The subject of national preparedness is to the forefront, and many powerful influences are at work to create an enormous military organization and to increase the prestige of the kind of force represented by a large military establishment. The Committee, while taking no part in the discussion regarding the size of the army and navy, will endeavor to keep to the forefront certain fundamental principles that should govern in any program for preparedness. These are:

a. That all munitions, warships and military supplies should be manufactured, as far as possible and as soon as possible, in government plants, except in cases of emergency. Apart from the evidence that such manufacture can be more cheaply performed and under better industrial conditions in government shops, the removal of private profits in this field strikes down the strongest single militaristic interest.

b. That the militia system or any new system of citizen soldiery be organized on a democratic basis, with equal opportunity for wage earners and those without means to obtain commissions on a merit basis, and that the use of these forces shall be confined to purposes of national defense, and shall never be used against workmen on strike. The importance of these provisions to labor and the rights of citizens generally is obvious.

c. That a healthy, well-organized, well-paid industrial force be insisted upon as a paramount factor in any plan for national preparedness, that the dangers inherent in an unorganized, and underpaid labor force during times of national danger be kept in mind at all times, and that the service of the labor union as the most potent force for training immigrants in collective action and enlisting them as responsible, capable and loyal citizens be emphasized at all appropriate times. The European war has demonstrated sensationally not only the military importance of the condition of the industrial workers, but also the absolute necessity for strong labor organizations as the basis for effective cooperative action in the workshops of the nation, and as a means of enlisting the intelligent support of the workers.

3. To urge that, if additional revenue is required for the needs of the gov-

ernment, it shall be secured by the passage of an inheritance tax, as outlined in the report of the Commission, or by making the income tax more effective, and not by heavier taxes upon the necessities and small luxuries of the workers, such as sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and the like.

A scheme of taxation which burdens labor and discourages enterprise is wrong. It is part and parcel with the control of money and credits by banking monopolies and "captains of finance." It is bound up inextricably with the bad distribution of wealth and the control of economic power by the favorites of special privilege. But until a radical readjustment of taxation and of wealth control is reached the true test of taxation is the ability to bear the burden. Upon the workers, already groaning under the weight of an ever-increasing cost of living, and the burden of indirect taxation, which is multiplied fourfold in being transferred to their backs by merchants and manufacturers, heavier taxes should not be imposed.

4. To secure the passage by Congress of a statute, or, if necessary, the initiation of a constitutional amendment, providing specifically that the courts shall exercise only the powers granted by the Constitution, and shall not be permitted to declare laws unconstitutional.

To every believer in true democracy, the veto by the courts of legislation through the unwarranted assumption of the power to declare laws unconstitutional by a bare majority vote, must stand as the great barrier to progress and as the greatest bulwark of privilege.

Through this judicial veto the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted as the supreme protection of personal liberty in the United States, has been used almost uniformly to protect property rights to the detriment of the rights of men. In thirty-nine out of fifty-five cases before the Supreme Court, private corporations sought and received protection under its cloak. With the sole exception of cases involving the rights of negroes in jury cases, the Fourteenth Amendment has not acted to secure or protect personal rights, but only as a shield for property and privilege. In all the other numerous cases in which the Fourteenth Amendment was invoked to protect personal rights, the attempt failed. It stands today as the Magna Charta of accumulated, organized, predatory wealth.

Through this judicial veto, assumed by the Supreme Court and later transmitted even to the lower courts, judges appointed for life and removable only by the slow process of congressional impeachment, have become the real rulers of the nation. The blow which will restore the rule to the people and their representatives, must be struck directly at the source of their power—the unauthorized and unwarranted veto of legislative acts.

5. To secure the passage of laws providing for the selection of juries by an



impartial method from a list containing the names of all qualified voters.

The demand for a democratically chosen jury is fundamental, and rests upon two great considerations. First, in a civilized community, the decision of the jury is the final arbiter of every man's freedom. An universal suffrage is essential to the democratic making of laws and the preservation of the rights of the people as a whole, so a democratically chosen jury is essential to the just enforcement of laws and the protection of the rights of the individual. In a democracy the privilege and duty of jury service must be co-extensive with the suffrage, or justice is a mockery. The present jury system based upon property qualifications, upon selection from among the acquaintances of the judge, or upon selection by the sheriff of whom he pleases, must be done away with. Second, in important labor cases the life and freedom of the accused has depended solely upon whether the jury was democratically chosen and representative of the sympathies and opinions of the people as a whole or was selected either deliberately or by the provisions of the existing law to represent an antagonistic class.

Democratic requirements for empaneling juries exist in only a few communities. In Chicago there are about 200,000 mechanics belonging to the different labor organizations, yet out of 3,440 jurors only 350 mechanics and laborers were drawn, or about ten per cent., when the percentage ought to be about 70 per cent.

The most foul case of injustice now in the public mind, the sentencing of John R. Lawson to life imprisonment in Colorado for his activity in leading the coal miners' strike, was possible only because of the use of a jury picked by a sheriff subservient to and acting as the agent of the coal companies. All the unjust rulings of a prejudiced and unfit judge, all the machinations of the special attorneys furnished for the prosecution by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., all the specious testimony of the Baldwin-Felts detective-spies, would have been unavailing if Mr. Lawson had had the protection of a jury truly representative of the county in which the trial took place.

A list of the other cases in which the life and liberty of men have been sacrificed in the fight for better industrial conditions as a result of an unfair jury will suffice to show the tremendous importance to labor of the method of jury selection. You who are enlisted in the fight for a better day—your own name may conceivably be added to this list, if action is not taken to provide for the cornerstone of justice—a jury chosen impartially and representative of all the voters.

6. To secure the enactment by Congress of laws prohibiting the interstate shipment of armed guards, and of cannon, machine guns, and other similar weapons, except when consigned to the military authorities of the State or nation.

One need but recall Homestead, Pullman, West Virginia, Colorado and Roosevelt to appreciate the pressing need for such legislation.

7. To secure the passage of an act requiring the Federal Trade Commission to consider as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The Secretary of Labor to be expressly authorized and directed to prosecute such cases before the trade commission, either on his own initiative or upon the request of any organization or individual.

The Federal Trade Commission was created to prohibit or regulate "unfair methods of competition" between corporations. The Commission was created and regulations have been drawn up for administering the Act, with the idea, apparently, that the injury through unfair methods of competition falls either upon competitors or upon consumers.

The most cruel, unfair, and socially dangerous form of unfair competition—the exploitation of labor,—was entirely overlooked. Neither Congress nor the Commission, apparently, sufficiently understood the workings of the industrial world to provide for either the regulation or elimination of such exploitation.

Congress must do two things to remedy this grievous omission:

First, direct the Commission to interpret as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The recognition by Congress of the fact that labor exploitation is unfair competition, would, alone, be a great step forward.

Second, authorize the Secretary of Labor to present and prosecute such cases before the Trade Commission, either on his own initiative, or upon the request of any labor organization or individual employee.

The Federal Trade Commission, created to deal specifically with commercial problems, is not the ideal tribunal for the consideration of the exploitation of labor. Nevertheless, the value of recognizing labor exploitation as the cruellest form of unfair competition and the value of having a forum where the Department of Labor can present such specific cases of exploitation, seem to far outweigh any disadvantage due to its organization and character. The big necessity is to keep the evils of modern industry vividly before the public. The Commission on Industrial Relations offered such an opportunity; it has dissolved, but the Trade Commission seems to offer a real opening for keeping this big issue alive in the public mind.

Mention may be made of two striking cases of such unfair competition which might with great propriety be presented to the Trade Commission; first, the com-

petition of non-union garment manufacturers and sub-contractors, which is a constant menace, not only to the lives of their own employees, but also to the existence of the Protocols, which have helped to raise the sweat shop workers of ten years ago to a plane of some comfort, some leisure, and a measure of independence. Second, the competition of the operators in the non-union coal fields, not only undermining the safety, health, and welfare of all workers in the bituminous field, but has been directly productive of the dreadful labor wars of West Virginia and Colorado.

8. To resist the repeal of salutary labor legislation, such, for example, as the Seamen's bill.

9. To keep the grievances of unorganized workers, such as the Pullman and Western Union employees, which were brought to light by the Commission, constantly before the officials and directors of those companies and before the public, until they are redressed.

10. To keep the nation informed through the daily press and the magazines of all important developments affecting industrial relations.

There is hardly a month that passes in which a forceful, accurate exposure of specific cases of unjust and oppressive treatment of labor would not result in both a measure of immediate relief, and also a better understanding on the part of the public of the wrongs under which the working men, women and children of the nation patiently bear, or against which they revolt in sheer desperation.

There is every indication that the next few years will be critical years in the history of American labor. Whether labor shall be ground down by the pressure of rapidly concentrating capital, or whether, from the bitter travail of the nations, labor shall achieve, in some degree, the freedom, comfort and leisure to which it is entitled, before any other class, will be determined. The Committee on Industrial Relations will bend every effort and use every means to enable labor to reap the harvest of its ages of fruitless planting, with absolute assurance that the result will be a happier, stronger and more truly civilized nation than the work has ever conceived.

#### COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS,

Frank P. Walsh,  
James O'Connell,  
Frederick Howe,  
Amos Pinchot,  
Helen Marot,  
John Fitzpatrick,  
John B. Lennon,

Austin B. Garretson,  
John P. White,  
Bishop Charles D.  
Williams,  
Agnes Nestor,  
Dante Barton.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at San Francisco, that we most heartily indorse the work of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, and pledge our support and cooperation in every way possible in harmony with the fundamental principles of trade unionism to further the securing of legislation by

Congress as set forth in the foregoing declaration of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Your committee would report that we heard Mr. Lennon in explanation on the foregoing resolution.

We find that the resolution enumerates as its purpose several important points upon which the American Federation of Labor has acted from time to time. These points may be stated as follows:

1. To change public sentiment to greater favor towards the trades unions.
2. To prepare for peace rather than for war.
3. That the martial forces of the country be kept exempt from police duty.
4. That education, industrial skill and the general well-being of the workers are all-important factors in preparedness of defense for our country.
5. A more equitable distribution of taxation.
6. Taking away the veto power of the Supreme Court of the United States.
7. Such laws or court regulations as will provide for the selection of petit or trial juries upon a basis of citizenship regardless of property qualifications.
8. To prevent here in the United States the organization and employment of such privately-armed and employed military forces or organizations as were used in Italy in the middle ages and then called condottieri.
9. To place wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment to some extent under and within the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission.
10. To resist the repeal of beneficial laws.
11. To keep the condition of unorganized workers before the public.

We believe that points 2, 4 and 11 may be taken together, they being so closely related that one can hardly be seriously considered without embracing the others. Your committee is in doubt as to the wisdom of getting mixed up in any way with the Federal Trade Commission, but we realize that for agitation purposes it may have considerable value.

We find it is the purpose of the organization proposed under the resolution to assist in keeping alive the agitation

set on foot by the investigation of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and that the purpose and intention is to accomplish this end through the means of agitation by lectures and such publicity as can be obtained; further that the proposed organization is to be of help without in any way coming in conflict with the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, and to act at all times in harmonious concert with this organization.

The idea presented by this resolution grew out of conferences and discussions between Mr. Lennon and Mr. Walsh, who felt that much good could be done by keeping alive the agitation commenced, and by a vigorous campaign for printing of such numbers of the hearings and the report of the Industrial Commission as will make it possible to furnish all who so desire a copy.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended to read as follows:

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at San Francisco, California, that we most heartily endorse the work of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and welcome the support and co-operation of the proposed Committee on Industrial Relations with the end in view of furthering legislation both national and state in harmony with the fundamental principles of trade unionism as expressed in and by the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternal Delegate Bevin in the chair.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon, in discussing the question, said in part: I desire to call attention to the fact that while the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations dealt with many different phases of economic conditions, yet in every instance the remedy prescribed, in the main, was the organization of the working people. That report, whether that part of it signed by Mr. Walsh and the three labor men or the parts that were signed by the other members of the Commission, indicates that there was a substantial agreement in the belief that if there is to be relief from industrial conditions it must come through the organization of labor in the trade-union movement and not anywhere else. About the time the Commission finally adjourned, and subse-

quent to that adjournment, our attention was called to the fact that there was in the labor movement—and among some people outside of the movement who are friendly—a demand that something be done in order to carry on the agitation and to keep alive the interest that had been secured during the life of the Commission. For this reason it was undertaken to form a committee in order to carry on that work. Rest assured that this commission or committee, headed by Mr. Walsh, is not going to interfere in any way in the business of trade unions of this country. We are going to help carry out the policies you have adopted, and, in so far as we may be able to do so, create public sentiment to bring about the legislation that has been and may be endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) asked if the committee recommended that a demand or petition be made to Congress to print the report of the Industrial Relations Commission.

Treasurer Lennon stated that the first work of the committee referred to, in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor, would be to secure the printing of enough reports to go to everybody in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, who desired them. He stated there were reports of investigations by a number of men and women that are of great importance to the workers, and the committee proposed to create an agitation for the publication of these reports, the evidence taken at hearings by the Commission, and the report itself.

Delegate Van Lear, Vice-President O'Connell and Treasurer Lennon discussed briefly the question of securing a sufficient number of the reports mentioned. The secretary of the committee stated that that matter would be taken up under a resolution to be reported on later.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

#### **Board of Mediation and Conciliation.**

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found a report of the action taken by the Council in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee on Adjustments

reported to the Philadelphia convention, and by that convention adopted, providing for the establishment of an American Federation of Labor Board of Conciliation and Mediation. We endorse and commend the action of the Executive Council in connection with this matter.

In connection with this section of the Executive Council's report your committee also considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, A great many jurisdictional disputes arise from time to time between international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes work a great hardship on the rank and file in the labor movement, and also to a great extent work a hardship upon the fair employers of organized labor through the stoppage of work; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes have a tendency to throw great disrespect upon the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been suggested by a great many men connected with the labor movement, as well as by employers of organized labor, that a commission be created for the purpose of settling such jurisdictional disputes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention empower the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a commission of this character, said commission to be composed of three representative labor men, or women. The President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint three men (or women) to act as this commission at such times as the occasion may require, said three to be chosen from the particular section of the country in which the jurisdictional dispute may exist; this commission to have full power to summon witnesses from the various organizations concerned in the jurisdictional dispute and also to have full power to summon such employers to appear before them as may also be concerned in the dispute. Any member of any labor organization, or employer failing to respond to a summons from this commission and give true testimony, to be considered unfair to the labor movement. This commission to have the authority to engage temporary quarters in which to hold hearings; to hire the necessary clerical help, including stenographers, etc., in order that all necessary testimony may be obtained, and after a decision has been reached by this commission, the same to be turned over to the President of the American Federation of Labor to be

published in the Federationist and an official copy of such decision furnished to each of the organizations concerned in, or affected by, the jurisdictional dispute. All international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to give their entire support to the enforcement of a decision after same has been rendered by the commission. Any organization which may be a party to the jurisdictional dispute to have the authority, through its officers, to request the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the jurisdictional dispute, and if in his opinion the appointment of a commission is justified, he to have full power to do so. Members of this commission to receive \$15.00 per diem and traveling expenses.

Fraternal Delegate Ammon in the chair.

Chairman McCullough: Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell spoke at some length in favor of establishing some board that will have for its purpose the adjustment of disputes between organizations. He referred to his long experience on the Adjustment Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and stated that many of the disputes that have come before the committee could have been adjusted early in their existence if the people interested had been brought together before personal differences and prejudices had entered into the matter.

Chairman McCullough spoke at length in favor of the report of the committee.

In discussing the question President Gompers spoke of attempts that had been made in the past to settle grievances through committees, and of the failure of the plan in some instances.

Delegate Woll opposed the establishment of a board such as suggested by Vice-President O'Connell.

Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the adoption of the recommendation of the committee and opposed the plan suggested in the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:00 p. m. of the same day.

## NINTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:00 p. m., Thursday, November 18th, Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

**Absentees**—Goldstone, Kramer, O'Brien, McClory, Tobin (S.), Christman, Ford, Polokoff, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, McSorley, Letrodec, Irwin, White (J. P.), Moore, Cannon, Curran, Baker, O'Connor, Steidle, Pettit, Dolan, Gillespie, Decker, Golden, Spiegl, Coffey, Alleyne, Harris, Jennings, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Holland, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Milton, Bomar, Holm, Johnson (S. P.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Lamoreux, Riley, Thompson.

### Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Chairman McCullough, of the Committee on Report of Executive Council, continued the report of the committee, as follows:

#### Reports from Departments—Metal Trades Department—Railway Employees Department—Mining Department.

Under the above captions will be found the reports to the Executive Council from the Departments referred to. Your committee would recommend to the delegates that they familiarize themselves with these reports as giving them better information in regard to the progress that is being made by the Departments.

The Metal Trades Department especially reports progress in its efforts to secure better wages and better working conditions for the men employed in the several crafts represented in that Department.

The Railway Employees Department makes a similar report on its activities during the past year, presenting much information of interest and importance to the men who are represented in the crafts that make up that Department.

The report of the Mining Department calls attention to the fact that business has been unusually dull in the mining industry during the year, but that conditions are growing better and that the several crafts associated together in the Department are beginning to enjoy the benefits of renewed industrial activity.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### Porto Rico.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found the report of Mr. Santiago Iglesias, President of the Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico, on the year's work in Porto Rico and other Spanish-American countries.

We commend to the earnest, careful attention of the delegates the pages of the Executive Council's report given over to President Iglesias as containing much valuable information on social and industrial conditions in the Island of Porto Rico and the other sections coming under the jurisdiction and administration of President Iglesias, which will afford support for the arguments advanced in favor of the granting of citizenship to the Porto Ricans and for the extension as rapidly as possible of the American labor movement so as to include the sections on which President Iglesias reports.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### Canada.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found the report of Mr. P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for the last year. Mr. Draper's report deals with the industrial life of the Dominion under abnormal conditions, and it is encouraging to find that the American labor movement has lost nothing in prestige or progress as a result of the disturbance of industry and commerce incident to the war.

The action of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in meeting the problems set before it in this great emergency marks its membership as being keenly and intelligently alive to their responsibilities as well as their opportunities.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North

America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose charter of affiliation was granted in the year 1897, has jurisdiction over all persons employed in the meat industry; and

WHEREAS, There are at the present time small dual organizations posing as Butcher Workmen, to the detriment of the labor movement as a whole, in violation of the recognized and admitted jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and which is injurious to the welfare and progress of the men engaged in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the International Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America is the only organization having jurisdiction over the Butcher Workmen, and recommend to all men engaged in the trade to affiliate themselves with their fellow workmen by becoming members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify the general and special organizers of the federation to organize the men in the meat trade into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19—By the San Francisco Labor Council:

RESOLVED, By the San Francisco Labor Council, that it hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coastwise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; and further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, California Metal Trades Association, California Foundrymen's Association and the Press

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There is under consideration the question of opening our coastwise trade to foreign-built vessels; and

WHEREAS, The world's history, now in the making, emphatically warns us not to rely on outside sources for our means of protection; and our ability to defend ourselves in times of war and to use the ocean highways in times of peace, will largely depend upon the upbuilding of our shipyards to the end that quantity in construction and efficiency in labor will eventually lessen the cost to a point where we may reasonably expect to meet any competition; and

WHEREAS, These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards, and to protect the vessels in their operations on our sea coast. All the present merchant marine of the United States is the by-product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition; and

WHEREAS, Having faith in the protection of these laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards, and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would not only be unjust to permit the injury to their investments of allowing cheaper because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but highly impolitic because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor rescind its action in concurring in Resolution No. 2, page 329, of the Philadelphia proceedings, and oppose any interference with our present coastwise navigation laws.

Resolution No. 19 and Resolution No. 56 were considered by your committee in connection with Resolution No. 22 in joint session with the Resolutions Committee, and the report of the joint committee will be made to this convention by the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Shipowners and their as-



sociates insist that they cannot operate vessels under the American flag in competition with vessels under the flag of some other nation unless they be permitted to run their vessels in their own way without being hampered by laws and rules that exist for the purpose of protecting the freedom of the seamen and the lives of passengers; and

WHEREAS, After more than one century of practically such condition, the United States, at the opening of the present war in Europe, found itself with very few vessels in the foreign trade and practically no native or naturalized seamen in any trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we favor the so-called McAdoo shipping bill and urge its enactment into law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; to the proper committee of Congress, and to the press.

Inasmuch as the subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in a more extended form by another resolution introduced in this convention and on which action has been taken, your committee recommends that no action be taken on Resolution No. 25.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 27—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Recent events have again conclusively demonstrated that in practical application there is one criminal law for the rich, and another criminal law for the poor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at San Francisco, California, that we earnestly and solemnly warn the judiciary and the entire legal fraternity against the obvious grave consequences of a prostituted justice which sends an innocent workman like John R. Lawson to the penitentiary for life and permits a guilty, degenerate millionaire like Harry Thaw to purchase his way to freedom by liberal use of mammon; and be it, further

RESOLVED, That for the sake of free republican institutions, which cannot possibly be maintained except through a free and untrammelled judiciary and an impartial administration and enforcement of the law against rich and poor alike, we earnestly plead with all liberty-loving men and women to protest against the incarceration of John R. Lawson and to insist upon even and exact justice for every man, no matter how lowly the accused may be, and no matter where the trial may be held.

Your committee recommends that the preamble and first resolve be stricken

out and that the second resolve be adopted, the resolution then to read as follows:

RESOLVED, That for the sake of free republican institutions, which cannot possibly be maintained except through a free and untrammelled judiciary and an impartial administration and enforcement of the law against rich and poor alike, we earnestly plead with all liberty-loving men and women to protest against the incarceration of John R. Lawson and to insist upon even and exact justice for every man, no matter how lowly the accused may be, and no matter where the trial may be held.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union, and Delegate M. E. Decker of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

WHEREAS, Asiatic immigration and the resultant competition has for many years past been a menace to the industrial welfare of our people, especially in California and the Pacific Coast States, and also affects in no small degree certain other localities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Because of this menace, it is the duty of the people to refrain from patronizing or employing Asiatics in any manner, as well as to demand extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all Asiatics; and

WHEREAS, A sufficient appropriation by the Congress of the United States is needed for the purpose of registration and identification of Asiatics in order that exclusion laws may be properly enforced, thereby preventing illegal entry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in thirty-fifth annual convention assembled, reaffirm its former position, to the end that every effort be put forth to secure extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all other Asiatics; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States be also requested to set aside such an appropriation as will permit of the establishment of a system of registration and identification for the enforcement of Asiatic exclusion, thereby preventing illegal entry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention opposes the patronizing or employing of Asiatics in any manner.

This resolution, referred to your committee by the convention after it had been sent to the Committee on Resolutions, was considered in connection with

that section of the Executive Council's report dealing with immigration. Your committee would recommend that the entire subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for action in connection with and conformity to instructions given to the Executive Council on the matter of Asiatic immigration.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32.—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, A struggle of more than twenty years on the part of the trade-union movement of our country to secure freedom for the seamen, promote safety of employment and travel at sea, and build up an American merchant marine without resorting to subsidy has culminated in the passage of the Seamen's law by the Sixty-third Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, An effort is being made to secure the repeal of the Seamen's law before it has had a trial under the plea that it was not well considered legislation, and would drive the American merchant marine from the sea; and

WHEREAS, The tonnage of the American merchant marine has increased more rapidly since the enactment of the Seamen law than in any other like period of our history notwithstanding the fact that American ship-owners knew that the act would go into effect on November 4th of this year; and

WHEREAS, This measure has been pending before Congress in one form or another for more than twenty years; has been thoroughly investigated on numerous occasions by the committees of both Houses where the representatives of all interests were given a full hearing; has been exhaustively debated in Senate and House by many of their ablest members; has been passed twice through both branches of Congress and several times through one branch; and was so generally approved, irrespective of party, that it was endorsed in the platforms of the two great political parties in 1912, all of which proves that it has had a most thorough consideration; and

WHEREAS, The freedom of the seamen and the safety of the traveling public must at all times take precedence over private profit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor stands unalterably opposed to the repeal of the Seamen's law or any attempt to impair the safety of travel at sea or renew the bonds under which seamen have been compelled to labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit

the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, in discussing the resolution, said in part: The law was supposed to have gone into operation on the fourth of November. They had eight months to prepare, and nothing was done till three or four days before the law went into operation. The law provides for issuing certificates to able seamen. No certificate was issued until within four or five days of the fourth of November. This caused a tremendous congestion, in the different seaports, of men who wanted to obtain certificates. As a result of that, or for some other reasons, the examinations as to physical fitness did not work altogether well or even reasonably satisfactorily in some places. In other places it seems to be going along pretty smoothly. There was a hope, no doubt, on the part of certain people that by putting in the physical examination they would prevent the seamen from looking for the certificates. They found that did not occur. The seamen presented themselves in such numbers that in some places they had to put on four or five doctors. The difficulties that have arisen, to some extent, have been from the examination of the eyes of the men. A man, to serve as a seaman, is pretty sure to have fairly average eyes; otherwise he would not be employed except in strike times. As it stands today here in this city there are men rejected because of color blindness, when they can walk up Market street and look at one of those moving electric signs with red, green and yellow in it and tell the different colors. It does not make any difference for the purposes of this law what they are doing in that matter. The higher they set the standard, the better it is for the seamen as a whole, and the better it is for the traveling public as a whole, and we shall not complain of the highness of the standard in that direction. It seems, however, there is a disposition along the coast and in this city to do everything to hamper the men in getting the proper certificates. I am satisfied that when the law shall have been smoothed out, and the sections of the

law shall have been in operation long enough so that the smaller officials shall be prepared to carry it out in an honest and faithful way, it will probably prove the most successful legislation that has been adopted in half a century.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations has confirmed the experience of Labor in regard to the absolute domination by Organized Wealth over the courts and the machinery for administration of law and justice in many States; for instance, by the Rockefeller and Standard Oil interests in Colorado, the copper magnates in Michigan, the coal operators in West Virginia, and the Steel Trust and Erectors' syndicates in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The evidence gathered by said commission and Labor's experience in many celebrated cases, such as those of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, the Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, and Schmidt and Caplan in Los Angeles, prove the existence of a well-planned and relentless conspiracy on the part of Organized Wealth to crush the Labor Movement in all its branches and manifestations, with the aid of the courts and the use of certain ancient and worn-out legal doctrines, among which are those relating to conspiracy, constructive murder, accessory before the fact, intimidation, interference secondary boycott, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The time-honored institutions of legal procedure, such as the grand jury system, right of trial by jury, change of venue, bail and rules of evidence, all of which have been provided to safeguard and protect accused persons from cruel despotism and injustice, are now being constantly abused and perverted at the beck and will of Capital, to intimidate and enslave Labor; and

WHEREAS, Through such perversion of law and procedure Organized Wealth is permitted to single out and punish the active spirits in the Labor Movement, by holding them responsible for the acts of other persons involved in an industrial disturbance, without the necessity on the part of the prosecution to prove actual knowledge of or participation in the crime by the defendant, which legal condition is an anachronism and modern revival of the old procedure in cases of treason against the king; and

WHEREAS, This persecution of Labor by Organized Wealth in the courts constitutes the greatest existing grievance and menace affecting Organized Labor,

and it behooves the Labor Movement as a whole to take cognizance thereof and provide necessary defensive means to counteract these evil conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to take this matter up for thorough consideration and action with a view to restore to Labor in the courts impartial administration of law and justice and purge the judicial system of existing abuses; and further

RESOLVED, That in furtherance of the purport hereof said Executive Council is hereby authorized and directed, as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this Convention, to establish, in such manner and under such regulations as it may adopt, a general Defense Fund, the object of which shall be to provide legal defense in labor cases of general importance and interest, said fund to be maintained on a per capita basis by every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The great mass of evidence gathered by the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations shows the absolute domination of all avenues of justice by the powers of organized wealth, the Rockefeller Standard Oil in Colorado, the copper barons in Michigan, the coal barons of West Virginia, the Steel Trust and Erectors' syndicate in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The evidence so taken, together with actual experience of labor as in the cases of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, Joe Hillstrom, construction worker to be shot in Utah; and again in Los Angeles Caplan and Schmidt, two more victims of Burns and the Steel Trust; and

WHEREAS, Labor's experience in all of these cases goes to show a well-planned conspiracy of organized wealth working through the courts and using as their weapon the latest method of intimidation, namely, the principle of constructive murder charge put into effect through the medium of "accessory before the fact" and "conspiracy"; and

WHEREAS, By these modern legal tactics the industrial and land barons are able to single out any active spirit, either during or after an industrial war, and charge him with murder and hold him responsible for any act growing out of such dispute, and without proving any actual knowledge or connection with the act whatever, or in shorter terms "making him a prisoner of war"; and

WHEREAS, Such methods are in reality a new form of the ancient use of the charge of "treason," thereby all progressive thought was for years stifled; and

WHEREAS, Power of wealth through

their vast property rights usurp control and direct the action of the grand jury system so that it becomes a new form of the ancient "inquisition"; and

WHEREAS, The grand jury is a relic of medieval times and under such a system no defendant has any right to question the partiality or bias or interests of its members; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, realizing the necessity of a united front in defense of our own people, does hereby further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to initiate a movement in that convention calling a national convention of all elements of labor to the end that a national defense fund may be raised, the grand jury system abolished, and that new uses of labor's economic strength be organized to resist aggression of the courts and to secure the release of labor's "prisoners of war."

As a substitute for the subject matter of the Resolutions No. 42 and No. 92, your committee recommends that the convention adopt the following:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, its Executive Council and its affiliated bodies have always been and still are keenly alert to the position of labor in its relation to the law, that in the future, as in the past, no act necessary to the full and complete protection of the rights of our members when attacked through the courts will be omitted, but that we stand ready at all times to defend any who may be brought into court because of their activity with the affairs or interests of the American Federation of Labor or any of its affiliated bodies.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by Congress to probe into the causes of existing industrial unrest, has concluded its work after conducting one of the most searching, comprehensive and instructive investigations made on that subject in this country; and

WHEREAS, The mass of information secured at the hearings of said commission contains most valuable testimony, suggestions and potential remedies for the future regulation of the industrial affairs of the nation, which information should be made accessible to the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation be and are hereby instructed to take such measure as they may find expedient to secure from Congress an appropriation sufficient to defray the

necessary expenses for the publication of the records and testimony heard before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. G. Brown, P. W. Dowler, J. A. Taylor, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The Industrial Relations Commission, authorized by Congress to investigate the causes of "Industrial Unrest" and make such recommendations as it deemed best, with a view to removing these causes, has made a report which is of tremendous value and importance to Labor, and more especially Organized Labor, since it dwells so strongly upon the indispensability of organization if the best interests of the workers are to be safeguarded; and

WHEREAS, The funds of the Commission would only permit of the printing of a very limited number of copies of the report, the supply of which has already been exhausted; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of our movement demand that this report be given the widest possible circulation, since it is probably the greatest document ever issued upon the subject with which it deals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we instruct our Executive Officials in Washington, D. C., to request and if necessary demand that Congress make a sufficiently large appropriation for the printing of this report, to insure its widest possible circulation, to the end that every person in the United States of America, who desires it, may possess one.

Chairman McCullough: These resolutions, covering the same subject matter and with identically the same purpose, were considered together and your committee would recommend that the entire subject matter of the combined resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with full authority to take whatever action it may deem expedient and for the best interest of organized labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.): I want to ask Delegate O'Connell or Delegate Lennon what they think will be the disposition of Congress in this matter. Is there liable to be an appropriation anyway near sufficient to allow a wide distribution of the Commission's report? Has the Commission made any recommendation for its distribution? Is there any indication that Congress will, unless urged to do so, provide for a wide distribution of the report?

Vice-President O'Connell, in discussing

the question, said in part: The Commission had filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives, who is the proper custodian during the recess of Congress, a complete record of the testimony taken and a complete report, including the portion of the report that has been printed by the Commission itself, and in addition special investigations made by some twenty different experts. The amount of money it would require will depend upon the number of books to be printed and the size of the books. It is estimated that anywhere from fifteen to twenty volumes of from five to six hundred pages will be needed. A large number of special reports which we did not have the funds to print, made by the investigators employed by the Commission, are of incalculable value to the labor movement. They cover every phase of our industrial life. The United States Medical Service, for instance, turned over to us one of its experts who spent two years upon sickness insurance, causes of death rates, the effect of different wages upon death, and it is a most wonderfully well-prepared report and will bring to the labor movement and the people of this country information on subjects that have never been in print before. As to whether there will be any effort to prevent Congress from printing, I will say that already the organizations of the employers of this country have set on foot a movement to prevent the printing of any of this report. If labor is interested in getting this information printed and in the hands of the American people, it will be up to labor to make an active, energetic campaign. It will be necessary for organized labor in every part of the United States to get in touch with their representatives—Congressmen and Senators—and urge upon them in every way possible the necessity of casting their votes for the publication of this report and the appropriation of funds to print a sufficient number to be of service to the people of the country.

Delegate Gallagher: I understand the committee refers the subject matter to the Executive Council with authority to act. That is rather a broad authority. I should like to see it include instructions.

Chairman McCullough: The reference was made in the broad and general way

to the Executive Council, so it would not be hampered by instructions from this convention in meeting any emergency or situation that might arise in its efforts to carry out such instructions.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) in discussing the question said in part: I think Delegate O'Connell sounded the keynote when he said that no time can be lost and that our workers throughout the country should hasten to take action to secure the printing of this important document that has been prepared by the Industrial Relations Commission. I had a talk in a confidential way with one of the Ohio Representatives several weeks ago and he informed me that it would be surprising to the public generally, and particularly to the working men, to know the tremendous pressure that is being brought to bear upon the different Congressmen, and undoubtedly the Senators as well, with the object in view of suppressing, or perhaps of piling in the basement in a lot of boxes and barrels this very important document and then forgetting all about it. I was very much surprised, and, in fact, gratified to read the summary of the report as issued and circulated, and I might say I feel as though a vote of thanks is due the labor representatives upon that Commission for their activity in bringing out a report of that nature. It covers a field that has been practically a closed book to the masses of the people of this country, even those who, like ourselves, are active every day of our lives in the labor movement, and have been able to gather a vast amount of knowledge with respect to the economic and social conditions that exist in this country. It is the finest kind of propaganda that can be used by, a labor organizer or agitator who will take up even the summary of this report and memorize some of the facts it contains for use when he goes into the field to urge workers to organize, while they still have the opportunity and the right, for the purpose of correcting some of these infamous conditions that have grown up in this country in the short space of half a century.

There is no doubt in my mind that at the coming session of Congress, when the proposition is made to publish this epoch-making document, there will go up a hue and cry against the reckless

expenditure. If I had my way about it, this publication would certainly take precedence over the bills that will be thrown into the hopper down there for the purpose of establishing another German militarism, perhaps, in these United States of America. I believe it ought to be made plain to the Congressmen and Senators who are supposed to serve the people of this country that this proposition is the dominant question as far as labor is concerned, and must be given attention and action first of all, even if it is necessary to spend a million dollars to put this into print. It would be better to spend four or five or ten million dollars in this way than to put it in a dreadnought or a man-of-war that would be blown up by a submarine the first time it goes out of the harbor.

Delegate Frey suggested that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare from the material, as soon as it can be secured, pamphlets dealing in a condensed way with the many questions that are covered in the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, the articles to be printed in the Weekly News Letter, so that in addition to the larger volumes there will be at the disposal of the members these convenient pamphlets that will give them some idea of the valuable material the Commission has collected.

Delegate Gallagher suggested that the printing of condensed reports would give those who opposed printing the complete reports an opportunity to say that it would not be necessary for Congress to print, as the reports had already been gotten out by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Frey stated that the suggestion was that the pamphlets be prepared after the publication of the full reports by Congress.

Treasurer Lennon in discussing the question, said in part: I feel the entire work of the Commission should be published by Congress. In the little city where I live—a city of less than 40,000—I do not hesitate to say I will be able to get five thousand signatures to a demand upon Congress that the document be published. If all the delegates will do as much work as they can they will be able to convince Congress that its first duty lies in ordering an

issue of these documents, the plates to be preserved in order that additional editions may come forth as the people demand them. There are some Congressmen from Illinois that have said the document cannot be published because we have to take into consideration the preparing of this country against any enemy that may appear at any time in the future on the battlefield. I believe the battlefield is an industrial one; that it is there we have to gain our victories. There are many documents that have not been published at all, or even excerpts published from them, that are exceedingly valuable to every trade unionist that desires to talk even for five minutes in a meeting of his own local union, and if he desires to talk to a meeting of a general audience he will find material in those documents of very great value.

Secretary Morrison: A synopsis of the reports in question was prepared at the headquarters of the Federation and published in the News Letter, and it is the purpose of the officers at headquarters, when the report is printed, to take up each phase in its turn and prepare a synopsis along similar lines for publication in the News Letter. Immediately upon receipt of a printed copy of the report, the synopsis was prepared and published in the News Letter. One hundred thousand copies were printed and sent to the secretaries of all the local unions affiliated, to nationals and internationals and to central bodies for distribution. Our purpose was to reach our members with a full synopsis prior to the time it would be discussed in the newspapers and our membership probably misled.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists: Does the committee's report carry with it instructions to the Executive Council that the full proceedings be printed?

Chairman McCullough: Yes, it certainly does.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. A. Taylor, P. W. Dowler, J. G. Brown, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The ever-growing intensity of unemployment as the chief cause of industrial unrest has been emphasized by the almost universal attention



drawn to it by the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations; by the appointment by Governor Dunne of Illinois of a commission on which are some of our own prominent officials to investigate the problem of that State, and by the Washington State Federation of Labor maintaining for the past two years, a standing committee upon the subject; all of which shows the widespread menace of unemployment and has brought it to the forefront of those matters pressing for immediate attention and solution; and

WHEREAS (a) In the last half century, in addition to repairing the ravages of a destructive civil war, industrial development (in the building of railroads, digging canals, harnessing water powers, clearing lands, drilling oil wells, opening mines, and in all other lines of industry) has gone on to a point where (in spite of the fact that we have changed from an importing to an exporting nation, and are now sending out more goods than ever before in our history; with the greatest crops we have ever harvested; and with financial reports showing a tremendous amount of business transacted) railroads stagnate for lack of business, and factories, mines, mills, and lands lie idle, or are only partly worked, all testifying to the fact that we have reached the point where our industrial equipment is capable of producing more than is necessary to supply our present population, thus closing up avenues for re-investment and throwing those workers, formerly employed in development work, into the ranks of the jobless;

(b) In Europe the introduction of women into industry since the beginning of the war and the continuation of the ordinary processes of production for the needs of the various countries involved in addition to meeting the enormous demands for commodities to be consumed by the armies in the field, indicate that at the close of hostilities there will be little, if any, employment for the returning soldiers; while in America, the attitude of the Labor Movement in opposition to militarism and the creation of immense stores of war material, if effective, can only mean the further increase of the problem by the disemployment of those workers engaged in the manufacture of munitions, etc.;

(c) The shorter work-day so far secured has apparently failed to keep pace with the displacement of labor by our improving methods of production and as a result of this failure the pressure of unemployment is threatening not only the power of organized labor, but the cohesion of society itself; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, appreciating the importance of prompt action in this most vital matter, directs the Executive Council to make as comprehensive a survey of conditions as funds will permit, employing such special help as may be necessary, ascertain the probable length of work-day which will insure employment to all, and if possible suggest to the next

convention, methods by which this can be secured.

Resolution No. 121.—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment is serious, if not the most serious in our lives. It not only destroys the producing and consuming power of the individual and his family, but it is the means whereby the employers keep the employed in active competition against each other. It is also the constant menace which is held over the employed to make them servile and submissive and work long hours for small wages, which results in the increased output of the employed, while it lessens the consuming power of himself and his family; and,

WHEREAS, One practical way to meet this situation would be to secure data, information and knowledge of the cause and far-reaching effect of unemployment, which if given proper publicity would drive those who profit by manipulating the labor market, so that we have an endless army of unemployed, from their well entrenched position. Another and more practical way is to shorten the hours of labor so that more will be employed, and increase the wages of the employed, thereby increasing his consuming power, which means more employment. In other words, give every man, woman and child their full consuming power, and the army of the unemployed will soon be in the ranks of the employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we instruct our Executive Council to initiate and authorize a plan whereby all available information on the effect and the possible solution of the question of unemployment can be compiled and given publicity, and that such plan provide that the individual members of the affiliated local unions report either through their international union, or city central body the number of hours they work per week or per month, and the number they don't work, and the cause of not working, whether caused by sickness, accident, slack season or depression in business; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention calls attention to the fact that the giant industries and corporations of America not only work their employees under inhuman conditions, but they absolutely destroy the home life of the workers by the long number of hours they compel them to work, and the only hope of the worker is to rely upon his efforts to organize and his personal activities if he is to secure relief from the brutal conditions forced upon him by a manufactured army of unemployed workers.

The foregoing resolutions, containing practically the same subject matter and dealing with the same state of affairs and with a similar purpose in view, were considered together and your com-

nittee recommends that they be referred to the Executive Council for such action as may be deemed necessary in connection with the reference in the report of the Executive Council under the caption of Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws, to be found in the Executive Council's report to this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Government employees have used their skill, knowledge and experience obtained in the public service, and aided in the establishment and installation of plate printing plants on alien soil, which are now being operated, managed and controlled by those who are unfriendly to organized labor, to the damage and injury of American organized workmen; and

WHEREAS, This is antagonistic and in violation of the aim, objects and principles for which the labor movement has been contending for years, and which brought about the enactment of the alien contract labor law; and

WHEREAS, The International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North American in convention assembled July 15, adopted, and Plate Printers' Local No. 2, Washington, D. C.; Plate Printers' Local No. 1, Philadelphia, Pa.; Plate Printers' Local No. 3, Boston, Mass.; Plate Printers' Locals Nos. 5 and 8, New York City; the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor; the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity; the Central Labor Union, Philadelphia, Pa., the Baltimore Federation of Labor; the Boston Central Labor Union, and the Washington Central Labor Union ratified, confirmed and endorsed the following resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of San Francisco on the — day of November, 1915, hereby endorse the above resolution and authorize the Executive Council to do any and all things to have the following resolution enacted into law:

#### RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, requested to cause such rules and regulations to be adopted and placed in force for the regulation of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing as will effectually forbid and prevent the officials and employees of said Bureau from giving their time, skill, knowledge, experience or service upon any basis to any foreign government or to any individual, firm or corporation whatsoever, domestic or foreign, for

the purpose of assisting any such government, individual, firm or corporation in the establishment or carrying on of any printing or engraving business or of any business whatsoever which is or may be directly or indirectly competitive with American industry, or which may directly or indirectly deprive American labor of its employment and means of livelihood.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ferguson: May I ask the chairman the intention of non-concurring this resolution?

Chairman McCullough: The reasons are so many and so far-reaching that I do not believe it would be fair at this time to undertake to rehearse them all. The chief objection to the resolution is that it undertakes to stop an avenue to improve conditions on the part of certain workers who are unfortunate enough to be employed by the Government. It prohibits plate-printers who are employed by the Government from doing something that plate-printers employed by private corporations are left free to do, the plate-printers being members of the same organization and generally working under the same conditions. The adoption of the regulation asked for by this resolution would place upon the plate-printers employed in the Government Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington a restriction that would not be placed upon the plate-printers employed by the American Bank Note Company, the Western Bank Note Company, or any other private institution doing this work. It would not achieve the purpose plainly aimed at by the resolution, the prevention of the establishment by foreign governments of plate-printing plants for the printing of their own money or bonds or for doing private work. It would merely prevent a plate printer from the government service going to a foreign country and setting up such a plant. A plate printer from a private concern could go. If we were to enact a law that would prevent an American plate printer from doing such work it would leave the field open to plate printers of foreign countries. I doubt very much whether we could enact a law in the United States that would seriously affect the plate

printer of Canada; I know it would not affect the plate printer of Great Britain, or France, or Germany or any other of the foreign countries where they have these plate printers and do this work.

Delegate Ferguson, in discussing the question, said in part: When we appeared before the committee the question was asked by one of the committee, "Does the plate printer desire to monopolize the plate-printing industry?" I am here to state that the plate printers do desire to monopolize the plate-printing industry for organized plate printers; and I do not think there is a delegate here who truly represents the organization that sent him here that does not want to monopolize his industry for the organized workers. We can have no objection to private parties sending out men to teach people in foreign countries a trade; but we do object to men in the service of the United States, paid by you and me to do a certain service, being sent to teach alien people a trade that will allow them to compete with ourselves and our brothers in this country. We do not oppose the United States sending its employees into foreign countries to teach the people the science of government, but we do oppose sending these employees to teach people a trade that will enable them to compete with labor in the United States.

Delegate Ferguson, during his remarks, called attention to Resolution No. 1, reported favorably by the Committee on Resolutions, which calls upon the United States Government to prohibit the musicians of the Marine Band entering into competition with civilian musicians; and to Resolution No. 35, referring to the employment of men who are not citizens of the country on public work, also reported favorably by the Committee on Resolutions, and asked that the resolution of the Plate Printers also receive favorable consideration in order that they would not have to compete with alien labor.

Delegate Ryan, in discussing the question said in part: The proper construction has not been placed upon this resolution. I said before the committee that it was one of the most important resolutions that could be presented before the convention, not because of the fact

that it affects my trade, but because it affects the principles of Americanism and the principles of organized labor. What do we seek to do? We seek to restrain Government employees. Why? Because the law says we can do it. We cannot restrain the outsider, but those we can hold, I claim, we have a right to restrain. The resolution applies only to Government employees while working in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing from spending their vacation time in Cuba, sent there by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, accompanied by machinists and others, to teach the people there. They have taken our boys from New York and employed them down there for a little while, with the pledge that they were to stay on the job, and after they had taught the men who were picking up the rags around the floor and wiping off the machinery, they were dismissed and those men ratted the trade. We have a very proper contract alien-labor law, which prevents an alien contract laborer from coming into this country. I want to know the difference between sending out our Government employees to set up a plant on alien soil, teach them the business and take the work from the American Bank Note Company in New York and Canada, and bringing people into this country to do the work. I hope something will be done that will protect the plate printers who have been a loyal and faithful part of this movement.

Delegate Berry: The Committee on Executive Council's Report, as has been indicated by Delegate Ryan, was not able to give this proposition the attention, possibly, it deserved. It must be evident to the delegates here assembled that the proposition has considerable merit, and I arise at this time to offer an amendment to the committee's report that the subject matter as a whole be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to render every service practicable in the interest of the plate printers' organization. (Seconded by Delegate Ferguson.)

Chairman McCullough discussed the question further, and gave additional reasons why the committee presented the report it did.

Vice-President Duncan: The chair will state to Delegate Berry that the motion made is negative to the motion before

the house and will only be in order if the report of the committee is voted down.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Deviny, Delegate Furuseth, Chairman McCullough, Delegate Miller (O.).

Delegate Berry then moved that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Adolph Germer, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The large capitalist interests, especially those who deal in munitions of war, have inaugurated and are carrying on an extensive pro-military campaign under the deception of "Preparedness"; and

WHEREAS, This military mania has been introduced in some of the public schools in order to instill the susceptible infant mind with pro-military ideas; and

WHEREAS, The military, both militia and regular army, are in the most part made up by the workers, while at the same time the military is the bulwark of the capitalists when the workers are forced to go on strike to maintain their conditions or get a little greater share of the wealth they create; and

WHEREAS, Military forces are organized instruments for murder and destruction of property, the product of labor; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular annual convention assembled, most emphatically protests against the introduction in our public schools of military propaganda; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the workers to desist from affiliating with any branch of the military forces.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: I move as an amendment to the report that the resolution be adopted, with the exception of the last resolve.

Vice-President Duncan: The committee recommends non-concurrence. The amendment will not be in order unless the recommendation of the committee is voted down.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was voted upon and carried.

Delegate Germer, as the introducer of the resolution, stated that he had a right to the floor to discuss it before a

motion to adopt the report of the committee could be acted upon.

Vice-President Duncan stated that under the circumstances, and in accordance with the rules of the convention, the introducer of a resolution had a right to the floor before the vote was taken. He stated because of that rule the question was not settled and that Delegate Germer could speak on the resolution.

Delegate Germer, Mine Workers: It has always been my understanding—and I think I am correct in it—that the organized trade union movement is the vanguard of all progressive thought. And I believe I am right when I say that perhaps the American trade union movement is the only one that is not, and has not been for years, strongly anti-militaristic. Militarism is nothing but a relic of barbarism. It is the military reign of Europe that has for more than a year drenched the nations of Europe with human blood, where our comrades, the men of labor, have been torn into fragments because of the vested interests turning those nations into a slaughter-house. And since the European war the vested interests in this nation have taken advantage of the tragedies on the other side in order to create a pro-military sentiment here in the United States. Not a single avenue is overlooked. Our public schools are invaded and the infant mind is being imbued with pro-military ideas; theatres, movies, civic organizations, institutions of every possible character are being used in order to create a favorable sentiment in the United States in order that hundreds of millions of dollars may be used to build instruments to destroy property, the product of labor, and to destroy human life more effectively and in greater numbers, so that this nation, too, will be turned into a slaughter-house such as exists in Europe. There are many delegates here, and many pro-militarists, who would be exempt from military duty should this nation ever be plunged into war; but I refuse to go to some other nation to shoot some other workers and I refuse to be shot by them. Some may ask why it is, if the European trade union movement was so strongly anti-militaristic the workers are now in the trenches fighting? And I reply it is not

because of the trade union movement in Europe, but in spite of it, and it is the overwhelming power of the capitalist class that has forced the workers of the different nations to shoot each other. I am interested in heading off a movement of that kind in this country. If you look over the list of those who are promoting that delusion of preparedness you will find they are those who grow rich, fabulously rich, in dealing in war munitions. It is from them the sentiment receives its life. And the sentiment is being spread through the agencies that have coined millions out of the human misery of Europe. J. Pierpont Morgan and his partner, Gary of the Steel Trust, and other kindred interests, are now making millions out of the European war; and to have the war continue indefinitely they must get this country to increase its armaments, in order to coin still more profits out of the industry. If this country has a half billion dollars to spend, as is proposed in the coming session of Congress, then I say let this nation spend it in the preservation of human life rather than in its destruction. Anything that is not constructive must necessarily be destructive. The objection may be raised that we may be involved in war with a foreign foe and we may be helpless victims. I don't think any foreign foe, for the next fifty years at least, will desire to invade any other nation; I don't think the crippled and maimed of Europe will entertain for the next half century at least the idea of crossing the seas and invading this nation. People say we must have a strong army and a strong navy in case it is required to develop our foreign trade. Very good, but I say if we have surplus production here in the United States, let it be distributed to the unemployed, the hungry and the ragged, rather than force it on a foreign nation by the bullet and the bayonet. I say our schools must not be turned into institutions to create a desire and sentiment to snuff out human life at the command of our master class. And when the time comes to fight let us remember this: That the fighting will not be done, the guns will not be shouldered, the trenches will not be occupied, by those who live in Fifth Avenue and grow rich out of the

profession of war; but the guns will be shouldered and the trenches occupied by the working class. And I say the working class, we men and we women of labor who have to bear the burdens of war, should take a firm stand against enlarging and increasing the extent and efficiency of our machinery of destruction of property and destruction of life. I am unalterably opposed to in any way increasing the army and navy, because they will not be made up of those who are of no further use to society, but of those in the best period of their lives, and we will be robbed of their services. I know of no reason why we should not vote against the committee's report; I know of every reason why we should adopt the resolution and place the trade union movement, the light-bearer of progress, firmly on record as opposing the militarism of big business and favoring the preservation of life and property.

Chairman McCullough, Typographical Union: I would like to ask Delegate Germer what, if any, suggestion he has to make for the protection of the United States in the event of an attack of some foreign power, or in the event the United States might, as has already been quite within the range of immediate possibilities, enter into a conflict with a foreign power for the purpose of protecting our citizens?

Delegate Germer: In the first place, the United States has not been invaded since 1775, and I am not possessed of that nightmare of seeing this nation invaded for some time to come. Of course, if we refuse, if the workers of America refuse and fail to carry on an anti-military propaganda, and the workers of other nations refuse to carry on an anti-military propaganda, it will mean that we will have a pro-military propaganda and each nation will be preparing to prevent the invasion of another nation.

Chairman McCullough: Will you answer my question?

Delegate Germer: I am trying to. I tried a while ago—perhaps I did not speak in as good English as I might—to say that I did not fear that maimed and crippled Europe will invade the United States for the next fifty years.

Delegate Furuseth: I was listening with very great earnestness and very great interest, indeed, to the speech of

Delegate Germer; but I failed to find anything in it about the resolution in question here or about the committee's report. When it comes to the question of preventing an increase in the army and navy I might be with him; when it comes to the question of dealing with the people who furnish materials for war, now and at any other time, I might be with him; when it comes to the question of dealing with the military condition of the country, I might be with him; but that is not the question here. The question here is about physical training and drill in schools; the question here is about training boys to work together in gangs in schools; the question here is about training the boy that goes to the public school in the use of arms. When he says that must not be done I am not with him. I hope to see the day that the boy in school will be trained in the use of arms; and the father at home will train him how to use them. What is the boy going to gain by becoming a sissy? Do you want him to stand together with his fellows in future years in the trade union movement to face anything that may come? How is he going to learn it? What chance has he got? Do you want to teach him self-abnegation, so that he will do anything the Garys and the Morgans want him to do? What will you do with him when he leaves your home and is in somebody else's employ, and he must keep his tongue in his teeth for fear of losing his job? If you give him all the information about the use of arms, the use of his body and the advantage of standing together until he is sixteen years of age, and you teach him how to use that knowledge, I will leave him to the other fellow forever after, and he will take care of your proposition.

Treasurer Lennon: I desire to support the report of the committee for this reason: If that resolution is adopted it is open to the interpretation by the teachers and the educators of this country that we hold that they are militarists. Now, during the last two or three years my association with that class of men has been greater than at any time in my life, and I say that the large percentage of them are absolutely and unqualifiedly against militarism, and are with the trade union movement on

that question; and to adopt the resolution would be a reflection on that class of people which is not warranted by the facts.

Delegate Donlin moved the previous question.

Chairman McCullough: The chairman of the committee would like a word before that question is put.

Delegate Donlin: It will take half the night just to get their names in the record.

The motion to close debate was lost by a vote of 79 in the negative to 77 in the affirmative.

Chairman McCullough: With no desire or purpose, as I have said before on other matters, to prolong discussion, I desire at this time to make my position clear. In the first place, I am as thoroughly and completely pledged and devoted to the cause of anti-militarism as is Delegate Germer or any other delegate on the floor. I have spoken and written just the sentiments that have been spoken here by Delegate Germer in his opposition or his denunciation of the wastefulness and destruction of war; but I am confronted, just as we all are confronted, with a condition and not a theory. I asked Delegate Germer a question which he did not answer. I did not expect that he would answer it, because I cannot answer it myself and I doubt if any man living can answer it. When the Lusitania sank off Old Kinsale Head and carried down to death thirteen hundred people, a large number of them American men and women and babies, as a result of an act of war, the American nation flew into a white heat of indignation; and the wave of feeling that swept the United States from the northern boundaries to the southern, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific was so strong that the President went off and secluded himself for days and days rather than venture a public statement while the temper of the nation was at such a white heat. We were never closer to war and not engaged in it than we were at that time; at a word from the President of the United States the American people would have arisen and entered the war. The President of the United States laid down certain propositions and insisted upon



them, and through diplomatic channels was enabled to enforce his will; but I ask you where we would have been in case the German government had refused, as it might easily have done, to have recognized our position? How would we have proceeded to protect the rights of American citizens that were then attacked? Nor is it alone with the German government we are dealing in this question. We have a very serious question—and had at that time—with the government of Great Britain, that was held in abeyance until our controversy with the German government should be settled. The British government has not so far torpedoed any passenger boats carrying our men and women, but the British government has deliberately ignored the right of American citizens to traffic freely between port and port of this country and neutral countries. The brother says this country has not been invaded since 1775. The country was invaded in 1812 on just that question and the capitol of the United States was burned, and burned because this country was not in position to defend itself when Great Britain came in. Now, don't shut your eyes to facts, brother. There is not a man on the floor of this convention to-day who would vote to plunge this nation or any other nation into such an awful, such an inconceivable state of affairs as exists in Europe; but keep in mind always the fact that that man is respected only who is able to protect himself, that nation is respected only that is able to protect itself. The morals between individuals, unfortunately, deplorably unfortunately, are not the morals between nations. As far as treaty obligations are concerned, look at what has happened. When the British ambassador to Berlin went to the headquarters in Wilhelmstrasse to secure his passports and make his farewell to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, the German minister expressed regret that England was going to enter the war because of a scrap of paper. And what indignation, what horror, what an outburst of resentment followed the invasion of Belgium by Germany in violation of that same treaty—that scrap of paper! It was such that up to the present time it has practically blinded the eyes of the American people to the

fact that Great Britain and Russia violated Persian neutrality, that Great Britain and France violated Grecian neutrality.

Delegate Flagherty, Post Office Clerks: A point of order. I want to ask whether or not we are going to coincide with the declaration of the neutrality of the United States government or not?

Vice-President Duncan: We will stand for the declaration of neutrality.

Chairman McCullough: I have undertaken to briefly, without argumentation, place before the convention a condition that actually confronts us. The brother said he did not apprehend that bleeding Europe would be able to attack the United States within fifty years. There is no need of going into a discussion of that question; but the people of Europe are not the only people in the world, nor the only ones from whom we are liable to attack. There are others, and they are none too friendly to us, and nobody knows that better or feels it more keenly than the people who live on the Pacific Coast. I am not arguing or contending for war. I have seen enough of war. I spent my babyhood days in the midst of war. My earliest recollections are of bleeding men carried from a battlefield into my father's home and there treated for their wounds. Yes, I know something of war. I saw our place overrun and swept by war. Now, don't get it into your heads that I am standing here contending for war. What I want to impress upon this convention is that we must be ready to meet any emergency at any time, and we can not do it unless we begin sometime to get ready to meet that emergency; and the best possible time is to begin training our boys and our girls in discipline, in orderly, effective movement at a time when they are most susceptible to that training. And that is not introducing military propaganda into the public schools; it is common sense.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners: The question was asked by Delegate McCullough, what would happen in case we had decided upon the sinking of the Lusitania that the United States would go to war. Now, I am not going to defend the sinking of the Lusitania, because if I did I would be contending in favor of war. If I were to uphold the right of the Germans to sink the Lusi-

tania or invade Belgium, that logic would give the United States the right to do the same thing. I am opposed to Germany doing those things, and I am opposed to the United States preparing to do those things. Now, conceding the honesty of purpose of Delegate McCullough and others who have taken the other position on this matter here, that is exactly the state of mind that the Morgans, the Schwabs and others in favor of war want the people to accept. If we go out and say it is necessary to prepare for war, but we are not going to war, the minute we are prepared for war we will be plunged into war if they can make a dollar profit out of it. Now as to what would have happened if the country had been prepared to go to war upon the sinking of the Lusitania. I will tell you what happened. We did not go to war, and if we had been prepared we would have been plunged into war and have our legions in Europe now. We have a boundary of three thousand miles on the north of us on which there is not a gun or a soldier, and nobody dreams of war; but if we had bristling bayonets on each side of that boundary we would have war. When you prepare for war you will have it. I have lived in every section of this country. I have gone over the Rocky Mountain States and into wild mining and lumber camps where he who did not carry a gun was the exception and he who did not have notches on his gun was a tenderfoot. I never carried a gun and never got into a fight; but those who carried guns killed with their guns and were killed with somebody else's guns. It was nothing unusual to wake up in the morning and find there had been a fight the night before, not with fists but with guns, and John Smith and two or three others were killed. That came about because they were prepared to fight, they were prepared to kill, and at the first opportunity they seized their guns and killed or were killed. And the same is true of nations. That is the situation we have to consider— if we prepare for war we have to go into war. A moment ago the fearful crime of the sinking of the "Lusitania" was spoken of. We have had just as fearful crimes right here at home for which no restitution has been made. I helped to pick up the bleeding forms of

members of our unions, I helped to bury them, murdered by the military forces of the State or nation as the case might be. I helped to pick up the quivering forms of fifteen- or sixteen-year-old girls who were raped by men in the uniform of the State militia with the Stars and Stripes over their heads, and neither State nor nation has attempted to right any of these wrongs. A few years ago in Ludlow, Colorado, nineteen of our women and children were killed by the militia of the State under the Stars and Stripes and that wrong has not been righted. Militarism ran rampant there for the time being and the wives and children of the mine workers have received no compensation for the wrongs imposed upon them. Up in Calumet, Michigan, two years ago seventy-five of our women and children were murdered for the benefit of Quincy Adams Shaw of Boston and his colleagues. We protested from one end of this country to the other. We held great mass meetings and passed resolutions and after months forced Congress to send a committee there to find out who was responsible. The committee came back and for nine months submitted no report. When the people had forgotten, they announced they would not submit any report; they let it die in committee. Before we talk of going to war to redress the wrong of sinking the "Lusitania" we have got to redress the wrong of the murder of seventy-five women and children in Calumet. I am opposed to fighting. I am opposed to war, but I serve notice here and now that if I must fight, if I must go to war, by the gods I will fight for myself and war for myself and not for capitalists such as Schwab and Morgan and Rockefeller! What benefit are the workers going to get out of this war, no matter who wins?

Delegate Furuseth: Assuming you would do all those things, and you would want every one else to do them, don't you think it would be well for the boys in school to learn discipline, to learn to act together?

Delegate Cannon: The question is, would it be advisable to train the children in militarism?

Delegate Furuseth: In the use of arms.

Delegate Cannon: No, I don't think

it would be advisable. I don't want to take the unformed mind of the child, boy or girl, and inoculate it with ideas of force; I would rather impress upon it the ideals of peace, and the happiness of living in the community without strife, or war, or destruction. I don't want to teach the child at an early age that force is the method of settling disputes; I want it to use the talents of reason and mentality and intellect to settle them, and if reason and mentality and intellect had been used in Europe there would be no such fight there now. War is madness. War is the suppression and the killing of civilization. War is the destruction of what the race has built up through thousands of generations and I don't want to lose anything we have gained. In Europe they are discussing the advisability of establishing, instead of monogamy, a system of polygamy; they are discussing the advisability of legitimatizing the children born out of wedlock, because everything is going to feed this mad war. I have nothing against the child born out of wedlock, but I do say if civilization is going to move forward, if we are going to uphold the institutions that are good, we must try to put an end to war, we must not allow our moral standard to be reduced, we must not allow men to make a profit out of conditions of war or anything else; we must stand for peace and settle our disputes, not by resort to war but by resort to peaceful methods. If we do that there will be no need of training children in the implements of war. Do you know we have States in the Union where you are subject to a term of twenty years in the penitentiary if you are found with a gun in your house? But the gunman can carry a gun, the man who goes out and murders for hire has his gun, but the citizen hasn't. In that very State they tried in the recent election to make the military law superior to the civil law. And you call that preparedness? It is preparedness for war not for peace; preparedness for murder, preparedness to wipe out civilization and erect on the throne the god of capital, the god of profit and cheap labor kept in subjection ever after. One of the delegates from England said they wanted conscription in England, not for the war, but after

the war; and they want preparedness here more to keep labor in subjection than for any other purpose. And I for one am not going to give my consent to it.

President Gompers: Joining with every delegate who has characterized war in the terms so justly employed, I want to make it clearly understood that I am and have been all my life, at least from my young manhood until to-day, a pacifist; I have believed that with the civilization of our time we are growing out of the idea of war. I have made some contribution to the literature and the other means of discussion against war. At a meeting in Boston some fifteen or sixteen years ago I made the declaration, upon my own authority, that I looked forward to the time when the working people of the civilized world would make war impossible; that in the last analysis if we could not prevent war in any other way, the workers would refuse to manufacture the armaments of war, and that the workers would refuse to go to war. I lived under that impression for about forty years of my life. When the American Federation of Labor sent me over to attend the meeting of the International Secretariat at Paris, one of the greatest meetings I ever attended was held in that city and the delegates from various countries, each for his own country, declared his unalterable fealty to the ideals for peace. Among them I had the honor and the privilege, in so far as I had the power, to pledge the men of the American labor movement that we would stand for international peace.

I call to your attention this fact, that in the spring of 1914 the representative of the French trade-union movement had a conference with the representative of the German trade-union movement for the purpose of determining their course of action in the event of war breaking out; and the representative of the trade-union movement of France declared that if the working people of Germany were about to take a position against war the French trade unionists and workers would not go to war. The declaration of the representative of the toilers of France remained unanswered.

On the 29th of July, or the 1st of August, 1914, there came upon the world this proc-

lamation that war was about to begin. I would not hurt any human being physically, scarcely in self-defense, and I do not under-estimate the life of the meanest of the people of the world; but because in an indignant moment some representatives of a secret society in Serbia assassinated a man and a woman, the world's conflagration began. And all that has occurred since is the manifest expression in regard to the murder of a man and a woman. And we find—what? When the Emperor of Austria declared war upon Serbia, the Austrian workmen responded to the colors. When Russia's Czar declared war, the workers of Russia flew to the colors. When Germany declared war upon Russia, the proletariat of Germany responded to the colors. When England declared war and France declared war, the workers of those two countries responded to the colors, and so on, and so on. I am free to say to you, my friends, that when these things occurred much of my hopes was destroyed, and I am free to confess that I have had to revise my judgment upon the question of international peace and war. I believed, in so far as international affairs were concerned, we could assume in the United States the position of non-resistance—of peace, of reason, of intellect; but the old biblical story of "Love thy neighbor as thyself" has been shot to pieces. You may love your neighbor and want to help him, but if he treads upon the tail of your coat sufficiently hard you are going to hit back. I am in hopes that out of this war there shall not come international force to compel a recalcitrant country to obey the biddings of an international court, by the armed forces of the military and the navy to enforce the will of the world upon any one nation, because of the possibilities that the tyranny of the world may be employed against the development of the people of a nation for the very financial and material profit and greed to which reference has been so eloquently made. But this I believe—and I find myself in excellent company—that there ought to be some international basis to determine the moral conscience of the people as to the justice or the injustice of the action of any particular nation. I would not have force of a military or naval

character employed, I would use what Ireland coined and what the labor movement of America has put into action, the boycott,—the world's boycott against a nation that flies into the conscience and the face of the world. I had hoped that this subject when discussed at all would be upon a broader declaration than the one of a military training of the youth in the schools. Let me say this to you, men and women of toil, that we are living in a republic, and because we term our system of government in the United States a republic, that does not insure to the people either protection or peace. A republic, a people, unwilling to defend the institution of self-government are not worthy to have a republic. I am opposed to militarism now, as I have ever been, but I do not want to shut my eyes to the fact that the children in our public schools are not receiving that physical training which is necessary to make a virile manhood and womanhood. In Switzerland men are trained to be physically strong as well as mentally sound, and it is generally regarded by students that the system prevailing there is the best concept; and with that development, with that system, has grown up manhood and character that challenge the admiration of the world. In Switzerland every man is a soldier, not necessarily to go to war, but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family and his country. The system is democratically organized, democratically administered and democratically controlled. What we want is to eliminate the evils to which Delegate Cannon and Delegate Germer have given expression, the evils resulting from the maladministration of our military affairs. What we want is to see to it that the people of the United States, the great mass of the farmers and the workers in industry, shall be thoroughly trained and organized; and in the interest of the people of our country control the military, the militia, the naval forces in the interest of peace, in the interest of justice, in the interest of democracy, in the interest of humanity. To say that we will leave the administration of the affairs of the military forces of our country in the hands and in the power of the men so well described by some of the delegates is to sur-

render power in advance. I would not have the military composed of and controlled by a select few; I want it in the hands of the democracy of America. The people in America and the wage earners in industry and agriculture form a very large mass of the people, and if we do but our duty we shall see to it that they are not going to use the army or the militia against the people. Already even among our "capitalist class" we have found this expression that the military must not be used as strikebreaking agencies in the interest of employers. The newspapers have discussed it. There is much to say, but

since the chairman has suggested that we must vacate this hall in a few minutes, I therefore close with submitting these few thoughts.

The report of the committee to non-concur in the resolution was carried.

Delegate Woll: The Committee on Education is ready to report upon the subject submitted to it yesterday.

The Chairman stated that the time for adjournment had arrived.

Delegate Woll: The committee will report to-morrow.

At 5:45 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m. Friday, November 19th.

## TENTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 19, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 19, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kramer, Conway, Christman, Boyden, Soby, Feeney, Mahoney, Letrodec, Call, Hayes (F. J.), Moore, Slissman, Norris, Deviny, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Coffey, Ogletree, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, McGinley (C.), Keller, Porter, Spooner, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Dowler, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Brown, Quesse, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Thompson.

Delegate Flaherty, National Federation Post Office Clerks, was excused from further attendance, as he was obliged to leave the city on account of important business.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1915.  
Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation of  
Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

In behalf of the distressed members of our organization, victims of the American Anti-Boycott Society, the defendant debtors in the Loewe suit and judgment, who are doomed to lose their homes and all their earthly possessions, and in behalf of our general membership, I thank the officers and delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for their action in recommending substantial assistance be given those innocent victims of an unjust law, or the mistaken interpretation of same, by our courts, confident that the great part of labor will respond generously to an appeal so deserving and as such unanimously endorsed by your honorable body.

JOHN W. SCULLEY,  
International President United Hatters  
of North America.

**Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.**

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

**Resolution No. 81—By the Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:**

**WHEREAS**, The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association has

consolidated with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, charters having been issued to the local unions of the Association as local unions of the Brotherhood; and

**WHEREAS**, the consolidation of the two organizations has taken place with the knowledge and approval of the Executive Council of the Federation, the President of the Federation being a party to the agreement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Brotherhood of Painters be recognized as having jurisdiction over all work hitherto considered as being under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 83—By Delegate John Kean, of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, It is very necessary that the railroad workers and the workers of the maritime transportation industry cooperate with each other in times of industrial strife; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the incoming executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to devise all necessary ways and means to bring those workers together in such a way as to be able to render each other all necessary moral support in case of either being involved in industrial strife.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make inquiry and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor the feasibility of carrying out the work proposed by the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, The spirit of militarism is rampant abroad and is being fostered in the schools of this republic by the introduction of military drills, wearing of uniforms and many other methods calculated to instill into the minds of our children dreams of fame through



war and the thought that killing and maiming of human beings is legitimate when ordered by a "superior officer"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in annual session assembled, that we deplore the tendency to promote military drills and the war spirit in the public schools of our country and urge upon trade-unionists and friends of peace everywhere to begin with discouraging militarism in all places where children meet and play.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists, arose to discuss the report of the committee.

President Gompers: The two resolutions on this subject should have been reported upon at the same time. I shall hold, unless otherwise ordered by the convention, that the subject matter was disposed of at the close of our session yesterday.

Delegate Van Lear objected to the ruling of the chair, but did not appeal from it, and no further action was taken upon the resolution or the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, In this day of centralization of capital employed in the shipping industry, it is deemed necessary that the International Longshoremen's Association be made a representative, if possible, of all the classes of labor employed in the handling of the water-borne freight of this and other countries within the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe other crafts intimately related to this trade find that there must be co-operation through a working agreement or by some other method of all the working forces represented by international organizations of marine workers, if the increased strength of the shipping companies is to be successfully combated; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the International Longshoremen's Association delegates call upon the American Federation of Labor to take immediate action towards having conferences of representatives of the various international unions of the marine trades for the purpose of discussing the inauguration of a Marine Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Harry

L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

**WHEREAS**, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the amalgamation of allied industries, with the object in view of decreasing the number of jurisdictional disputes in the American labor movement; and

**WHEREAS**, The cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry is practically a branch of the laundry industry, as is proven by the fact that steam laundries throughout the country are installing, or have in many instances already installed, a department for the cleaning, pressing and dyeing of clothes; and

**WHEREAS**, The employees in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing department will amount to but a very small percentage of the total number of employees in each laundry; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to extend the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union to include the workers employed in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of determining the effect of the proposed extension of jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers prior to the granting of same, and to take such action as in the premises may be deemed wise and for the best interests of all parties at interest.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon: There are several other trades that are interested in this matter.

Delegate Golden, Textile Workers: I would like to ask the committee whether the Laundry Workers' delegates specified what class of dyeing they are asking jurisdiction over. We have some 3,000 organized dyers in this country and many more thousands that need to be organized in our textile industry. Unless they specified the dyers, I would like to be heard when the matter comes before the Executive Council.

Chairman McCullough: They ask that they be given jurisdiction over cleaning, pressing and dyeing without going into details. The committee suggested that some of this work already was under the jurisdiction of affiliated international bodies. The Laundry Workers said they simply wanted the portion of it that might be done in laundries. The intention of the committee was to have

the question go to the Executive Council in order that the parties interested might be given an opportunity to present their claims.

Delegate Golden: I have no objection to that.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The practice of having small children live on the boats in and around the harbor of New York can result only to their detriment, both morally and physically; and

WHEREAS, Many of the captains are compelled to carry their children with them because of the fact that they are paid such miserable wages that no other course is open to them; and

WHEREAS, As a result children are bound to grow up in ignorance and be handicapped for the duties of life; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, through its delegate at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, ask that an investigation be made of these conditions and that efforts be made with the co-operation of the Federal and State authorities to bring into effect a child labor law that will prevent the carrying of children on such boats under the age of fifteen years.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution, with the understanding that the legislation be extended, if possible, to apply to all vessel or boat captains who are similarly situated with those of New York, concerning whose condition complaint is made.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate T. F. Neary, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has consistently enforced all of the laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In October, 1914, the question was raised in a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor by a delegate that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not being complied with. The chair ruled that the American Federation of Labor laws were complied with, whereupon an appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, with the result that the chair was sustained by a unanimous vote. The complaining delegate then served notice of an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, When this appeal was be-

ing considered by the Executive Council the Chicago Federation of Labor asked to be given an opportunity to defend its action and decision, and after much correspondence and many such requests, the Executive Council held that the Chicago Federation of Labor was in error and sustained the appeal against the Chicago Federation of Labor without hearing upon the facts and principles involved; and

WHEREAS, When this decision was rendered the Chicago Federation of Labor was notified to comply therewith at the "earliest possible opportunity." The mandate of the Executive Council was complied with at the next regular meeting; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the two hundred and fifty thousand organized men and women who constitute the Chicago Federation of Labor, although humbly submitting to the mandate of the Executive Council, are just as firmly convinced now as at any time in the past that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not violated, and that a hearing of the evidence and the facts would convince even the most biased that the Chicago Federation of Labor was entirely within the law and complied with all the requirements of the American Federation of Labor; and inasmuch as the Executive Council failed to accord to the Chicago Federation of Labor a hearing in this matter, it was decided to appeal to this convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the appeal of the Chicago Federation of Labor be agreed to and the decision of the Executive Council be held in abeyance until such time as the Executive Council may reopen this case for the consideration of all the evidence, facts and information the Chicago Federation of Labor desires to place before it.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution and would respectfully direct the attention of the delegates to this convention to the laws of the American Federation of Labor which prescribe the condition of an expelled or suspended member of a trade union with relation to the unions of other crafts while he is under such suspension. This law is very clear and its application is imperative. The attention of state, county and city central bodies has been frequently directed to decisions rendered by the American Federation of Labor covering this point, and we would urge upon all delegates and through them upon the local bodies that they strive to uphold the law of the American Federation of Labor and the decisions of its conventions under that law, to the end that established order may prevail throughout the relations of the several unions composing

the affiliated bodies that make up the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor, discussed the question at length. He gave detailed accounts of the case of L. P. Straube, who was expelled from the International Union of Stereotypers and Electrotypers following trouble in the newspaper offices in 1912, his connection with the Chicago Federation as a delegate from two other organizations in which he held membership since that time, and the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor dealing with the case. He cited the action taken by the Chicago Federation of Labor, the action of the International Convention of Stereotypers and Electrotypers, and claimed that the representatives of the Chicago Federation did not have a full hearing before the committee.

Chairman McCullough spoke in defense of the report of the committee. He stated that the committee did not deny a hearing to the representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor, but the representatives of that body refused to be heard unless they could be heard in their own way.

Delegate Ramsay, Commercial Telegraphers, opposed the report of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Sumner, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, spoke at length in favor of the report and recommendation of the committee. He dealt with the question of law and stated that the organization he represented had upheld the laws of their own body and the committee was upholding the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Freel, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He reviewed briefly the action of the organization he represented in the case of L. P. Straube, and stated everything that was done was warranted by the laws of their organization and was done in the interests of the membership.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) spoke briefly of the connection of the Illinois State Federation of Labor with the case of

L. P. Straube, and paid a tribute to Mr. Straube for his work and record in the labor movement. He opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Stevenson, Typographical Union, spoke in favor of the report and recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 97 in the affirmative and 89 in the negative.

President Gompers: The chair would say that this is not a question of an individual case, but of the law and the practice and the safety of the movement. It is the proper course for the Federation to pursue. I have stood for the right of a man to earn a living at his trade. The man in question could not earn a living at his trade after expulsion from the union, except as a non-union man. He preferred not to do that. His right to earn a living in another occupation is not a question even under the decision of the Executive Council. His right to act as a delegate in a representative body is.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate E. S. Allen, of the Massachusetts State Branch:

WHEREAS, We believe that our present Asiatic exclusion laws should be strengthened and made more effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principles contained in House Bill No. 2037, third session of the Sixty-third Congress, and instruct the Executive Council to give full support to the same at the next session of Congress.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that it take such action in conformity therewith as may be deemed expedient and for the best interest of organized labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of Rochester resolutions were introduced requesting an investigation of serious charges against the affiliated organization known as White Rats Actors' Union of America, which charges were by the order of the convention in-

vestigated by the Executive Council of the federation; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers, assisted by Secretary Morrison and General Organizer Hugh Frayne, did hold a twelve-hour session at the Victoria Hotel in New York City, at which hearing Mr. Harry Mountford represented the complaining former members of the White Rats Actors' Union, acting in the capacity as counsel, and who is now representing the White Rats Actors' Union of America at this, the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, which hearing was held upon January 11, 1913, and no decision having been submitted up to this date; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers did request information as to the conditions surrounding the expulsion of several members of the said White Rats Actors' Union, notwithstanding all efforts by the said White Rats to exclude such testimony; and

WHEREAS, The official committee of the New York Central Federated Union who were present at that hearing did report to that body that in their judgment every charge made by these protesting representatives had been sustained; also that in its present form the White Rats Actors' Union is not in any way constituted a trades union and recommended the withdrawal of the charter for the reason of gross violation of all trades union ethics; and

WHEREAS, Through incompetency of its officers and board of directors the White Rats Actors' Union, an incorporated general form of organization without locals anywhere, has admitted that its claimed asset of \$250,000 of three years since is completely wiped out and admitting that its membership has dwindled from 11,000 men and women to a claimed membership of only 1,000; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby instruct the Executive Council to make full and complete investigation of the alleged illegal investment of the defense funds of the White Rats Actors' Union of America and to compel a revising of the present constitution of that order to conform to the principles of the trades union movement as recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and to give proper local autonomy in all theatrical centers of this country.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Holland, New York, who recommended that the matter be referred back to the Executive Council for further consideration.

Chairman McCullough spoke briefly in defense of the report of the committee. He stated that the committee non-concurred because the resolution asked that the Executive Council be instructed to investigate the internal affairs of an affiliated organization, which the committee believed it had no authority to do.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Fitzpatrick, Chicago. He spoke of the advisability of doing something to allow a more thorough organization of actors and actresses, and referred to the large number in Chicago who were apparently very willing to become members of an organization.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) moved as a substitute for the committee's report that the whole matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 140—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Houghton & Dutton Company of Boston, Mass., predicated on the use by this firm of coupons or trading stamps of the United Profit Sharing Company, to be given customers making purchases from this company,

WHEREAS, The Houghton & Dutton Company undertook the use of the United Profit Sharing Company's coupons or trading stamps only after full assurances, guaranteed by contractual obligations that these trading stamps, catalogues and all other printed matter used in connection with and relating to the use of these coupons be produced in their entirety under union conditions and bearing the Allied Printing Trades Union label,

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union instituted this boycott in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as provided in Article 9, Section 7; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declares this boycott as having been illegally instituted and instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to direct the Boston Central Labor Union to immediately annul this boy-

cott directed against the Houghton & Dutton Company and cease from any other form of concerted opposition having the characteristics of a boycott or intended to interfere with the sales and patronage of this firm, unless such concerted action fully conforms with all constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, and has first received the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and whatever action is deemed by the Council to be necessary in the matter, for the protection of the rights and interests of all parties concerned, with instructions from this convention that the prosecution of the boycott referred to be suspended pending a decision from the Executive Council on the matters at issue.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers, stated that he would agree with every part of the recommendation and report if the committee would agree to strike out the provision to suspend the boycott pending an investigation by the Executive Council.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, opposed the suggestion of Delegate Perkins and favored the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Abrahams favored the suggestion of Delegate Perkins and discussed the question at some length.

The question was discussed by Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen, who favored the report of the committee.

Delegate Tracy stated that he was a member of the committee, but was ill and unable to attend when Resolution No. 140 was being considered. He discussed the question at some length and favored the suggestion made by Delegate Perkins.

Chairman McCullough spoke in defense of the report of the committee.

Delegate Tracy moved that the following portion of the report of the committee be stricken out: "With instructions from this convention that the prosecution of the boycott referred to be suspended pending a decision from the Executive Council on the matters at issue."

The motion was seconded and carried

by a vote of \$6 in the affirmative to 46 in the negative.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Secretary Morrison read the following report of the Executive Council:

#### Supplementary Report of Executive Council.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 19, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greetings—At the request of the Convention's Committee on Building Trades, as well as that of the officers and delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union, the Executive Council held a meeting yesterday for the purpose of hearing the officers of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers relative to the report which we submitted to this convention under the caption, "Dock Builders of New York City," in the Executive Council's report.

In our report attention is called to the fact that a local union directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor had not only violated trade union ethics but refused to comply with the decision of the Executive Council and that, therefore, the charter of that local union was revoked, and that within a few days thereafter the International Union of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers issued a charter to that local union.

This fact is presented for consideration. A local union holding charter directly from the American Federation of Labor is as much under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. as is a local union of any trade under the jurisdiction of its international organization. When an international union shall revoke the charter of one of its local unions under the laws of the International Union, it is unfraternal and un-trade-union-like conduct for any other international trade union to issue a charter to such a local union.

Local unions chartered by the A. F. of L. are in the same relative position, and what is true as to trade union ethics and conduct between international and international union, must of necessity apply in the case cited.

During our September, 1915, session

at Washington and while the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were holding their convention in San Francisco we telegraphed twice, urging the convention not to rivet the case hard and fast so as to make it difficult of adjustment, and we urged that the entire matter be left open so that the officers and delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in attendance at this convention might confer with us for the purpose of reaching a conclusion advantageous and just, not only to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers but to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and also to the American Federation of Labor as such.

Our request was answered by a decided and emphatic negative. In addition to the hearing to which we have referred, that is of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers before the Executive Council yesterday, President Gompers, at the invitation of the Committee on Building Trades of this convention, was invited to appear before that committee, before whom the matter was amply set forth.

We make this report to this convention and suggest that it be referred to the Committee on Building Trades for their consideration and action.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
D. A. HAYES,  
JOS. F. VALENTINE,  
JOHN R. ALPINE,  
H. B. PERHAM,  
FRANK DUFFY,  
WILLIAM GREEN,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JOHN B. LENNON,

Executive Council.

President Gompers: If there be no objection this supplementary report of the Executive Council will be made part of the minutes and referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

No objection being offered the report was referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

President Gompers: In previous conventions, when we have had somewhat more ample time, we have gone through some ceremony in the presentation to the fraternal delegates of some token of our affection and regard. The state of affairs in this convention compels us to desist from any extensive addresses of presentation. During the sessions of the convention a committee of two whom I requested to act, went among the delegates and asked them to make some slight contribution as a token of our respect and our love to the fraternal delegates, and what will be presented is not a contribution from any unwilling union man or woman, not an appropriation from the funds without consultation with those who contributed to the labor movement, but the voluntary contribution of the delegates of this convention.

On behalf of the delegates, President Gompers presented to fraternal Delegate Bevin, of the British Trades Union Congress, and to fraternal Delegate Bancroft, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, handsome rings suitably engraved, and to fraternal Delegate Ammon, of the British Trades Union Congress, a handsome watch with fob attached, also suitably engraved. In making the presentation to each delegate, President Gompers expressed the respect and affection felt for the fraternal delegates by all the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, and the appreciation of their presence in the convention.

Each fraternal delegate made a brief address in which he thanked the delegates and officers and the labor movement generally for the generous hospitality that has been shown them while in this country.

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2:45 of the same day.



## TENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m., Friday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Christman, Boyden, Singer, Feeney, Hannahan, Glass, Letroade, Call, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Griggs, Hatch, James, Coffey, McGinley (J. F.), Jennings, Sachs, Boswell, McGinley (C.), Cavanagh, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Leagan, Severance, Camomille, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Spear, James (N. A.), Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Quesse, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

### Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Chairman McCullough of the committee continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past year many statements have appeared in the newspapers to the effect that aliens residing in the United States have endeavored, either on their own initiative or carrying out the instructions of some foreign government, to obtain information relative to the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to use its utmost endeavors to have a law passed by Congress reserving the privilege to visit the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations to American citizens only.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 158—By James Lord, President, and James Roberts, Acting Secretary, Mining Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The miners of Morenci, Clifton and Metcalf, Arizona, for the first time in the history of these camps have organized; and

WHEREAS, The mining companies issued notices to the men, to the effect that they must sever connections with their union and sign a blank form prepared by the mine management to that effect; and

WHEREAS, Upon their refusal to so do, they were forced to strike for the right to belong to a labor union; and

WHEREAS, For more than two months they have maintained their struggle, as not a wheel is turning, or a man working in any of the three camps, except those authorized to so do by the union; and

WHEREAS, The powers of the Governor's office or those of the office of the Sheriff are not being used to demoralize or defeat the strikers, and be it said to the great credit of the Governor of Arizona and the Sheriff of Greenell County, that they have zealously guarded the honor and trust placed in their keeping by the people of that State and country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the strike of the miners and kindred workers of Morenci, Metcalf and Clifton, and that it urge upon the affiliated organizations that whatever assistance be within their power, be rendered to the Arizona strikers in this struggle, and sent to F. B. Hocker, Treasurer Relief Committee, Box 511, Clifton, Arizona.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, discussed the resolution, and explained the necessity for its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### Immigration.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found the record of the proceedings of the Executive Council in dealing with this topic during the year, reporting to us the salient facts in connection with the passage by Congress of the immigration bill containing the literacy test and to the provisions favored by the American Federation of Labor; its subsequent veto by the President of the United States and the failure of the effort to pass the bill over the veto; also the efforts made by the Executive Council to ascertain the attitude of newly elected members to the Sixty-fourth Congress in order that the fight for the passage of this bill may be immediately renewed with the opening of the session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

In this connection your committee would call your attention to the fact

that a recent report from the Bureau of Education of the United States sets forth the fact that illiteracy is actually on the increase in the United States, nineteen States reporting to the Bureau a regrettable increase in the number of citizens who are unable to read or write in any language or tongue. The figures submitted by the Commissioner of Education prove conclusively that this increase in illiteracy is due entirely to the influx of the uneducated, untrained people from foreign countries who are brought here because they are available for those tasks connected with the industrial operations in which F. W. Taylor in his work on "Scientific Shop Management" says that a docile gorilla can be trained under his system to do this work better than a man.

The American labor movement is not devoted in any of its manifestations or activities to any proposition having for its purpose the closing of the gates of opportunity to any man or woman, no matter what race or color, but in justice to the men and women of America who have developed by their industry and through their thrift, who have created from their intelligence and fostered by their genius institutions that properly should conserve the highest and dearest rights of mankind while securing a standard of living that is higher and productive of better results than any other known to the world's history, cannot complacently view, or quietly submit to the operation of any influence or the existence of any means the continuance of which would inevitably break down and eventually destroy the conditions of social life in America. We demand that those aliens, no matter from whence they come, be such as are properly qualified to participate in the responsibilities as well as the privileges of our civilization.

So far as the literacy test is concerned the American Federation of Labor is irrevocably pledged to that proposed means for preventing the bringing into this country of unfit immigrants. It is the least of all the qualifications that might reasonably be required. Ability to read is a qualification that should reasonably operate to protect the alien against the misrepresentations and false promises held out to them by the unscrupulous agents of conscienceless exploiters who seek

among the submerged peoples of Europe victims for their greed.

This is but one, though perhaps the greatest advantage that comes from insistence on the literacy test and is also the chief explanation for the strenuous opposition to the literacy test.

Your committee believes that for the present the Executive Council should be instructed to use its best endeavors to the end that the immigration bill containing the so-called literacy test be enacted into law, suggesting that the Executive Council be further empowered to consider such other measures for the protection of American workers against an unlimited importation of foreign workers as may seem to it best calculated to effectively restrict and control the entrance into this country of aliens from Europe.

On the subject of Asiatic immigration the Executive Council reports endeavors to secure legislation in conformity with Resolution No. 28 of the Seattle convention and Resolution No. 137 of the Philadelphia convention, reporting inability to make progress along these lines.

We commend and endorse the activity of the Executive Council in this matter and recommend that it be authorized to continue its endeavors to secure the legislation asked for by the resolutions referred to.

The report was discussed briefly by Delegate Schlesinger.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Proposed Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

In the Executive Council's report, under the caption of "Proposed Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors," will be found reference to action taken in connection with the efforts of the affiliated organizations to amalgamate. We commend the Executive Council for its efforts to be of assistance to these organizations, and endorse its action in calling a further conference of the parties at interest.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Unfinished Business.

Under the above caption, in the Ex-

ecutive Council's report will be found reference to matters upon which no substantial progress is reported by the Executive Council. This failure to make report must not be taken as an indication of indifference or neglect on the part of the Executive Council, but is due solely to the immense amount of other labors devolving upon the Council as a result of references from the convention and because of the failure of constituent organizations to properly proceed to the adjustment of differences which should not be permitted to engage the attention or occupy the time of the Executive Council.

In this connection your committee desires to renew the recommendation made at the Philadelphia convention for the purpose of relieving as far as possible the Executive Council from that portion of its labors that might easily and properly be adjusted through other agencies.

The enormous amount of work accomplished by the Executive Council during the year reported on is indicated to this convention by the report before it.

The year was one of unusual happenings, of unexpected events, which required the attention of the President of the American Federation of Labor in ways that were unusual and emergencies that were critical.

We cannot close this section of our report without calling attention to the fact that at no time in all his connection with the American Federation of Labor, a period of service that covers the entire history of the organization, was President Gompers more steadily employed or vigorously active with the affairs of the Federation or its affiliated bodies than he was during the year since the Philadelphia convention.

The service he rendered to the cause of men and women who make up the affiliated organization or the unorganized workers and to society as a whole are not to be measured by mere words nor can they be encompassed by a sweeping glance.

We congratulate President Gompers on his restoration to physical health that permits him to give so unstintedly and so generously of his great ability to the cause he has so devotedly espoused.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Secretary Morrison put the motion to the house and it was adopted unanimously.

In conclusion your committee wishes to call the attention of this convention of the American Federation of Labor to the existence of a condition which has in it elements of evil that unless properly controlled may bring serious consequences to our movement.

Within our jurisdiction to-day are a very large number, estimated by some at three millions or more, of so-called migratory workers. These men have no permanent abiding place, but move from one locality to another seeking employment. This employment as a rule is casual in its nature and these men are defeated in whatever aspiration they may have for establishing themselves in anything like permanency of abode. Out of this inability to establish themselves as residents of any community their situation has developed to a stage that is deplorable. Under the influence of their life they gradually come first to question the whole social system or lack of system, then finally to regard themselves as outcasts, the most natural result of this frame of mind being manifested in an increasing hatred, first of the employer who trades upon their needs, then of their fellow-workers who seem to be better placed or at least to have more luck. This is shown from time to time in the part these men are forced to play in the desperate struggle of the unskilled workers for the means of existence. Promises of steady employment lead them to take places left vacant by other men who have gone on strike in hope of bettering their conditions. Accepting the employment, these unfortunates may feel perhaps that what they are doing is not right, and yet they are apt to excuse themselves on the grounds that the organized workers have done very little for them, and with this salve to their conscience they go on as strike-breakers. Being discharged when the strike is over, they learn that they can not depend upon any promises made them under such conditions, and they naturally become more disposed to look after themselves as they put it than they were before, and when offers come to act as strike-breakers under arms they are likely to accept the opportunity and to use it

against both the employer and the striking worker.

We believe that these men can be reached and can be held. We believe that there is a field in which the power of organization may be made of inestimable value, not only for the protection of the organized workers, but through the organization of these migratory workers much may be done towards the solution of the unemployment problem through bringing about a change in attitude among the employers.

We believe that this work is pressing because it certainly needs the doing and that the organized workers must do it. Your committee realizes that the unions of the skilled crafts affiliated in the American Federation of Labor have not happily solved all the problems presented to them and that in most cases these have been so urgent that the organized workers have had little if any time to give to consideration of the affairs of the unskilled workers. This apparent neglect has not been for lack of sympathy with these men in their condition, but because the organized workers have been engaged so continually in the effort to gain the ends for which they strive. However, your committee would recommend that the city central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor be requested to take up this matter under the guidance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with a view to putting organizers into this field. The cost of this work need not be large and the return from it in the industrial centers would, we believe, be very great.

A really friendly hand guiding those who inquire to places and means of redress of grievances would help very much to change the sentiment of those who now sullenly suffer injustices and actual wrongs of which they know no adequate means for righting. To keep and disseminate correct information about the conditions in labor camps in the vicinity of industrial centers might lead at no distant date to such action as would compel the very worst of employers to change his methods of treatment to those who work for him, and there seems no good reason why not only the condition would be improved, but that wages might be materially increased. To put hope into the hearts

of the migratory workers, purpose into their lives and some system into their struggle would not only change their sentiment towards other workers, but it would lead to great improvements in their own conditions.

If organizers are to be assigned to this work they should be placed under the immediate control of the organizing committee of the local central body. We believe also that the expense would gradually be borne by the men themselves. When they realize what they can do they will not need very much help and we believe that they will shortly realize their importance in the industrial field, and will be enabled to secure such economic and social advantages as are now beyond their reach.

Delegate Smith, Portland Central Labor Council, briefly discussed the report of the committee. The report was also discussed by Delegates Johnson (S. P.), Furuseth and Vice-President O'Connell.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman McCullough: That completes the report of the committee. I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole, as amended by the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Respectfully submitted,

T. W. McCULLOUGH,  
Chairman.

JAMES WILSON,  
OWEN MILLER,  
T. W. ROWE,  
MARTIN LAWLOR,  
T. V. O'CONNOR,  
THOS. F. TRACY,  
THOS. KEARNEY,  
FRANK X. NOSCHANG,  
JERE L. SULLIVAN,  
HOMER D. CALL,  
GEO. L. BERRY,  
WM. L. HUTCHESON,  
W. D. MAHON,  
ANDREW FURUSETH,  
Secretary.

Delegate Furuseth: In 1892, twenty-three years ago, there was a committee appointed by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. The instruction from the union to the committee was that they should take up certain parts of the Maritime Law of the United States and make such amendments or propose such amendments thereto as to build up a

body of American seamen, and to change the conditions to be helpful in the building up of a merchant marine of the United States. The American Federation of Labor from the very beginning has been sympathetic with the movement, and to-day, representing the International Seamen's Union of America, I desire to give to the convention and the Federation our special thanks. We have made a kind of pictorial history of it.

Delegate Furuseth presented to President Gompers a large picture containing portraits of the President of the American Federation of Labor, three members of the legislative committee of the International Seamen's Union, and four men who had gone to prison for a year to compel the Supreme Court of the United States to decide whether the Constitution of the United States and the Thirteenth Amendment thereof had any application to the seamen (the Supreme Court decided that it had not, and for that reason the men were pictured sitting in darkness). Delegate Furuseth stated that underneath was the motto that indicates what they taught in those days—"To-morrow is also a day." The picture also contained portraits of Senator White of California, who assisted in improving the seamen's conditions, Judge Maguire of California, four men who introduced the bill in Congress (among them Senator La Follette), three other Senators, and other people who had to do with the legislation. In the picture was also a portrait of President Woodrow Wilson signing the Seamen's Act.

President Gompers thanked Delegate Furuseth for the picture and stated it would be kept at headquarters with other valuable and historic documents connected with the labor movement. Continuing, President Gompers said in part, addressing himself to Delegate Furuseth: After all, the persistence and the self-sacrifice of Andrew Furuseth has been the main asset in securing this legislative enactment. It is not only this appreciation which I, together with the men and women in the organized labor movement, feel for the wonderful work which you have performed, but now that the law is upon the statute books of our country the right-thinking, liberty-loving men of America, without regard to their station in life, pay a tribute to you for

your work and for your achievement. It just occurs to me that only about two years ago I saw an article in one of the magazines of America under the title, "When Andrew Furuseth Came Ashore." The article described the fact that you left the vessel as a seaman in order that you might be ashore to secure freedom for the seamen. The seamen recognized in you, the man of the hour, the man imbued with the spirit of the freedom of the seamen, the man who could carry out the work to its logical conclusion and meet any man from any walk of life and drive him from his position if he antagonized the demands made in the interests of the seaman. It isn't often given to a man to see the triumph of his work. Time and opportunity, a good robust, virile spirit and mentality have vouchsafed to Andrew Furuseth the life and strength to persistently make the fight, and, if I may use the language of the streets, never for a moment was Andrew Furuseth negligent on the job.

President Gompers again thanked Delegate Furuseth on behalf of the American Federation of Labor for the gift, and in speaking of the Seamen's Act referred to a number of terrible disasters at sea during recent years that would have been avoided, or the number of lives lost very much lessened, if the law had been in effect.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that the Executive Council be authorized to have the picture suitably framed and placed with other great humanitarian documents in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded by Secretary Morrison and carried unanimously.

Delegate Furuseth thanked President Gompers for what he had said, and assured him he would accept it for the seamen and not for himself.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that when the convention recessed in the evening it be to reconvene at 8 o'clock p. m., on account of the great amount of work still to be acted upon by the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers stated that in a portion of the Report of the Executive Council in regard to the Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws a special committee was provided for, the committee to be selected by the convention.

Delegate Short (Jas.) moved that the President select the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Tobin (E. J.) stated that a delegate from Brockton, Massachusetts, became ill upon reaching San Francisco and had been taken to the hospital; that an operation had been performed which at first promised to be successful, but the delegate was in a very serious condition. He moved that the American Federation of Labor pay the expenses of hospital treatment, the cost of the operation, and in case the delegate did not recover, that the American Federation of Labor pay all the necessary expenses in connection with moving him to his home.

Seconded by Delegate O'Hare, and carried unanimously.

#### Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Golden reported for the committee as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In submitting the report of the Committee on Adjustment we desire to say that the following subjects from the Report of the Executive Council are taken up in the order in which they were covered in the Report of the Executive Council, together with the resolutions that have been introduced and submitted to this committee, bearing upon these respective subjects, then those subjects which are dealt with exclusively by resolution are taken up in the order in which they are numbered.

#### The Journeymen Tailors' Union.

Your committee takes this opportunity of congratulating the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America on the adjustment of its internal affairs so as to resume the title formerly held by this organization and its full affiliation, and its compliance with the requirements of the conventions of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council; therefore, its full affiliation with the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Compressed Air Workers.

Your committee recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to bring about an amalgamation between

the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and the Compressed Air Workers, and that a committee of three be appointed, one selected by each organization at interest and the third to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to make a personal investigation as to whether the work now being carried on by each organization is of such a character as to warrant an amalgamation of the two organizations, and to report their findings to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; this investigation to take place within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Your committee finds that the decision rendered by the Philadelphia convention and by the Executive Council during the year in connection with this controversy has not been complied with by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and your committee, therefore, recommend that unless the Tunnel and Subway Constructors comply with the decisions heretofore rendered within ninety days of the adjournment of this convention that the charter of the organization be withdrawn.

It was moved to adopt the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was opposed by Treasurer Lennon and Delegate Cannon.

Chairman O'Connell explained the report of the committee.

Delegates Kline and Tobin, Blacksmiths, explained the position of their organization and favored the report of the committee.

Delegate Carraher, Tunnel and Subway Constructors, opposed the report of the committee, and spoke at some length regarding the position of his organization.

The matter was further discussed by Delegates Frayne and Cannon.

Delegate Sullivan, Brewery Workmen, opposed the report of the committee.

Under the law, a roll-call vote was had on the motion to adopt the report of the committee, with the following result:

**Ayes**—Noschang, Fischer, Feider, Shanessy, Kline, Tobin (J. M.), Kramer, Franklin, Hinzman, McGuire, MacGowan,



Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Butterworth, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy, Post, Swartz, Perkins, Gompers, Tracy, Barnes, Mueller, McNulty, Grimblot, Singer, Ford, Sweek, Schwarz, Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Granite Cutters' delegation (45 votes), Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Raleigh, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Johnston, Taylor, O'Connell (Jas.), Wharton, Van Lear, Irwin, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, Molders' delegation (100 votes), Miller (Owen), Slissman, Carey (D. A.), Skemp (J. C.), Triggs, Kemp, Baker, Norris, Clark (J. F.), Wilson (Jas.), Forrest, Bergstrom, Woll, Wessel, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Berry (G. L.), Altman (Henry), Lipman, Murphy, Perham, Ramsey, Bode, Alexander, Riley (J. F.), Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Freel, Sumner, Clohessy, Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (Michael), Decker, Golden, Scott, Morrison (Frank), McCullough, Marks, Broden, Blakeley, Allen, Casey (P. F.), Ogletree, Case, Malleyn, Ferguson, Abrahams, Rist, O'Dell, Smith (J. T.), Sesma, Spooner, Townshend, Reagan, Sleeman, Kennedy, Dale, McFarland, Dowler, Giles, representing 9763 votes.

Nays—Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Schneider (R. C.), Foley (C. F.), Abernathy, Baine, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, MacPherson, Scooby, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Moser, Rickert, Larger, Altman (Victor), Daley (Margaret), Schlesinger, Polakoff, Mahoney (T. J.), Granite Cutters' delegation (90 votes), Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Farrell, Koveleski, McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Bock, Kean, White (J. P.), Mitchell, Hayes (E. J.), Green (Wm.), Walker, McDonald, Germer, Moore, Reardon, Roberts, McManus, Cannon, Molders' delegation (400 votes), Schneider (G. J.), Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Suito, Weeks, Ware, Adames, Guscelli, Furuseth, Carney, Steidle, Hylen, Gaviak, Fleming, Shay, Barry, Suarez, Dolliver, Dolan (T. J.), Funder Burk, Brown (J. G.), Carragher, Hayes (Max S.), Hansen, Ryan (P. J.), Alden, James (C. E.), Cozzolino, Bourne, Kempton, Lornisen, Lennon, Warden, Neary, Hart, Mayo, Hoehn, Smith (E. E.), Hauser, Cotterill, Spear, White (J. J.), McAndrews, Johnson (S. P.), Bohm, Matheson, Harrison, Carter, Lamoreux, representing 7,774 votes.

Not Voting—McClory, Barnes, Tobin (Sam), Kiernan, Conway, Christman, Zuckerman, Boyden, Gurney, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Letroadec, O'Connor (T. V.), Chlopek, Butler, Call, Quinn, McGivern, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (James), Deviny, Flaherty, Hurley, Pettit, Hanley, Griggs, Short, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Stevenson, Hatch, Ernst, Spiegel, Fitzpatrick, Donoghue, Coffey, Hayward, Gossett, Corcoran, Weber, Schneider (H. R.), Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, McGovern, Partelow, Doyle, Sachs, Boswell, McGinley (Clara), Cavanagh, Kel-

ler, Skemp (Meta), Porter, Holland, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson, Hall, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Camomile, Gallagher, Batchelor, Castro, Ives, Dempsey, Krane-field, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Merchant, James (N. A.), Higgins, Voll, Sullivan (John), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Joss, Riley (T. G.), Thompson, Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft, representing 1,423 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll call.

President Gompers: Under the laws of the American Federation of Labor it requires a two-thirds vote to pass the recommendation of the committee which carries with it the revocation of a charter. The motion is therefore not adopted.

Delegate Kline, Blacksmiths: I move you that the Executive Council be instructed to carry out the decision of the Philadelphia convention in regard to the Blacksmiths and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and Tool Sharpeners.

Treasurer Lennon: I do not recall the exact wording of the Philadelphia decision. My remembrance of it is that it required the tunnel and subway men to transfer their blacksmiths to the blacksmiths' organization, but not carrying with it a revocation of the charter. Is that correct?

President Gompers: Yes.

Treasurer Lennon: I second the motion of Delegate Kline.

The motion offered by Delegate Kline was carried.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) moved that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 8 o'clock Saturday night. (Seconded.)

Delegate Miller (O.) opposed the motion and moved as an amendment that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Saturday morning. (Seconded.)

Delegate Tobin opposed the amendment, stating that in past conventions when the election of officers had been held before concluding the other business a large number of delegates left for their homes and the remaining business was carried on by forty or fifty delegates.

The amendment of Delegate Miller was lost. The motion of Delegate Tobin was carried, with the understanding

that if the other business was completed at an early hour the election would be held immediately after its completion.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that the convention remain in continuous session to-morrow night until all the business has been transacted.

Delegate Woll raised the point of order that the convention could not deter-

mine on Friday the time at which the convention of the following day would adjourn. The chair ruled the point of order not well taken.

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried.

At 6 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 8 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

## TENTH DAY—Friday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 8:00 p. m., President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Myrup, Kramer, Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, MacPherson, Christman, Boyden, Feeney, Mahoney, Letroadec, Call, Redding, Slissman, Schneider (G. L.), Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Williams (T. J.), Spiegl, Coffey, Weber, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Boyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Spooner, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Campmille, Batchelor, Castro, Ives, Dempsey, Kraneheld, Fletcher, Triska, Spear, James, McAndrews, Bomar, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Hammerschlag, Corbley, Carter, Foley (D. F.), Joss, Thompson.

The Secretary read the following telegrams:

Chicago, Nov. 18, 1915.

President Samuel Gompers,  
American Federation of Labor Convention, San Francisco.

Chicago Teachers' Federation sends greetings and best wishes to convention. I was elected delegate, but regret I cannot leave Chicago now. Resolution repealing anti-labor rule will be voted on by the Chicago Board of Education next Wednesday, and court decision in our case is expected this week. The teachers' fight for their rights as citizens is labor's fight and your fight is ours. We stand or fall together.

MARGARET A. HALEY.

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 18, 1915.

Samuel Gompers,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Eagles' Hall, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Mr. Gompers and delegates in convention: I am sorry it is impossible for me to attend the convention. Times are hard for the hoboes here in Chicago, and I am going to stay on the ground for a while in an effort to help the boys out, as there may be a Hotel De Gink established here. The Hotel De Gink in New York was a great success, because over fifteen thousand boys there took the hobo oath never to scab on organized labor, and no one was allowed to sleep at the Hotel De Gink until they took that oath. Believe us to be ever ready to do good for the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor. I am, sincerely yours in the fight for justice.

JEFF DAVIS.

King of Hoboes.

**Report of Committee on Adjustment.**

Secretary Golden continued the report of the committee as follows:

**Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**

Your committee finds that the proposed amalgamation between these two organizations if carried into effect would be in violation of the decisions rendered by the A. F. of L. conventions and the Executive Council in connection with jurisdiction claimed by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors over members whose jurisdiction have already been decided comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that this amalgamation be not approved until such time as the Western Federation of Miners and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' organizations agree to relinquish all claim over tool dressers and sharpeners or blacksmiths.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Machinists-Carpenters.**

Your committee finds that the action of the Philadelphia convention as provided for in Resolution No. 152 of that convention has not been carried into effect by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and we find further that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has extended its jurisdiction without the consent of the A. F. of L. or by conferences and agreement with affiliated organizations, per instructions setting forth

the claims of jurisdiction by the President and Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, published in the October, 1915, "Carpenter," the official publication of the organization, which we herewith present to the convention to be made a part of the report of this committee.

Your committee recommends that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue all jurisdiction claims to work over which other affiliated organizations have been conceded jurisdiction, or jurisdiction over work which has not been conceded to it by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor or its Executive Council.

We further recommend that failure on the part of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to discontinue its encroachment upon the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated organizations and failure to carry out this decision, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall stand suspended until such time as this decision is complied with.

Following is the article from "The Carpenter," containing the jurisdiction claims of the Carpenters and Joiners, referred to in the above report:

The term "millwright" shall mean the unloading, hoisting, dismantling, erecting, assembling, lining and adjusting of all machines used in the transmission of power in buildings, factories or elsewhere, be that power steam, electric, gas, gasoline, water or air.

Setting of all classes of engines, motors, dynamos, generators, air compressors, putting all pulleys, sheaves and flywheels on same, making and setting of all templets for all machinery requiring foundations and bolts.

All coal handling machinery and drives, crushers, conveyers, drags, whether the frames be steel or wood, with all necessary framing and drilling, making all wood boxes and guides, all patent stokers and automatic feeding devices, ash handling machinery, either elevating or conveying.

Stone crushing and gravel washing plants, crushers, screens, revolving or eccentric, rolls, pan conveyer and ship hoists, conveyers, belt or screw, whether boxes be steel, iron or wood; the assembling of all travelers or cranes for handling machinery or its products where no rivets are used in assembling same.

Framing and setting of all bridge-trees, either wood or steel, where they are no part of building or structure; all foundations, beams or timbers used for the reception of machinery, drilling all necessary holes for the same, whether foundations be wood or steel, stone, concrete or other material, and all holes for beam-

ings and machinery to be drilled by millwrights in wood, steel or other materials, whether ratchet or power drills be used.

All grain handling appliances, cleaners, clippers, needle machines, car pullers, grain shovels, the manufacture and erection of all wood legs, spouts and conveyor boxes, and the erection of all steel or cast iron legs, heads or boots and conveyor boxes, framing and erecting of all marine legs and ship shovels, framing of all scale timbers and wood hoppers and garners. Setting all scales, track, hopper or automatic, all boot tanks or receiving hoppers and devices used for elevator legs, when not of electrical appliance, all dust collectors and necessary spouting to same, lagging all pulleys and bleaching devices of all kinds. All bin valves, turnheads and indicators, all necessary shafting and bearings and supports, all drives, rope belt, chain or rawhides; all splicing and gluing of same; all pulleys, cable, sprockets and gearing, cutting all keyseats in new or old work done in the field.

All osculator stairs, amusement devices of all kinds, framing and erecting of all derricks and pile drivers, all bridge machinery, all fans and pumps, either steam or centrifugal, all dryers and necessary appliances for same; all barrel and package devices, either elevating or conveying; all presses, hydraulic or other powers; filling all gears done in the field, all concrete mixers, and other temporary appliances used in the construction of buildings.

All direct and connected machines or any powers, hog hoists and meat handling appliances of all kinds, installing machinery in all classes of plants or mills, flour, cereal, spice, cotton, wool, twine, paper, steel, saw, cement, planing, powder and paint mills. Machine and wood-working shops or factories, jewelry and power houses, sugar refineries, starch houses, bakeries, fertilizing plants, breweries and malt houses, shoe factories, all ice plants and equipments, glue and ice cream factories where shafting and machinery are used manufacturing and transmitting power.

Finally, all work pertaining to machinery used for manufacturing purposes or amusement devices, which with the evolution of time and this craft, will come under this jurisdiction claim.

Delegate Johnson, Machinists: I feel I would be remiss in my duty at this time did I not call to the attention of the delegates the claims that are being made by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Those of you who were present a year ago at the convention will remember that by unanimous vote the convention ordered the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to cease infringing on the jurisdiction of the Machinists in the erecting, assembling and dismantling of machinery, and that the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor were instructed by

the convention to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution. Yet we find a member of the Council going out in open defiance of the expressed will of this Federation, at the same time holding his position on the Executive Council, and giving instructions to his membership to go into the highways and byways and claim all the things he has been forbidden by the parent organization to claim. I want to make as a matter of record here, and for the information of the delegates, a few quotations from the official organ of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. This is from the October number of "The Carpenter": "The jurisdiction and classification of work claimed by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have been compiled by the General Executive Board and are for the guidance of organizers, business agents and officials of the local unions, all of whom are expected to see that the work specified is erected or manufactured by members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America." I am not going to read all the claims, but that portion of the claims that apply to machinery. Can you imagine where the Carpenter and Joiner fits in a machine shop or in the erecting of engines. If you can, you have a more fertile imagination than I have. One paragraph of the claim reads: "The term 'millwright' shall mean the unloading, hosting, dismantling, erecting, assembling, lining and adjusting of all machines used in the transmission of power in buildings, factories, or elsewhere, be that power steam, electric, gas, gasoline, water or air." I want every organization here to note whither we are drifting—this wood-working craft reaching out into the metal trades! Just imagine! "All machines used in the transmission of power," etc. A carpenter, a wood worker, setting all classes of engines! The next section is "Setting of all classes of engines, motors, dynamos, generators, air compressors, putting all pulleys, machines, sheaves and flywheels on same, making and setting of all templates for all machinery requiring foundations and bolts." A carpenter, a wood worker, setting all classes of engines and motors! You electrical workers, I call that to your attention. The next claim is: "All coal handling machinery and drives, crushers, conveyers, drags,

whether the frames be steel or wood, with all necessary framing and drilling, making all wood boxes and guides, all patent stokers and automatic feeding devices, ash handling machinery, either elevating or conveying." It is a rather long document and I will not read all of it, but the next section, among other things, claims: "The assembling of all travelers or cranes for handling machinery or its products." Further on it says: "Framing and setting up all bridgetrees, either wood or steel, where they are no part of building or structure; all foundations, beams or timbers used for the reception of machinery, drilling all necessary holes for the same, whether the foundation be wood or steel, stone, concrete or other materials, and all holes for beamings and machinery to be drilled by millwrights in wood, steel or other materials." They go on and make a large number of claims and say: "Finally, all work pertaining to machinery used for manufacturing purposes or amusement devices, which with the evolution of time and this craft will come under this jurisdiction claim." Anything that may here, now, or in the future, with the evolution of time, come within this claim shall be done by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners! Yet an officer of that organization who has taken a solemn obligation to live up to the laws, rules and regulations, sits on our Executive Council and openly goes out in violation of all written laws and decisions and urges his men to go out and claim these things. Now I want to know what is left for the rest of us? I want to know where any of us fit? It seems to me this convention ought to take definite and positive action. We should have some discipline in the labor movement of this country and when a definite policy is adopted it should be followed and the laws of the American Federation of Labor should be obeyed. They have just laid aside everything that was done and treat with contempt all that we may resolve to do. It seems to me if we are to endure, if we are to grow and develop and organize the great mass of people of the country, we should be consistent; we should have some honor and some respect for laws and established order. In spite of the fact that several times this year the carpenters' organization has violated the law, only two com-

plaints were made to the Council, two specific complaints, and they were attended to and the Council very quickly complied with the instructions to lend their good offices and insist on the resolution being complied with in those specific instances which were called to their attention. I have no complaint to make against the Council, the Council has responded in every instance to which their attention has been called. I trust this convention, however, will recognize the possibilities of such a claim as this and the danger of wrecking other established organizations.

Treasurer Lennon: I don't like to seem to be intruding where I have no direct trade interest, but perhaps my years will be taken as an excuse if I say a few words. I think it can not be said, I know it can not be said truthfully, that officers of the Federation have not done their full duty insofar as lay in their power in carrying out the resolutions that have been heretofore adopted. Nevertheless, trespass has perhaps been made. Of that I can not speak, because I am not associated with the trade and not in close enough touch with the work of the Carpenters and these other trades to be able to speak with the same certainty that other delegates can. I see the word used is "suspension"; nevertheless, I take it for granted that means the Executive Council is to revoke the charter of the organization if compliance is not had in every detail within the time specified. I wonder how many delegates there are here who believe the situation will be bettered by suspending the Brotherhood of Carpenters? How many of you are there that believe there would be less trespass than there has been if the Carpenters are suspended? How many of you believe their claims for jurisdiction will be reduced materially if they are suspended? My experience has been that you can persuade men to go where you can not drive them. Perhaps I judge that to some extent by my own experience. I have often been persuaded to go in directions that no living man or dozen men could drive me to go. And I believe that we can persuade the Carpenters in time to travel along a road that will be acceptable to other organizations in the Federation. I am sure we can not drive them. And holding that view, I say that the opportunities for

persuasion are much better than the Carpenters in the Federation than it would be if we drove the Carpenters out. Perhaps I might undertake to look into the matter a little, though I am neither a prophet nor yet the son of a prophet. There are organizations now outside of the American Federation and all of them are not weaklings by any manner of means. Some of them have a considerable degree of strength. If we throw the Carpenters out then we add strength to the number of organizations outside of the Federation. Is it the desire of the delegates to make stronger from year to year the elements in the labor movement that are outside the Federation? I don't know how a step can be taken that would more likely result in that than to adopt the report of the committee. Now, I am not questioning at all the statement that the committee makes as to what the Carpenters have done; I take it for granted the committee is telling the truth insofar as the truth has been presented to them; but even if every word of it is true, it will not cure the matter to throw the Carpenters out of the American Federation of Labor. I believe it is the duty of every delegate in this convention and every trade unionist in the United States to do all possible to induce every element of organized labor to become a part of the American Federation of Labor, and not to do anything, except under the most extraordinary circumstances, that will eliminate any of the elements of strength that are now attached to this body. I have been working on this idea with some of the brotherhoods and so has Vice-President O'Connell. We were associated with an officer of one of the brotherhoods, and while they still feel there are many reasons why they should stay out, they are nearer to coming in now than they ever have been in the history of their organizations. But, my friends, throwing out the Carpenters will be equivalent to saying to the brotherhoods, "If in every detail you do not obey the mandates of the Federation you will be thrown out." Will they come in? Well, they are men with some brains as well as ourselves, and they will not come in. While it is somewhat out of place, perhaps, in this talk, I do want to say to the delegates that no man on the Commission on Industrial Rela-

tions, not even the chairman, except as to ability, except as to his influence, was more loyal to the principles of trade unionism while a member of that commission than was A. B. Garretson, the chief officer of the Brotherhood of Conductors. And if you men believe that the future is safe for the American Federation of Labor if we proceed along the lines of disintegrating the federation, then your conclusions are different from mine. I don't believe anything of the kind, and I trust that this convention will cast its vote to permit the Carpenters to remain where they are. I can say, and so can the other members of the Council, that we are exercising such influence as lies within our power to straighten out these difficulties; but we have to do with men and not with automatons, and consequently we can not take them by the back of the neck as they sit here and move them over there. All we can do is to show them, if they are sitting here, why they should sit there; and when they are ready to make the move of their own volition, they will do so and they will not do so before. If you believe you can drive them, I want to say that I want to record myself as believing that you can not, and that it is not in the interest of the American Federation of Labor, it is not in the interest of the unorganized workers of this country, it is not in the interests of our wives and our children that you will take any such action as the committee's report proposes. I hope you will excuse me for talking so long. While I may talk often, I do not usually talk more than three or four minutes. I think I have expressed, perhaps, as freely and as plainly as I am capable of, my views of this question, and I trust for the good of those now organized and for the good of those who come after us we will not make a mistake of this kind and start in to destroy and disintegrate our own movement.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee: I don't think anyone who knows me will charge that I am interested in breaking up the American Federation of Labor. I have had the distinction of being the chairman for a number of years of this very pleasant committee, and I have had the pleasure of having nearly all the delegates, in the last twenty years, appear before that committee on

some subject, including our distinguished President. I have heard statements of all kinds made by delegates as to what the committee should do and should not do. And I have heard delegates before the committee and upon the floor of the convention talk about throttling small organizations, and express the desire to take small organizations by the neck and shake them until they do things and abide by the decisions of the Executive Council and the convention. As chairman of the committee that I have had the honor to be chairman of for a number of years, with the exception of one year, I think I have expressed myself at all times fearlessly in substantiation of the report of our committee. I have no personal feeling against the Carpenters or any other organization or person that appears before the convention, and our reports do not carry any feeling or spleen against any organization; but I am tired of hearing the delegates get on the floor and rant about throttling small organizations; so as one member of the committee I decided to give you a chance to strangle, if you wanted to, probably the smallest organization in the Federation—which you did not do just before recess—and the second largest organization in our Federation, and see how far you wanted to strangle and how far you wanted to take charters. As a rule, a delegate comes before our organization with a grievance against another organization and wants us to take the charter away and make them be good—and if we don't do that we are no good, we don't accomplish anything, we can't accomplish anything. Well, if you start in by doing as each delegate would have you do regarding the organizations, it would require probably only one convention to clean up the whole matter. And so we decided upon two subjects, at least we would feel out just how far you want to go along in this kind of business, and whether the 300 or 400 delegates here have at least as much intelligence as the men on the committee as to what ought to be done in these matters. And so we come before you now with a plain, blunt, cold-blooded report. If you do not want to accept our report, I am certain you will not offend anyone on the committee. I know that deep in your hearts there is not half as much bitterness towards each other as you think



there is. I am one of those who believe that men can be induced to do things. And I believe that in our experience on the Adjustment Committee we have induced men to do things. There is scarcely a convention in the last twenty or more years that I have had the honor to attend that we have not induced men to do things through our committee. Men can be brought together and can be induced to do things. One delegate said just before we took a recess for dinner this evening, in language quite strong and quite loud, that the little organizations were being strangled and throttled and they could not get anywhere. Always strangling the little fellow! Now you have a chance at the second biggest fellow in the organization. I haven't any hesitancy in saying that I am in doubt as to whether you will not take the same action in this case you did in the other case; but it is good for this convention, it is good for the labor movement, it is good medicine for the fellow who is out on the soap box on the corner howling about the little fellow and the big fellow taking everybody else's job—it is a good thing to clarify the air a little. That is what the committee has in mind. We are not vicious at all in our report. I think the committee fairly felt our report was going to be safe in this convention, and this convention in its wisdom, while probably not agreeing with the committee, not severely criticizing the committee, will take the action it thinks is best for the movement, and that is all our committee is interested in. But we want to be in a position to say after this convention adjourns that it wasn't the little fellow alone who was put on the gridiron because he was small, but one of the biggest fellows was put on the gridiron and talked about a little, and perhaps the talking will do him good after he gets home. This committee is not desirous, and has not been, at this convention or any other when I have been chairman of it, of severing the American Federation of Labor in any sense. I have been a pretty staunch advocate of the American Federation for the past thirty-five years, and I am not going to begin at this late day to try to break it up. I was one of the fellows in the early days, when the American Federation of Labor was struggling, to start a fight

in a big organization in order that the principle decided upon by the American Federation when it was born should not be imposed upon by that big organization. I stood upon the floor of the Knights of Labor in 1886 in Richmond, Virginia, and fought for the rights of the trade unionists, fought for the rights of the Cigarmakers, and fought for the rights of the Machinists who were trying to organize into national organizations. I believe in the nationalizing of our crafts, but I am sick and tired of hearing people talk about throttling little organizations; about little organizations not getting justice at the hands of the American Federation of Labor. It is time you change that and say they are both getting the same consideration at the hands of this convention. That is what the committee has in mind.

Delegate Scott, Typographical Union, in the chair.

President Gompers: I have listened here with deep interest to the report of the committee and the recommendation. I don't know that it is the purpose of the committee, or the mission of the committee, to try out any proposition before the convention. There are some experiments which are justified, but such experiments ought to be presented to the delegates of the convention in a concrete proposition or the declaration of a principle or a purpose. I think that I was among the first, perhaps the first, to enter a protest against the revocation of charters of international unions, and insofar as it has been given to me to express myself by voice and vote, I have pursued that course consistently. It may sound like a repetition, and perhaps is so, but it is nevertheless a fact that the American Federation of Labor is a federation, a voluntary federation, and that there are no powers which the American Federation of Labor can exercise except those powers conceded to the Federation by our international unions.

I have looked askance for a considerable period of time at the constant extension of claims of jurisdiction on the part of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Many of their claims to jurisdiction are unwarranted. But they are not the only offenders. Some of the delegates who addressed this convention upon other questions involving the same principle, and who have addressed us

upon this very question now under consideration, though perhaps not quite as guilty in extent, have been equally guilty in purpose and intent.

This is the second recommendation of the committee within the past few hours for the revocation of charters of international unions. Where are you going to stop? After a while we will be placed in the position of the Lord High Executioner in the comic opera of the "Mikado," when he finally said, "A man can not be expected to cut his own head off!" These recommendations for the revocation and for the suspension of charters simply mean a policy of mutual throat-cutting. I was astonished at the claims of jurisdiction set forth by the Carpenters in their official journal.

Suppose the recommendation of the committee is adopted, and we suspend the Brotherhood of Carpenters from the American Federation of Labor. I have not had the time to inquire—and I am sure the committee would be justified in refusing to give me advance information upon subjects the committee expected to report to this convention—but we are not advised whether there are other charters to be revoked. And where are you going to end? What are you going to do? The position of the Carpenters, in my judgment, as to their claims of jurisdiction, in many of the particulars read from their own journal, are unwarranted, untenable and I would go as far as any other delegate to this convention is ready to go in the effort to try to the very best of our ability and our power to bring the Carpenters to their senses, so that they may recede from that unwarrantable position.

Is it not significant to every delegate in this convention that the Committee on Adjustment has reported to this convention that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners should be suspended from the American Federation of Labor, and not a representative of the Carpenters has arisen to question it or to protest? Is that not something to make us pause to see whither we are drifting?

I dislike much to interpose my own personal activity and work and hopes in and for the labor movement. I grant you that the actions of some of our organizations have caused us pain and anguish, and they have done grave and great injustice to other organizations; but I ask

you to bear in mind the exceptionally influential position now occupied by them among the toilers of our country and before the conscience and the judgment of the people of America and of the whole civilized world. Shall we not rather bear the ills we have than to fly to others we know not of? Even if we undertake to revoke the charter of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, will that strengthen the American labor movement? Will that add one laurel to its credit? Will it add one jot to its power? Will it in any way affect the limitation of the Carpenters in the endeavor to enforce this clause?

Is it not possible that, with full affiliation with this American Federation of Labor, with our ties and bonds of unionism, with our personal ties and strong friendships, we might be able to have some influence upon the Carpenters, and upon other organizations, in order that they may limit themselves in their unwarrantable extension of jurisdiction? I doubt, in going through the roster of all the affiliated international unions, that there are a dozen that have not from time to time undertaken unwarrantably to extend their jurisdiction. You wish to point to one and concentrate attention upon one organization and discipline it, and not only discipline it, but dismember it from the American Federation of Labor.

For one who has tried to give the best that is in him to cement the bonds of fraternity among the organized and try to bring the unorganized within the beneficent folds of unionism, I say to you, my friends, let us heed, let us understand, let us hope, let us work together; let us rather use our influence and our judgment and express our opinion upon the conduct of an organization; or let us declare what our opinion is of such conduct, and let the organization which is the trespasser in violation of that judgment rest under the stigma of our displeasure and our disapproval.

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, after the report of the committee was read and during the discussion had upon it, though giving every moment of attention to what was presented in criticism of the Carpenters' course, I tried in a hurried way to draft something that might meet the situation. I confess that I have not succeeded. I had drafted a substitute

for part of the committee's report revoking the charter and I am not quite satisfied that it meets the situation; but, however, I will read it as suggestive rather than to move it as a substitute for part of the committee's report, for when I have concluded it I may have another suggestion to offer. In the last part of the committee's report the following appears:

"We further recommend that failure on the part of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to discontinue its encroachment upon the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated organizations and failure to carry out this decision, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall stand suspended until such time as this decision is complied with."

Before I read what I have simply scrawled, and which is hardly satisfactory to me, I want to call your attention to the indefiniteness of this declaration. First, it does not refer to particular claims of jurisdiction, but jurisdiction claimed by any other international unions—and there are probably a dozen different claims pending in the jurisdiction of other international unions—claims of jurisdiction also by the Carpenters. And the indefiniteness of the recommendation is further shown in that it specifies no time for the Carpenters to comply in order to avoid the penalty, so that the Carpenters might have a year, a decade, a century and forever and ever and amen, and still not violate the recommendations of the committee. The only definite provision is that the charter shall be suspended.

I had in mind striking out the words: "The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall stand suspended until such time as this decision is complied with," and substitute the words: "If they fail to carry out the instructions of this convention the displeasure and the censure of the American Federation of Labor will be expressed for the unwarrantable attitude assumed by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners." I have said already that I do not know whether that would meet the situation—it does not satisfy me—but I do believe that unless some such proposition is adopted as a substitute for the last recommendation, the last recommendation of the committee should be stricken out.

I have expressed to you what I believe should be the insistent demand of the trade unionists represented in this convention, and the trade unionists of the country and of the continent, who are looking to this convention to maintain the integrity of our movement and not to take any action that shall make for its dismemberment.

Men and women, we need have no fear of the enemies of organized labor from the outside. We can stand their antagonism, their vilification, their opposition, their attempts to destroy us—the danger is not from without. Like every mass movement in the history of the world, every people's movement, every workers' movement, the danger of its disintegration is from within. Let us not fail to appreciate the lessons of history. Bear in mind that though our American Federation of Labor is the best, most intelligent, most practical movement of the workers of this or any other country, of this or any other time, we are not safe from disintegration and failure if we do not appreciate the value of human weakness, of human strength, of human will, of human selfishness, of human greed, of human altruism, as well as the high ideals of human brotherhood. Don't let us make a mistake, don't let us put up a rock upon which this great ship of labor shall be wrecked.

There are hearts and souls yearning for the greater strength of our movement and its further development—the unorganized even that are not with us now, the toilers who have not the power, the courage or the intelligence to understand that for which we are standing. Still in the innermost recesses of their souls they yearn for the welfare of the movement; their hearts and their hopes are with the trade-union movement of America. Men of labor, don't destroy their hopes for the future.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer a substitute for the committee's report. I believe it is evident to every delegate to this convention that the jurisdiction claims of the Carpenters and Joiners are hardly or fully justified. Likewise, I believe it is the opinion of this convention that little genuine good will result in throwing out of the American Federation of Labor the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and with these two

thoughts in mind I rise to offer this substitute:

**RESOLVED,** That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five representing international unions, of which he (the President) shall be a member, with instructions that this committee of five attend the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and endeavor to get them to recede from the position they have taken in respect to this claim of jurisdiction; and

**RESOLVED,** That in the meantime the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issue to the various international unions, State federations of labor and central bodies the information, directing their attention to the fact that the jurisdiction claims of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have not been granted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

**RESOLVED,** That this convention call upon the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners not to place in force or operation, pending the convening of their convention, the claims that they have set forth in their Journal which have been read to this convention.

The substitute was seconded.

Chairman Scott: The delegates have heard the substitute offered by Delegate Berry. The question comes upon the adoption of the substitute for the committee's report.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists: I am in favor of the committee's report, although I have not the least bit of bitterness towards the Carpenters, as I know a good many of them are pretty good fellows, and so are a good many machinists. In the last convention of the American Federation of Labor we asked that our very reasonable jurisdiction be reaffirmed. There was not much struggle on the part of the Carpenters, if I remember correctly, to keep the convention from reaffirming the jurisdiction we claimed. Perhaps, as it has been said here tonight, that was significant, too. At least judging by the claims they have since made it appears to me it was significant that they did not give battle on the floor of the American Federation at that time against the very reasonable claims of the Machinists. What were the claims of the Machinists? We claimed, and claim now, the making, repairing, erecting, assembling and dismantling of machinery. That jurisdiction was granted to us. We claimed the carpenter's trade was a wood-working trade and that he had

no business to erect or dismantle or assemble or repair machinery. Now suspension is talked about here, and it is said we are going to get ourselves into serious trouble and dismember the American Federation of Labor—rend it apart—If we attempt to enforce the mandates of these conventions; if we attempt, in fact, to put in force the laws and rules and orders of this convention, that we not only believed but knew were right, that would break up this American Federation of Labor. To do what is right would be likely to break up the American Federation of Labor! To enforce the law is likely to break up the American Federation of Labor very evidently! To enforce the things the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, after due deliberation, had passed upon and issued to every organization in this convention as their orders to be obeyed—to enforce them would be to break up and dismember the American Federation of Labor! And it seemed as though there was an intimation or thought that it would be the Machinists' fault for daring to claim those things that were not only right but that were ordered given them. I want the blame placed—if there is going to be blame—if this labor movement is to be broken up, in the right place, and I am going to place it. If this American Federation of Labor is going to be broken up because its laws and rules and orders will not be obeyed, then those who break it up will be those who failed to obey those laws and rules and orders, and the stigma should be placed upon them now, here, and at all times hereafter. Suspension has been talked about as though it is a terrible thing. I admit it would be a terrible thing if we were going to vote concretely right now as to whether the Carpenters were to be suspended right now. Then I would say we are at the parting of the ways. But suspension is recommended by the committee for what? If the carpenter continues to break the laws and continues to refuse to live up to the orders of the American Federation of Labor. If he is to be suspended he has got to do something to be suspended for, he has got to earn it, and if he earns it isn't he entitled to it? In fact, the report of the committee puts it up to the carpenter to be good or be gone. Put the matter of the

suspension of the carpenter up to the carpenter himself. Isn't that fair? It has been argued that we ought to reason with him and talk with him and not suspend him. Well, we ought to do that with burglars. If we are going to do that, why not have a feast of reason here and reason out all these things? Suspension was going to be a terrible punishment for the carpenter when he was told that he could not have jurisdiction over certain work at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. What was his answer? If he had gone out of the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia and had made a reasonable effort to live up to the decision of that convention, and the machinist or any one else was inclined to be untactful and try to get anything away from the Carpenters which belonged to the Carpenters; or if there was a jurisdiction struggle over something in which the line of demarcation was not clearly drawn, and there was any evidence that the carpenter was trying to live up to the decision, we would think differently. We are asked not to penalize him now, but to warn him. If we defeat the report of the committee we are rewarding the carpenter and telling him to go as far as he likes. After the decision was made in the Philadelphia convention, in place of an attempt to obey the instructions of the convention what did they do? They went out and wrote up a jurisdiction that covered four times as much as they ever claimed before. It has been said that it is significant that the Carpenters have not said a word in all this controversy. It is significant in one way, but I believe I can reason out why they have not said a word in this controversy. If I were a carpenter I am sure I would not say a word in this controversy. I don't see how they can say a word in defense of their claims, because every time one of them would open his mouth to defend the claims he would put his foot in it, not only in regard to the Machinists but in regard to every other organization whose jurisdiction has been invaded. It has been said here that there are a dozen different claims against them. I don't wonder at that. If there is not now there will be when enough international presidents and delegates and members

read the October number of their journal. It was also argued that this proposition was a very indefinite one. Well, I would be in favor of making it definite. The matter is in the hands of the Carpenters. No injury can be done the Carpenters unless by their action in the future, as in the past, they bring this injury upon themselves. All they have to do is just simply to do as the rest of us are at least trying to do—obey the laws and rules of the American Federation of Labor and stick to the Carpenters' trade.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: This is rather interesting. Some years ago when we began discussing craft unionism versus industrialism, it was said that it meant the wiping away of jurisdictional disputes. I had at that time the temerity to suggest that instead of wiping away any jurisdiction squabbles you would make them more serious, more dangerous and more unreasonable; that when the wood-working craft had eaten up every other wood-working craft the jurisdiction dispute would arise between the sections, between the wood-working craft and the metal crafts. What is a millwright, by the way? The old-fashioned wheelwright was a man who made machinery of wood and set it up. He made all kinds of wheels except for watches. It was his business to make them, to make them fit into each other and to set them up. He made and set up the different kinds of machinery that went into a saw mill and a flour mill, etc., etc. The Carpenters claimed the jurisdiction of the wheelwrights because they said they were a wood-working craft, and every one of the industrialists, as they called themselves, in the convention at that time said: "You bet! That's the right thing!" And so the resolution to give the Carpenters jurisdiction over the wheelwright was carried, forgetting altogether that modern industry has dismissed wood in the making of wheels for machinery and has substituted iron or steel or brass or some other kind of metal. When the Carpenters undertook to take jurisdiction over all the wood-working crafts, over the furniture workers, I stood on the floor of this convention and protested against it and said to the Carpenters themselves that some day not very far distant they were going to be faced with

insurrection on the inside. When the organization of the Woodworkers, as they were called, was absorbed, some of the members stayed with the Carpenters and their condition was somewhat improved because they were in close relation to buildings; but the men who worked in the factories making furniture that could be transmitted everywhere, were, if I have been properly informed, pretty thoroughly forgotten. Now you have arrived at a position where you have a metal trades section, and they say to the woodworking industry in a jurisdictional dispute, "Where is it to finish, if it is ever finished?" Somebody here has suggested that it is significant that the Carpenters do not take the floor in opposition to the committee's report. Let me see if I can suggest a reason why. I will try at least. There is one big organization outside now, a big, powerful organization, the Bricklayers. It is one of the fundamental building trades. How do you know that the Carpenters do not want to get on the outside? If I were in the Carpenters' place and wanted to get on the outside, what would be the reasonable thing to do? Compel the American Federation of Labor to expel me, adopt such tactics that the American Federation would suspend or expel me, then go to the country and to the people all over the country and say: "We were expelled by the Federation." Of course it would not be honest, but that is not the question. Men are guided by interest in what they calculate to do and to accomplish, and they will do the things that will bring that about, and if they have the necessary amount of brains they will place themselves in a position where they will make some kind of defense to show that the fault is with the other fellow. And so when the Carpenters are expelled, when they have brought about a condition under which they are expelled, they will issue a white book and say: "Lo and behold the injustice that has been done to us!" And then the Federation will issue a yellow book and say, "Lo and behold the injustice that has been done by the Carpenters!" And then the Machinists will issue a green book and say: "Lo and behold what these people are doing! They have destroyed the labor movement." And the carpenter says:

"Well, what of it? I have taken this little country called Belgium. My trenches are all here. Get me out if you can." And the carpenter and those in sympathy with the carpenter will say, "The carpenter is right." And the Machinists and those in sympathy with them will say, "The Machinists are right." And the other part of the labor movement may say they are both wrong and they themselves are right, but under any circumstances the road is clear and wide open for an affiliation between the bricklayer and the carpenter on the outside. That sounds rather unreasonable, perhaps; but sitting here and thinking of the question, watching what is being done, trying to find some human reason for it, I prefer to say right now that the jurisdiction claims that have been put up by the Carpenters have been put up specifically and deliberately for the purpose of having themselves expelled. And then some who believe in industrialism, who believe in government from above, and who have no sympathy with the system of organization that exists among the organizations of the American Federation of Labor, will also have accomplished their purpose in destroying that system of voluntary organization, and will have brought about a condition where they will have an opportunity for the first time in the history of the labor movement of this country to try their system of organization, which is a pyramid, beginning like that and growing broader down, the big baboon sitting up there giving orders to everybody below him, and so depriving the labor movement of the very fundamental principle upon which it is built, and the people at large of the confidence they have a right to have in the labor movement. If this is not the idea of the Carpenters, why do they keep quiet when they are threatened by suspension? If they do not want to be suspended, why is it that they adopt such a proposition as this jurisdiction claim? It indicates that they have about two hundred thousand heads and only one immense ravenous stomach to digest everything they can put into it. Respect for the rights of the individual man or the individual union! There isn't any in that kind of pollev. To say to a union or to a lot of men, "You are just a bag of spuds to be bought and sold and transferred



from one to the other." You have done it for years, and now you are face to face with the most serious result of your policy. You haven't been willing to respect the fundamental principle that men are entities, that they must have a right to determine something for themselves. You want to take a short cut from where you are into the condition that you want to bring about, and in the usual way you would have to do it through force, forgetting that you have no army, no navy with which to compel your way. All you can do in the labor movement of America, all you can do in the labor movement anywhere is to control the thoughts and feelings of men. On an old prison wall in Europe this legend was found: "Let me grasp the scepter that controls the soul of man and I care not what other thing may happen." If you can mold men's minds you can build up an organization so strong that it is absolutely unconquerable. When you change from the appeal to the souls of men to the physical force over men, then disintegration has set in. The most powerful organization in the world today, what is it? The Catholic Church. How did it grow in its first three hundred years? It grew through moral suasion, through moral conviction, through moral molding, and when Constantine took away the moral power and put the power of the state in place of it, lo and behold! In three hundred more years there wasn't anybody who wanted to die to perpetuate it. Go to Australia and look at the unionism by law as you find it there and you will find that the moral strength has departed, that they are depending upon legality instead of loyalty. And so may you depend upon legality. You come here and plead the law, and the law, and the law. You forget that you made the law yourselves, but you made it for somebody else to obey; you don't want it obeyed except by somebody else. Now the Carpenters are strong enough to bid the American Federation of Labor goodbye if they can get the American Federation of Labor to expel them. If they can write a white book by and by and say that San Francisco was the Richmond of the American Federation of Labor, that that convention went mad, and that they are pure as the snow in the early fall, then they may for some little time be

able to deceive the woodworking craft throughout the country. But let me say to you Carpenters here today, if you persist in that kind of thing it may be all right for a few of you—I don't know that—but just as sure as fundamental wrongs find a way of getting themselves revenged, just so sure will the rank and file of the Carpenters throughout this country suffer because of the crazy ambitions and the unbridled greed that exists in your claim for jurisdiction. I don't believe in adopting the report as it is. I believe in saying to the carpenter: "You are violating the fundamental principle of unionism; you are by your action trying to destroy the hopes and aspirations of labor, and we are not going to help you; we are not going to expel you, we are not going to suspend you. If you want to leave us you must leave us of your own accord, and then you cannot write the white book that you calculate to write. The fault will be yours. And when men throughout the country will understand why you have done it—the men throughout the country have some suspicion now, and have had it for some time, that you want to get out and get into some kind of relation with the Bricklayers and build up a system somewhat similar to that of the Bricklayers with their employers. The Carpenters as a whole do not feel that way. What the carpenter wants is more work and steadier work, and he doesn't care as long as the proper, decent rules of morality and unionism are not destroyed; he is not looking very closely about the system. But the men who are doing this today will be responsible before God and man for what they have done. I am against the report of the committee. I would rewrite the last part of it so as to put the entire responsibility upon the Carpenters, and if they want to quit I would let them do it, but I would not put them out. You Machinists, don't be sissies; when you are attacked, defend yourselves! And so I say to the other unions. If these men haven't got any sense or any consciousness of decency, teach it to them. If you cannot teach it in one way teach it in another way. When the Longshoremen, eleven years ago at the San Francisco convention were told to go out and take charge of the Seamen, if they could—because that was what the resolution meant—I said:

"All right, go ahead! try it!" And the Longshoremens came to Pittsburg the next year saying: "For God's sake, take these wildcats off!" I say to the organizations that are being attacked by the Carpenters, "Strike back, but do it from the inside, and if they want to go, and go of their own accord, God bless them! let them go!"

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I am not at all unmindful of the seriousness of the question before this convention, and when I appeared before the committee handling the matter I called their attention to that fact. Neither am I unmindful of the fact that the Machinists, while they may have transgressed in some respects, I believe can point to their record in the American Federation of Labor as having lived up to the mandates of this body. Charters have been granted to organizations that we believed were a direct transgression upon the charter rights of the Machinists' organization. They were issued over our protest years ago, and for many years we have attempted to get what we believed was justice, but we are still in the American Federation of Labor. There was another time when members of our organization were assigned to another organization, again over our protest, and we are still in the American Federation of Labor. And again in the case of another organization, one of the largest in the American Federation of Labor, members of our organization were compelled if they desired to work in that industry to take out the card of another organization, and still we stayed; and we are here to stay now, but we are going to ask for justice, we are going to ask for the square deal among union men. Now let us see just what this proposition means. It does not affect machinists alone; I believe it affects practically every metal trade organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. So far as I know, there is no desire on the part of the metal trades affiliated with this great movement to take one piece of wood or wooden material away from the Carpenters. Every metal trade—and I have been the secretary of the Adjustment Committee in the Building Trades Department in the last two years—every

metal trade that came before our committee was contesting to do the work within its charter rights, and almost invariably the decision of the Building Trades Department has been to protect the charter rights of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, among them the Machinists. The charter rights first granted us by the American Federation of Labor, and later under certain conditions in the Department in St. Louis in 1910, were at the Seattle convention reiterated and the Carpenters were told to respect that decision. They failed to do so and the resolution was introduced at the Philadelphia convention, which was adopted by unanimous vote, the Carpenters' delegation being present, because I took particular notice to see who was there. I have heard a great deal said about the position of the Carpenters. I want to call attention to just one other side of the question which has not yet been mentioned. What about the position of the metal trades affected by this new declaration of the Carpenters' organization? Where do we stand in the matter? We are asked by some of the speakers to go along with the Carpenters and allow the Carpenters to stay in this movement. What is the carpenter attempting to do in this movement? Is he observing the laws of this organization? If I understand the principle of this movement it is to respect the charter rights of the affiliated organizations. In the document published with the consent of the executive officers of the second largest organization in this American Federation of Labor, we find that they have transgressed every principle of the American Federation of Labor. Do they stand by their agreement? In the Seattle convention the endorsement of a strike upon what was known as the York Ice Machine Company was asked. A resolution was introduced in the Metal Trades convention and it went before a committee with all the metal trades represented. The Carpenters were present at that conference, and gave us their word that they would go along and help us to do the things we intended to do. What did they do? They went right out and proceeded to erect the machinery of the York Ice Machine Company, a plant which the Metal Trades were

striking against, and there is an officer of that organization sitting in the convention tonight who over his signature within the past year, and while the strike was still on, said that company was fair to the Carpenters' organization, had been for years and was employing their members. The letter is dated, Chicago, June 16th, and is on the letterhead of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. It says: "To whom it may concern: This is to certify that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America are now working for the York Manufacturing Company and have been for a number of years. Our business relations are very friendly and harmonious, and during the past few months the York Manufacturing Company have had several jobs going on at which have been employed several members of this organization and we know of no reason why our business relations should not continue on the same basis." This letter is signed by John A. Metz, President, and Daniel Gavin, Secretary-Treasurer. That is Machinists' work, the erecting and installing of machinery, and yet the Carpenters do this in the face of the Philadelphia convention and previous conventions and conferences. You talk about persuading! How can you persuade a man who does those things?

President Gompers: How can you compel him?

Delegate Wharton: Well we will do our part if the American Federation will do its part. We took our medicine in this organization, we have lived up to the decisions of the American Federation of Labor and are doing it now. As I said before, we made mistakes, we did things that were not right. Only recently our organization adopted a law we did not approve of—at least I do not as one member—because it is a transgression of the rights of this body, and we are now sending out to our organization a request that they withdraw that and abide by the laws of the American Federation of Labor. Will the Carpenters do the same here and now? The officers of that organization—will they get up before this body and declare their willingness to send out that request to their organization? We don't want a bit of work that belongs to the Carpen-

ters. All we want is justice. If the Machinists are entitled to what their original charter says they are entitled to, others should be required to comply with the rules and laws and mandates of this body. There is another thing I want to call your attention to. The Brick Masons have been mentioned in this body. I have now a copy of the agreement—I have it in my room—which the Carpenters and Joiners entered into with the Brick Masons for certain specific purposes. The Brick Masons' organization is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They were claiming jurisdiction over organizations that were, and at that time were attempting to put them out of commission. Then the Carpenters entered into an agreement to work jointly with them, and since the last convention one organization affiliated with the Department has been put out of business. I refer to the Marble Workers. A man named Price was elected as a member of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department in Philadelphia last year. He is not here today because his organization has been put out of business through the joint efforts of the Carpenters and the Brick Masons. I want to call your attention to another situation that has arisen. An agreement has been entered into in Chicago the purpose of which is self-evident. We talk about persuading people! Persuading them to do what? When they enter into an agreement which says they will discriminate against no material except prison-made material, what does that mean? It means that if any trade goes on strike, whether it be the Carpenters or not, the things they manufacture go into the buildings and go into Chicago and the union Carpenters must erect the material made by scabs—possibly scabbing on their own organization—if they live up to the agreement made in Chicago. In God's name how are you going to persuade anybody under those conditions to do what is right? We will stand on our record as trade unionists.

Delegate Donlin: I am jointly interested in that. Every trade organization in Chicago has an agreement regarding the particular phase he brings out. We have an agreement with our employers that we will erect nothing but union

material and the Carpenters have the same agreement.

Delegate Wharton: The purpose, if you will permit me, of the report of the committee and the amendment is affecting the standing of that organization and its willingness to go along with the decision of this Federation.

President Gompers: With regard to the claims of the Machinists and the decision of the Philadelphia convention.

Delegate Wharton: The statement made before this convention was made because of a question asked the representatives of the trades in Chicago, in which that very question was put to them in regard to the handling of work; and they told me under their agreement they would be compelled to put up the material or break their agreements, and when I asked if they believed in living up to their agreement they said they did. It means living up to an agreement with an employer, but they pay no attention to agreements made with trade unionists with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The resolution offered by Delegate Berry was carried and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Secretary Golden continued the report of the Committee on Adjustment, as follows:

#### **Flint Glass Workers and Machinists.**

Your committee endorses the selection of John B. Lennon as the third man to act in this controversy and trusts that he may be successful in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment of the same.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Machinists-Elevator Constructors.**

Your committee finds that the decision rendered by the Philadelphia convention in connection with the controversy between these two organizations has been ineffective and that nothing has been accomplished in the direction of peace and

harmony between the two organizations. Subterfuge seems to have been used, or at least technical objections to the conduct of one organization towards the other, which resulted in the Elevator Constructors refusing to put into effect the decision of the Philadelphia convention unless the Machinists' organization by action of its Executive Board assured the Elevator Constructors that its members would not be permitted to install or repair elevators, which requirement was not a part of the action of the Philadelphia convention.

Your committee finds that the impression prevails that only Machinists are directly interested in this controversy. All the metal trades are interested because the jurisdiction of these organizations reaches into the elevator manufacturing plants and the mere fact that some technical difference may have arisen between the Machinists and the Elevator Constructors is not a sufficient reason why the decision of the Philadelphia convention was not carried out.

Therefore, your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be and is hereby instructed to see that the Elevator Constructors' organization carries out the decision of the Philadelphia convention in the spirit in which it was written and adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Feeney stated that he did not oppose the report of the committee; that the Elevator Constructors' International Union not only agreed with the committee, was not only willing to put into effect the substitute adopted in the Philadelphia convention, but was very anxious to do so, and in the past year had tried to do so. He spoke of several attempts that had been made by the Elevator Constructors to meet with committees or representatives of the Machinists and Metal Trades Department, and of misunderstandings that had prevented such meetings. He stated that his organization expected to carry out fully the conditions of the substitute adopted in the Philadelphia convention, but entered an objection to members of his organization being harassed by the machinists while doing

work over which they had jurisdiction.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that in the resolution adopted at Philadelphia there was nothing that required the machinists to agree to refrain from erecting or repairing the machinery they make.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 11 o'clock p. m. Delegate Mahon (W. D.) moved that the convention adjourn to 9:30 a. m. Saturday. The motion was not carried.

The Committee on Adjustment continued its report as follows:

#### **Plumbers and Steamfitters—Machinists.**

Your committee finds that the organizations in interest have not been able to agree upon the third man to act with a representative from each of the organizations in interest. Therefore, your committee recommends that if these two organizations do not agree upon the third man within a period of ninety days after the adjournment of this convention that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to name the third man to act in accordance with the action taken by the Philadelphia convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Brewery Workers—Coopers.**

These two organizations have entered into an agreement by which the controversy has been adjusted. The agreement is herewith filed for record.

#### **AGREEMENT**

Entered into between the Brewery Workers' International Union and the Coopers' International Union covering present and future questions relating to jurisdiction of membership and work performed by members of each organization.

First. All driving, shortening and riveting of hoops on cooperage shall be considered brewers' work outside of cooper shop. This clause shall not be construed as debarring members of the C. I. U. from such work when necessary.

Second. All new and repair work shall be done by members of the C. I. U. only.

Third. In cases of emergency the coopers may assist in the brewery department, and vice versa, the brewery workmen may assist in the cooperage department. This matter to be left to

the judgment of the respective local unions.

Fourth. This agreement shall not be binding in places where written agreements have been entered into by the Brewery Workers' and Coopers' Unions.

Fifth. This Agreement shall remain in force and effect until such time as the General Executive Board of either party hereto serves sixty days' notice upon the other party, notifying same that it is their desire to terminate same.

Dated San Francisco, Cal., September 25th, 1915.

Signed for the International Union of United Brewery Workmen.

.....  
Int'l. Sec'y-Treas.

.....  
Members of the International  
Executive Board.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Engineers—Longshoremen.**

Your committee approves the decision rendered by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Steam Shovelmen—Steam Engineers.**

Executive Council's report on the above matter, and Resolution No. 67, by Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and Resolution No. 116, by the delegates of the Steam Engineers.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, Since the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel & Dredgemen, with the Associated Union of Steamshovelmen, and the chartering of the amalgamated union, by the American Federation of Labor, jurisdictional disputes have arisen between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, This jurisdictional dispute is resulting disadvantageously to the members of both of the above unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is directed to define clearly the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to endeavor to bring about a conference, between the duly authorized representatives of the above unions, for the purpose of arranging a working agreement, by which harmonious relations will be restored, and these jurisdictional disputes avoided.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Matt Comerford, J. J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser,

John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has made every honorable effort to bring about an amalgamation between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have met in a conference with the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, at which Mr. Samuel Gompers presided, and where the following agreement was reached, to wit:

"With the purpose of removing conflict between the membership of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to protect and promote the rights, interests and welfare of the membership of both these organizations, we, the undersigned representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, hereby enter into an agreement by which these desirable purposes may be accomplished.

"Therefore, we agree—

"First. That all hostilities shall cease, and the undersigned pledge themselves for their organizations to prevent any discrimination against the members of the other organization.

"Second. That a committee consisting of four members of each organization shall be selected for the purpose of drafting a plan whereby the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall become amalgamated into one comprehensive organization.

"Third. That it shall be the duty of the committee herein provided to agree on the details of amalgamating both organizations.

"Fourth. That if there shall arise any point upon which the committee, herein provided, cannot agree, it shall be the duty of the committee to select a member in good standing of the trade union movement to act as a conciliator or arbitrator. Should the committee be unable to agree upon the selection of a conciliator or arbitrator, then the President of the American Federation of Labor shall act as, or appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor to act as conciliator or arbitrator, and his decision on any disputed questions shall be final and binding upon the committees of both organizations, and the committees and the officers of both organizations shall earnestly recommend to their respective memberships the ratification of the entire agreement.

"Fifth. That when amalgamation of the two organizations shall have been accomplished, the amalgamated organiza-

tion shall issue local charters to the local unions now part of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen without cost, and that local unions of steamshovelmen and dredgemen, part of the amalgamated international union, shall have the right to make their own by-laws and rules provided they do not conflict with the constitution and general laws of the amalgamated international.

"Sixth. The local unions of steamshovel and dredgemen shall have complete jurisdiction over all steamshovel and dredge work.

"Seventh. As assurance of good will for united action, it is declared by the parties of this agreement that the district plan of organization among the steamshovel and dredgemen shall remain in effect in case amalgamation is consummated.

"Eighth. The Amalgamated International Union shall apply to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a new charter under such title as may be agreed upon by the committee herein provided, and shall set forth the jurisdiction claimed by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen as now recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"Ninth. On the 23d day of August, 1915, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the committee of four from each of the organizations party to this agreement shall meet at the New Morrison Hotel for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this agreement, and to devise the plan for the amalgamation as herein set forth.

"Tenth. This agreement shall be submitted to the general executive board of each organization for ratification and the full authority to act in accordance with the terms of this agreement.

"Eleventh. The committee of four from each organization shall apply itself assiduously day by day to devise the plan for amalgamation and complete their work at the earliest possible day.

"Twelfth. When the plan of amalgamation has been formed and agreed to by the committee of four from each organization it shall be submitted to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen for ratification and submitted to the executive board of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for ratification. (The executive board of the latter organization having authority to act in the premises conferred upon it by the Peoria (Ill.) Convention of 1914.)

"Thirteenth. Within ten days after the ratification of the plan of amalgamation the general officers of each organization shall meet for the purpose of carrying into effect the amalgamation as declared herein, and as shall be provided in the agreement by the com-



mittee of four of each of the organizations.

Approved by  
**MATT COMERFORD,**  
**JAMES G. HANNAHAN,**  
 Representing the International Union of  
 Steam and Operating Engineers.

**T. J. DOLAN,**  
**P. W. WALSH,**  
 Representing the International Brother-  
 hood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen.

**SAMUEL GOMPERS,**  
 Representing the American Federation  
 of Labor.

**G. W. PERKINS,**  
 Representing the Cigarmakers' Interna-  
 tional Union.

**JOHN FITZPATRICK,**  
 Representing the Chicago Federation of  
 Labor.

Representing the Chicago Building  
 Trades Council.

Opposed by  
**E. M. FOLEY,**  
**J. W. TRACY,**  
 Representing the International Brother-  
 hood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen."

WHEREAS, The issuance of the char-  
 ter to the International Brotherhood of  
 Steamshovel and Dredgemen has caused  
 conflict between the engineers belonging  
 to both organizations, in some instances  
 the Brotherhood of Steamshovel and  
 Dredgemen offering their services for  
 less wages than was being paid to en-  
 gineers belonging to the International  
 Union of Steam and Operating En-  
 gineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International  
 Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredge-  
 men be instructed to amalgamate with  
 the International Union of Steam and  
 Operating Engineers within 90 days, and  
 unless complied with that the charter  
 of the International Steamshovel and  
 Dredgemen be revoked.

Your committee recommends that the  
 Executive Council continue its efforts to  
 bring about the amalgamation of the  
 organizations named.

The report of the committee was  
 adopted.

**Lithographers—Lithographic Pressfeeders**  
**—Printing Pressmen—Photo-En-**  
**gravers, Poster Artists.**

Report of the Executive Council on  
 above matter, and Resolutions Nos. 29,  
 30 and 31, by Delegate Philip Bock of  
 the Lithographers' International Pro-  
 tective and Beneficial Association of  
 the United States and Canada, and Res-  
 olution No. 143, by delegates represent-  
 ing the International Typographical Un-  
 ion, International Printing Pressmen and  
 Assistants' Union, International Stereo-  
 typers and Electrotypers' Union, Inter-

national Photo-Engravers' Union and  
 International Brotherhood of Bookbind-  
 ers.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Philip  
 Bock of the Lithographers' International  
 Protective and Beneficial Association of  
 the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The International Photo-  
 Engravers' Union has sought to enter  
 into the jurisdictional controversy now  
 existing between the International Print-  
 ing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and  
 Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, We believe their entrance  
 into the jurisdictional controversy has  
 very largely added to the difficulties  
 and confused the issue; and

WHEREAS, Photo-lithographic plates  
 and the making up of transfer plates  
 are the questions at issue between the  
 Photo-Engravers' Union and Lithograph-  
 ers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The method classed as  
 photo-lithographic plates and transfer  
 plates has been in existence many  
 years before photo-engraving, as now  
 conducted, was known, and which is  
 recognized everywhere; and

WHEREAS, The difference between a  
 photo-engraving plate otherwise known  
 as relief surface, and the difference be-  
 tween photo-lithographic plates, also  
 including transfer plates and known as  
 flat surface plates is very easily dis-  
 tinguished; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention au-  
 thorize the Executive Council either as  
 a body or by the appointment of sub-  
 committee whose duty it shall be to visit  
 a lithographic plant and a type print-  
 ing plant, and to then observe the dif-  
 ference in the two methods; and that  
 representatives from the Photo-Engrav-  
 ers' Union be requested to be present  
 with the committee from the Executive  
 Council in order to demonstrate the  
 wide difference between the two pro-  
 cesses involved.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Philip  
 Bock of the Lithographers' International  
 Protective and Beneficial Association of  
 the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The representative of the  
 Lithographers' International Protective  
 and Beneficial Association had offered  
 a resolution at the Seattle Convention,  
 and which resolution referred to the  
 action of the International Printing  
 Pressmen and Assistants' Union in em-  
 ploying non-union lithographers to act as  
 instructors in the technical school of  
 Printing Pressmen, and that these non-  
 union lithographers as instructors were  
 engaged to instruct type printing press-  
 men to operate a lithographic press; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of  
 the International Printing Pressmen and  
 Assistants' Union was a direct encroach-  
 ment upon our rights and privileges as  
 guaranteed under our charter granted  
 by the American Federation of Labor,  
 said resolution was approved by the

convention and referred to the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, This matter has now been more or less in the hands of the Executive Council without in any manner being adjusted or removing the wrong inflicted upon the lithographers; and

WHEREAS, The injustice as charged against the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union has not been denied, but to the contrary, openly admitted; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers have offered the most substantial evidence not only as to the charges made, but also to the fact that the offset press, the jurisdiction over which is the main question at issue, is being operated by lithographic pressmen throughout the country, with possibly a few exceptions. This evidence is in possession of the secretary of the Executive Council and shows conclusively the justice and equity of our claim; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the contention of the lithographers has been satisfactorily proven, that the wrong committed on the part of the printing pressmen is an injustice, that it be the sense of this Convention that the offset press be classed a lithographic press, and that the Printing Pressmen Association, through their executive officers, be instructed to discontinue their actions where it relates to jurisdiction over the offset press, and their continued instruction of apprentices at their school in Rogersville, Tenn.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had granted a charter to the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, granting charter rights to organize and maintain organization in the lithographic industry; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association were practically organized 100% in the different branches or crafts which they then had jurisdiction over; and,

WHEREAS, It was deemed advisable both by the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Lithographers' Association to include all employed in the lithographic industry, and who produce and complete lithographic work into one organization; and,

WHEREAS, A number of conferences had been held, some of which were called through the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor, who continually advised and encouraged amalgamation; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association having found it necessary, in complying with the wishes of such whom we sought to amalgamate with, that the title of the Association be changed to read "The Amalgamated Lithographers of America"; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, finding it to be for the best interest of all engaged in the lithographic industry and to follow the advice and encouragement given on the part of the Executive Council, then entered into amalgamation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the resolution be approved and that a charter be issued by this body to the workers in the lithographic industry under the title of the "Amalgamated Lithographers of America," carrying with it whatever change it makes in the jurisdiction, which, however, shall be confined to the lithographic industry.

Resolution No. 143—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Rapid and continued changes are constantly at work modifying and altering past and present methods and processes of producing printed matter, necessitating like changes in form of organization among the printing trades; and

WHEREAS, The Allied Printing Trades Unions have been able to cope with and successfully control all changes and modifications of producing printed matter of whatever kind, excepting that produced by the process of offset printing; on which class of printing it has been partially unsuccessful, because of the opposition and interference of the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Annual Conventions of that organization recognized the necessity of the amalgamation of the Lithographic Pressmen and Press Feeders with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; the amalgamation of the Lithographic Engravers' and Transferers', etc., with the International Photo-Engravers' Union, and the amalgamation of all compositors employed directly or indirectly by the lithographic establishments, or doing work entering into lithographic work, with the International Typographical Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor having considered the conflicting jurisdictional claims of all the printing trades involved in the process of offset printing for a period of two years, finds itself unable to draw any line of demarcation between the printing trades unions involved in this work, thus evidencing conclusively that the varying processes of producing printed matter demands a like modification of organization among the printing trades unions and as proposed in the plan of amalgamations sub-

mitted by the Allied Printing Trades Unions; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of all labor demands that one union label be used on all printing matter regardless by whatever process or method it may have been produced; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Benevolent Association has failed to heed or respond to the action of the American Federation of Labor in amalgamating with the printing trades unions, but on the contrary has constantly, persistently and wrongfully used the union label—and in a number of instances cunningly substituted a label so closely resembling the Allied Printing Trades Council label as to mislead the general public; doing this to further its own interest at the cost of and to the great detriment of the Allied Printing Trades Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all work relating to type-setting for offset printing or any other process of printing is the work of members of the International Typographical Union; that all work of or relating to the producing of printing plates and transferring of same for offset printing, or any other process of printing, is the work of members of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; that all work of and relating to offset printing and offset printing presses, as well as type-printing, is the work of members of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union; and that all binding, etc., of printed matter of every description is the work of the members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association is hereby instructed to immediately cease further interference with and assumption of the rightful jurisdictional claims of the foregoing printing trades unions, as designated in these resolutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue its efforts in co-operating with the Allied Printing Trades Unions to the end that the plan of amalgamation dealing with the lithographic workers and as proposed by the printing trades unions may be speedily consummated; thereby making the use of one union label in the printing trades possible, feasible and practicable, and establishing in the printing industry that form of organization best suited to meeting all the varying and modifying changes in methods and processes of producing printing matter.

Your committee has given such time as was at its disposal to the consideration of the several suggestions contained in the report of the Executive Council and the resolutions introduced covering these matters.

Your committee finds that with the evolution taking place in the printing industry and because of the use of two or more labels which have a tendency to deceive and confuse not only the public but union men; and furthermore, the introduction of more scientific and modern methods in this particular industry would indicate that the amalgamation of some of the trades affected would be in the direction of progress, efficiency and beneficial to all parties concerned, and that where workmen are employed in the same workshop, producing the same class of work on practically the same kind of machines they should hold membership in the same organization.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall, within a period of ninety days from the adjournment of this convention, select a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject-matter contained in these resolutions with power to make recommendations to the Executive Council and that the Executive Council upon such recommendations made to it, and in accordance with the opinions expressed in this report, is authorized to bring about upon an equitable basis an amalgamation of the unions involved in this controversy, and the terms of such amalgamation and jurisdiction claims of the various organizations involved shall be determined and decided upon by the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bock, Lithographers, discussed the question briefly and stated that he approved the report of the committee and believed the matter would be adjusted satisfactorily.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 11:30 Treasurer Lennon moved an adjournment to 9:30 a. m. Saturday morning. The motion was seconded, but not carried.

**Bridge and Structural Ironworkers—Boilermakers—Hodcarriers.**

Your committee approves of the understanding reached in connection with this controversy.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Hodcarriers—Cement Workers.**

Your committee finds that the Cement Workers as an organization have practically gone out of existence, its membership having been absorbed by other affiliated organizations.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council see to it that the decisions, heretofore rendered by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, shall be carried into effect as to the proper organizations where cement workers shall hold membership.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Painters—Railway Carmen.**

Your committee finds that owing to illness in the family of the President of the Carmen's organization he was unable to attend this convention, and by mutual consent the Painters and Carmen have agreed to a postponement for the time being in order that a conference may later be held by representatives of the organizations at interest.

We recommend that this request be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Carpenters—Railway Carmen.**

Your committee finds that owing to illness in the family of the President of the Carmen's organization he was unable to attend this convention, and by mutual consent the Carpenters and Carmen have agreed to a postponement for the time being, in order that a conference may later be held by representatives of the organizations at interest.

We recommend that this request be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Jurisdiction Over Single Wrapping.**

Your committee approves the decision rendered by the Executive Council in this case.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Golden stated that the next matters to be reported upon by the committee would probably cause a great deal of discussion and moved to adjourn to

9:30 Saturday morning. The motion was seconded, but not carried.

**Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Machinists—Metal Polishers.**

Executive Council's report on above matter and Resolution No. 110, by Delegates of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Metal Polishers and Sheet Metal Workers.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates J. W. Kline, J. M. Tobin, W. F. Kramer (Blacksmiths); W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary, H. C. Diehl (Metal Polishers); John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers):

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its Seattle convention decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union should discontinue all encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the unions in the automobile industry, and ordered to turn over to the respective unions all men they have as members of the local unions who lawfully belong to other international unions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Philadelphia convention, decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union discontinue the use of the words "Automobile Workers" and refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union has since the adoption of resolutions at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor at Rochester, N. Y., Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa., continued its encroachments on the jurisdiction of other International and National organizations and has ignored the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and failed absolutely to comply with the demands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the revocation of the charter of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union by January 1, 1916.

Your committee recommends the reaffirmation of the decision of the Philadelphia convention on this subject and recommends the adoption of the resolution, with the exception that January 1, 1916, be stricken out, and April 1st inserted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McPherson, in a brief statement, called attention to the work that had been done by the Carriage and Wagon Workers in the past year in organizing men who had previously be-

longed to the ranks of the unorganized. He stated that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' organization was growing steadily, although it had to face a great deal of bitter opposition from the employers. In closing he moved that the report of the committee be amended by extending the time for carrying out the decision of the Philadelphia convention to June 1st. The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Kline (Blacksmiths) spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated the American Federation of Labor had gone on record on several occasions granting jurisdiction over blacksmiths to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and, as there was no question that the men of their trade working in carriage and wagon factories belonged to their organization, the decision of the Philadelphia convention should be carried out. He stated that he would not oppose the request of Delegate McPherson to extend the time if he would promise to comply with the decision of the Philadelphia convention.

Delegate Tobin (Blacksmiths) stated that he would object to the proposition made by Delegate McPherson that he would be willing to drop the word "Automobile" from the title of his organization and substitute some other word therefor, unless he would specify the word to be substituted. He referred briefly to conditions existing in various factories where automobiles are manufactured, the different classes of labor employed in their construction, and stated that in many of those factories, especially in Detroit, the Carriage and Wagon Workers had organized blacksmiths, machinists, painters, molders, patternmakers and men of other crafts.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union, opposed the report of the committee, stating that it would be incon-

sistent to adopt such a report after the action taken in regard to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters.

Delegate Leary, Metal Polishers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor, stated that there appeared to be some misunderstanding in regard to the purpose of the Carriage and Wagon Workers. He stated they had been attacked bitterly by the manufacturers, but in spite of that had continued to develop their organization. He spoke of the evolution through which the trade of the carriage and wagon workers was passing and said that a large part of the work the men formerly performed was now being done in automobile factories. He urged that the request of Delegate McPherson for an extension of time in which to comply with the decision of the Philadelphia convention be granted.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men, moved as a substitute for the report of the committee that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to bring about a conference between the parties interested, in an endeavor to secure a proper adjustment of the matter. Seconded.

Delegate Kline: I am willing to do anything that will bring about harmony in the labor movement, but I am not altogether in favor of the motion, because we have been "getting together" for seventeen years and I do not see what can be done further along that line. I believe in carrying out the decision of the Philadelphia convention at this time and I insist upon the report of the committee.

The substitute offered by Delegate Mahon was carried.

At 12 o'clock, midnight, the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Saturday, November 20th.

## ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 20, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 20, Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

**Absentees**—Christman, Boyden, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Letrodec, Taylor, Call, Moore, Quinn, Kearney, Sultor, Steidle, Hylan, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Coffey, Ogletree, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, McGinley (C.), Keller, Skemp, Spooner, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Dean, Triska, Spear, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Quesse, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, Nov. 19, 1915.

Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

Looking backward at thirty-five years of incessant and glorious labors for the advancement of those who toil, may your deliberations tend to bring into your fold the millions that are not yet organized, and hasten the day of final justice for the workers of our land.

MORRIS SIGMAN.

General Secretary-Treasurer,  
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

Secretary Morrison also read the following letter:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 20, 1915.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Kindly read the following announcement from the convention platform:

Butte, Montana, Carpenters' Union No. 112, most respectfully request all delegates in attendance at the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to attend a celebration to be held December 2, 1915, when the mortgage on Butte Carpenters' Temple will be burned.

All delegates who can attend this celebration are requested to advise the Reception Committee at Butte, Montana, of their time of arrival in Butte.

P. W. DOWLER.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): I announced yesterday that one of the delegates was seriously ill in a hospital in this city. I am very sorry to announce that Delegate McGovern died during the night, and I move that the proper officers of

the convention send a telegram to the family extending the sympathies of the delegates of this convention to them in their hour of bereavement.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

#### Metal Lathers—Plasterers.

We recommend that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment between the two organizations, and that a conference be arranged for by the Executive Council within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Electrical Workers—Theatrical Stage Employees.

Your committee finds that some misunderstanding has arisen during the year in connection with the decision rendered by the Philadelphia convention upon the controversy between these two organizations, and in order that there may be no further misunderstanding as to the intent of the decision that was rendered at the Philadelphia convention, your committee decides that the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance has full jurisdiction over Moving Picture Machine Operators, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has jurisdiction over all electrical workers employed in the installation of new work and the repairing of old work on the outside and inside of theatres. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall within six months after the adjournment of this convention, turn over to the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance any local unions of Moving Picture Machine Operators or members of their organization



holding positions as moving picture operators; and if the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance has within its membership any members engaged as electrical workers, they shall turn over such members to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention. This decision, however, is not to be construed to interfere in any way with the right of the members of the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance to handle all electrical apparatus or appliances necessary to a theatrical production.

(The report as presented by the committee provided that the men in question should be transferred to the Theatrical Stage Employees within ninety days).

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, announced that it would be impossible for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to comply with the decision within the time specified by the committee; that there was no power within that organization that could concede jurisdiction over any work to any other organization except a referendum vote of the membership, and to get that would require more than ninety days.

Chairman O'Connell stated that the committee had no objection to extending the time, but had specified ninety days, as that was the time usually given for organizations to take such action.

Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees, stated that he would be willing to have the time extended if President McNulty of the Electrical Workers would give the assurance that there would be no further effort to do anything in violation of the report of the committee.

Delegate McNulty stated he wished the time extended to six months, but without any qualifications such as suggested by Delegate Shay.

After a discussion by Delegate Miller (O.), Delegate Shay and Delegate Sweek the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

#### Teamsters—Brewers—Bakers—Laundry Workers.

Executive Council's report on above subject, and Resolution No. 77, by the Teamsters' delegation.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union has refused to comply with the decision of the convention held in Philadelphia last year, wherein said convention ordered the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to turn over to the Teamsters and Chauffeurs, International Union all drivers of wagons then holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The refusal on the part of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to comply with the mandates and decision of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that all central bodies and State branches of the American Federation of Labor unseat as delegates the representatives of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International local unions in every district in the country, and that no support or recognition be given to this international union by organized labor until such time as said international union, namely, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, complies with and carries out to its fullest extent the decision of the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is, to wit: That all drivers of wagons and automobiles now holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union be immediately turned over to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, and that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union henceforth discontinue to admit to membership any driver of a wagon or operator of an auto truck.

Your committee recommends and reaffirms the Philadelphia decision in this controversy, and desires to give its interpretation of that decision so that there may be no further misunderstanding to it, that all local unions having members properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, shall not be seated in central bodies or State labor organizations. This interpretation

applies to local unions of Bakery and Confectionery Workers, whether its membership is made up, wholly or in part, of members properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell: The convention decided last year that locals of Bakery Workers having in their membership teamsters who should be in the teamsters' organizations should not be seated in central bodies. The president was asked for an interpretation of the decision during the year. The Bakery Workers interpreted the interpretation to mean that it did not affect the locals composed partly of teamsters, but only organizations made up entirely of teamsters. I wrote the Philadelphia decision. It affected the unions of the Bakery Workers that had in their ranks members coming under the jurisdiction of the teamsters' organization whether the locals were entirely made up of teamsters or only partly composed of teamsters. This report of the committee is meant to straighten out that matter.

President Gompers, in discussing the question said: During the year the president of that organization communicated with me, asking my interpretation of that decision, whether it applied to Bakery Workers' local unions composed exclusively of bakery workers and not having bakery drivers in their membership, and whether local unions could be represented in the city bodies when perhaps in any one of their other local organizations there might be bakery drivers. That was the question in controversy.

Delegate Myrup: Do I understand this interpretation of the committee's recommendation means that a demand can be made upon central bodies to unseat local unions of the Bakery Workers' International Union having within their membership such members as you have defined as coming under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' International, regardless of the period of the affiliation of such local unions in the international union?

Chairman O'Connell: Yes, that is the decision. We did not take into con-

sideration the time of their affiliation. If you have local unions whose membership is made up entirely of those men whom you have a right to have under the law, they would not be affected because they are not in violation of the law in any way, and so long as your international is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor they shall be granted every privilege which goes with such affiliation. The decision says, if you have local unions with teamsters in their membership they should be turned over to the teamsters' organizations, and if they are not, such unions will not be seated in the central bodies.

President Gompers suggested that some words be added to the report of the committee to make it more plain and definite. He suggested that the words "coming under" be inserted after the word "member," the sentence to read, "that all local unions having members properly coming under the jurisdiction of the teamsters."

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, discussed the question at some length, and said in part: It was practically settled by the Philadelphia convention that the Bakery Workers have no jurisdiction over bakery wagon drivers. They come under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters. The committee has only reiterated its former statement, and in my judgment the addition of these words will destroy what has already been accomplished. The international union in question has absolutely refused to carry out the decision of the Philadelphia convention. We did not come in here, as we might have come, as was done by other organizations, and ask that the charter of this international union be suspended because of their refusal. All we ask is that the local unions of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers holding drivers in their membership, be unseated. We have ninety-five per cent. of the bakery wagon drivers of this country that are organized. There are less than three hundred drivers to-day that are in question between the international unions. There are unorganized bakery drivers throughout the country to-day and when our organizers go to them they say, "We will not go into your union until such time as we are told just where we belong." We want you to settle this matter.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, in the chair.

Delegate Myrup, in discussing the question, said in part: I have no desire to enter into a discussion as to the merits or demerits of this question of jurisdiction. I know it is useless. Our organization is not in accord with your definition of jurisdiction. We reserve the right of not being in accord with you on that question. However, while we are not in accord with your decision defining jurisdiction, since it was rendered we have ceased to organize the unorganized bakery drivers. In the last two years we have ceased to organize the unorganized bakery drivers and we intend to maintain that position. The organized bakery workers have been with us fifteen and twenty years; they were with us prior to the time there was an international union of teamsters; they have worked with us and built up this organization and have obtained splendid conditions. We take this position so far as it concerns the organized bakery drivers now within our organization, that they came to us by their voluntary choice, worked with us and built up the organization, and we have told them, "This is the decision of the American Federation of Labor. Voluntarily you came to us, voluntarily you can leave us."

Delegate Goldstone, Bakery Workers, discussed the question, and described in detail the conditions surrounding the members of both organizations in various cities, stating that if the organizations worked in harmony a great deal of good might be accomplished in bringing unorganized men into the unions.

Delegate Casey, Teamsters, in discussing the question dealt chiefly with the situation in San Francisco, where a local composed entirely of bakery drivers still maintained its membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers.

The question was further discussed by President Gompers, Delegate Hayes (M. S.) and Chairman O'Connell.

The committee accepted the amendment offered by President Gompers that the words "coming under" be added to the report of the committee.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted by a vote of 79 in the affirmative to 76 in the negative.

Hon. Anthony Caminetti, United States Commissioner of Immigration, was introduced by President Gompers. Mr. Caminetti expressed his appreciation of the privilege accorded him of addressing a convention of the American Federation of Labor. He expressed regret that he had not been able to appear at the opening of the session to present the message of Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson, which had been transmitted through other sources. In speaking on the question of unemployment Mr. Caminetti described briefly the system established by the Department of Labor throughout the country to bring together those needing employment and those who need labor to carry on their business. He called attention particularly to the plan of having blanks distributed through the post-offices for people needing employment to fill out. He stated that the postmasters in the various cities, through the Postoffice Department, had been instructed to give some time to that work each day. Mr. Caminetti spoke briefly on the subjects of industrial education, insurance and immigration.

Secretary Golden continued the report of the Adjustment Committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have among its membership and under its control workers who are not, but should be, members of the various metal trades organizations in several localities; and

WHEREAS, These men of the various metal trades may or may not be deluded with the idea that it is necessary for them to hold their membership in the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America in order to hold their positions; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the various metal trades under their several charters extends over these men wherever they may be employed; and

WHEREAS, The affiliation of these various tradesmen in the trade organization to which they properly belong will in no way affect the working strength of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for offensive or defensive purposes; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced and adopted in several conventions of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor by representatives of affiliated organizations, instructing its officers to

meet the president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for the purpose of having him turn over all tradesmen now members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees to their respective organizations; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor have carried out these instructions, but without success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention, instruct the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to turn over all metal trades mechanics to the various organizations that have jurisdiction over them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the organization of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America not to interfere in any way whatsoever with the organizing of the various metal tradesmen for the purpose of retaining these men in their organization, and not to interfere with the object in view of making a working contract to cover men that are not under their jurisdiction, but under the jurisdiction of metal trades organizations.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

We further recommend that the President of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, as soon as possible, jointly endeavor to adjust and straighten out such controversies as now exist between the various Metal Trades Organizations and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): We do not care to take up the time of the convention discussing this, but the street-car men ask to be recorded as voting against the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Eugene E. Smith, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity:

Portland, Oregon, November 5, 1915.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., Sutter Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.  
Dear Sir and Brother:

The following resolution submitted to the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity by L. U. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, was en-

dorsed and the requests therein made to our Council were granted by it.

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, is a union composed of electrical workers employed by public service corporations and utility companies whose policies and great industrial power make mandatory and necessary international laws governing our union and like unions that will make for organized strength and solidarity if the workers belonging thereto are to successfully obtain and maintain equitable wages and working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Though once our union enjoyed such international laws we forsook them and reaffiliated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, recognized as the true and legal international, best calculated to represent and protect the organized electrical workers of the country, by the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, This action was taken by us in common with many of our then and now sister local unions with a full confidence and belief that fair play would be granted us by the recognized brotherhood insofar at least that the electrical workers commonly termed "outside electrical workers" would be permitted to place their position on the industrial field before the international convention and be given such legislation as experience has proven best suited to our interests; and,

WHEREAS, Our international convention held in St. Paul, Minn., during September of this year (1915), not only refused, despite our earnest and sincere representations, to pass such legislation, but did on the contrary, by force of numbers and other indefensible methods inconsistent with the best practice and fundamental principles of trades unionism, pass such hostile legislation and take such distasteful action that not only are our wages and working conditions jeopardized but the very life of our union is endangered; and,

WHEREAS, Our knowledge of the problems of like workers in other unions, having as members the same class of employees as constitute our membership, makes us firm in the conviction that not only is our union thus affected, but all like unions are endangered to the same extent; and,

WHEREAS, Because of lack of numerical strength, and a hostile international administration, it is highly probable that relief will be denied us by the initiative and referendum as per our constitution; and,

WHEREAS, Though we cast no reflection on the fairness of the individual members of our brotherhood who are commonly termed "inside wiremen" and who constitute the major portion of the membership of our brotherhood, we fear many of them may listen to the advice of those who either are hostile to the outside electrical worker or are ignorant of his problems and thus may contribute to our defeat in any appeal to the general membership; and,

WHEREAS, The report of our delegate (only one of whom has to date returned), returning from our international convention, a brother in whom we all have the fullest confidence, convinces us that we were subjected in said convention to gross injustice and confirms us in a belief that we must seek redress elsewhere than from our constitutional officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in regular meeting assembled, that we do deplore such injustice and proceedings and that we do petition the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity to instruct its delegate to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to present our grievances thereto, and to ask for a sweeping investigation into the affairs of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, that the component workers therein may all be assured that protection which may so easily be given with harm to none and justice to all, as our brotherhood was originally designed to do; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor, through our Central Labor Council, to, before concluding its investigation, send authorized representatives into the unions of out and inside electrical workers, there to confer with local union members and officers and with instructions to submit their findings to the proper American Federation of Labor authorities, that the latter may learn the true sentiment and needs of our general membership, and thus be enabled to know those things best to do that our interests as wage earners may be conserved.

Our Council desires the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to give the complainants every consideration as indicated in the above resolution.

(Signed) CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL  
OF PORTLAND AND VICINITY.

E. J. Stack, Secretary.

Secretary Golden: Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Smith, Portland, spoke at length in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Chairman O'Connell stated that the committee did not believe it was within the power or authority of the American Federation to delve into the affairs of an affiliated organization and for that reason recommended non-concurrence.

Delegate Brown, Timber Workers, moved as an amendment to the committee's report that the matter be referred to the Executive Council and that the Executive Council direct the organ-

izers of the American Federation of Labor on the Pacific Coast to use their good offices to smooth out the difference between the local unions of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers on the coast and their international organization. The motion was seconded but not carried.

Delegate Sweek, Electrical Workers, stated if the local in question had grievances against the international they could submit laws through the referendum of that organization to correct any evils they felt existed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I desire to move that the Secretary be instructed to incorporate in the proceedings of the afternoon of the ninth day the address of President Gompers referring to Resolution No. 79. Seconded.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): I wish to amend that the discussion in full be incorporated in the minutes. All those who discussed the resolution should have a full opportunity to have their remarks printed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was seconded and carried and the motion as amended was adopted.

Delegate White, United Mine Workers, in the chair.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Patrick Quinn, of the International Union of Pavers:

WHEREAS, A local union known as Asphalt Workers Local No. 84 of San Francisco has been granted a charter by the International Union of Pavers and Ramblers and Asphalt Workers; and

WHEREAS, The said local union has been refused a seat in the San Francisco Labor Council because of a protest by United Laborers' Union No. 12,992 of San Francisco; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the San Francisco Labor Council to dismiss said protest and to grant full affiliation to Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84, without delay.

Secretary Golden: Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Dale asked that a member of the United Laborers, not a delegate, be permitted to address the convention.

Vice-President O'Connell: There is

nothing in the resolution or the report that warrants anyone from the outside or anyone in the convention discussing this question. It is simply a question of the local union legally organized and affiliated with its international having a seat in the central body.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Clerks' International Union has in their membership a number of drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks delivering merchandise in the several cities in our country; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs has absolute jurisdiction over this class of work and over men employed in this particular industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Clerks' International Union to turn over to the International Teamsters and Chauffeurs all drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks now holding membership in the Clerks' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Clerks' International Union be ordered by this convention to cease admitting to membership in the future drivers of wagons or chauffeurs working on auto trucks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That failing to comply with this request that the central labor bodies and State branches throughout the country unseat the delegates from local unions of the Clerks' International Organization until such time as said Clerks' International Union complies with this request.

The committee recommend the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: I would like to ask the committee whether the adoption of this resolution would exclude all clerks' unions from representation in central bodies whether they have auto truck drivers in their unions or not?

Chairman O'Connell: No, it would not.

President Gompers: That is the impression I got. During the year after the convention's close the duty devolves upon the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor to enforce your declarations and if the President is unable to gather the right information he can not carry

out your instructions. I ask whether that direct statement or inference does not include all the clerks' unions whether they have auto truck drivers in them or not?

Chairman O'Connell: That is not the construction of the committee. There is a fundamental right that local unions in international bodies enjoy. That was discussed and gone over thoroughly in the case of the bakery drivers. They are in the same position exactly. A local union that has not in any way offended and is not in violation of the decision rendered by this convention will not be affected, but the local unions who retain in their membership those who come under the jurisdiction of another organization are direct offenders and the action would then apply.

President Gompers discussed the question further.

Delegate McCullough moved that the entire subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the former reference. Seconded.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, objected to referring the matter to the Executive Council. He stated that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters desired an expression from the convention. He stated further that he was satisfied with the ruling of Chairman O'Connell in the matter, that only unions of clerks that hold in their membership drivers and chauffeurs that come under the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs should be unseated.

Secretary Morrison moved as an amendment that the words, "having within their membership drivers or chauffeurs" be inserted in the last resolve between the words "Organization" and "until" in the sixth line.

Delegate Tobin stated the amendment was satisfactory to the Teamsters, and the committee accepted the amendment.

Delegate Conway, Retail Clerks, opposed the resolution and the recommendation of the committee. He stated that no notice had been given that such a resolution would be introduced, and that the retail clerks anticipated that a conference would be held and an endeavor made to adjust the matter without bringing it into the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Conditions existing in different cities



where trouble had arisen were discussed by Delegate Conway and Delegate Tobin.

The motion to adopt the report of the

committee, with the amendment offered by Secretary Morrison, was carried.

At 12:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:15 p. m. of the same day.

## ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:15 p. m. Saturday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—O'Hare, McKenna, Christman, Boyden, Gurney, Ford, Glass, Brennan, Letroade, Cail, Forrest, Kearney, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Spiegl, James (C. E.), Coffey, Case, Weber, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Sachs, Woodman, Keller, Porter, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson (E.), Hall, Severance, Lawson, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Kranefeld, Dean, Triska, Spear, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin.

### Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Golden continued the report of the committee, as follows:

**Resolution No. 84**—By Delegate J. M. Gaviak, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, A substitute material for slate and tile, known as asphalt slate shingle, is and has taken the place of slate and tile on roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have and continue to contend for the erection of this material to roofs of buildings, which work rightly belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and not to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed by this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to refrain from infringing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and cease from applying the asphalt slate shingles to buildings.

**Resolution No. 85**—By Delegate J. M. Gaviak, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are and have transgressed on the jurisdiction rights of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America in erecting or applying asbestos slate shingles to roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, At the Seattle convention of the Building Trades Department an agreement was formulated between the

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners or their executive officer, and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, which was later withdrawn by the Executive Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; and

WHEREAS, The International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America has entered into a satisfactory agreement over the work in question, "Asbestos Slate Shingles," with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners that was enforced by the said organization during its existence, and until the amalgamation of the two carpenters' organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement of the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance to enforce the intent of this resolution.

Your committee recommends that Resolutions No. 84 and No. 85 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to arrange for a conference between the parties in-interest within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the complaints.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahon expressed surprise at the nature of the report of the committee, and said in part: If the Carpenters have transgressed the laws of this organization, why do we not have a report from the committee dealing with the conditions as they actually exist? I would like to know just why the committee's report is to refer to the Executive Council when this is an absolute violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman O'Connell: The laws of the

Federation require if there is a dispute between two organizations over any subject the organizations shall hold conferences and attempt to adjust the difficulty before it becomes a matter for the consideration of the American Federation of Labor as a subject of decision. No attempt has been made by the two organizations to get together.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Golden: This concludes the report of the committee, all of which is respectfully and fraternally submitted.

JAMES O'CONNELL,  
Chairman;

JOHN H. TOBIN,  
J. C. SHANESSY,  
REZIN ORR,  
H. J. CONWAY,  
D. A. CAREY,  
E. LEWIS EVANS,  
JOHN T. SMITH,  
CHAS. ANDERSON,  
EDWARD FLORE,  
JOHN P. DUFFY,  
R. H. CURRAN,  
MAIER SCHWARZ,  
JAMES SMART,  
JOHN GOLDEN,

Secretary,

Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Golden moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole as amended. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): I desire to be recorded as voting "no" on the adoption of the report of this committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: In view of the wide scope of the discussion and the interest and education that will come because of the discussion in the matter of the Machinists and Carpenters at last night's session, I move that it be incorporated verbatim in the minutes. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Rickert, United Garment Workers, in the chair.

#### Report of Committee on Laws.

Chairman Lennon, of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate James Roberts of the Western Federation of Miners:

Amend Section 11, Article 9, Constitution, as follows:

On line 5, page 15, before the word "Work" insert the words "go to" and after the word "work" strike out the word "at" and insert the following words, "in the jurisdiction of".

The full paragraph will then read as follows, from line three:

And it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union, go to work in the jurisdiction of any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the Union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee on Laws reports non-concurrence in the proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Section 14, of Article XIII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor which directs that one-fourth ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) of the initiation fees collected be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, has proved impracticable and detrimental to Federal and Laborers' Unions of California chartered by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That said Section 14, of Article XIII is hereby repealed and that Sections 15, 16 and 17 of Article XIII be renumbered accordingly.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Federal Unions are paying at the present time fifteen cents per capita to the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In addition, they are compelled to pay equally as much in support of Local and State Central bodies, and the Labor Press, where they do their full duty, thus placing a heavy burden upon workers who habitually receive very small wages; and

WHEREAS, Support of the Labor Press is one of the most important duties of Labor Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates of the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the American Federation of Labor to remit five cents per month of the per capita tax of Federal Unions which support their Local Labor Press upon a per capita basis; provided, however, that such Labor Press is owned and controlled by Organized Labor.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Timothy Driscoll, of Gas and Water Workers, Local No. 9840:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article 13

of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to, would be detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as gas workers and laborers, which said organizations can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five (25c) cents imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its constitution the above mentioned section of Article 13 and also the twenty-five (25c) cents reinstatement tax.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Harry A. Milton, of the Elevator Conductors and Starters, Local 13,105:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article XII of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to would act detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as Elevator Conductors and Starters, which said organization can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five cents (25c) imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its Constitution the above mentioned section of Article XII and also the twenty-five cents (25c) reinstatement tax.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Ernest Carter, of United Laborers' Union No. 13,018:

Oakland, Cal., Nov. 5, 1915.

To the American Federation of Labor, Frank Morrison, Secretary, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

United Laborers' Union No. 13,018, struggling to maintain its membership and to better the conditions of the common laborer in Alameda County, finds that it is compelled to pay such exorbitant per capita taxes and other fees that it cannot maintain itself and continue its work as it should be done.

In the first place, our members are engaged (when they work) at common labor. They, of course, receive the smallest wage paid to men in any calling. The wages which we have been able to maintain and to assure our members of getting, are barely enough, if constantly employed, to keep them. They have no possible chance of luxurious living and it is only by the prac-

tice of rigid economy that they can get along at all.

Now, under the circumstances in which our union must at the present time fight to keep alive, we find that it is practically impossible to exist and to pay the various per capita taxes which we must meet. It is impossible to increase the dues of men whose best rate of pay is so small that they can barely get along at all and we have no other means of support.

This union feels that the payment of twenty-five (25c) cents for each reinstatement, and of sending to the American Federation of Labor one-fourth of our initiation fees for each member is altogether uncalled for.

We also believe that the making of a "complete monthly report" of our membership is an imposition on the officers of our union, neither of whom is paid sufficient to make it anything but a tax on him and neither of whom is accountant enough to make it easy for him.

This union feels that with a monthly audit of our accounts by the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, which is directly responsible to the American Federation of Labor, and whose assurance will be proof of our full payments of per capita tax, your honorable body would be sufficiently guaranteed of our condition.

This union therefore respectfully asks that these requirements be either waived or done away with in connection with its position in the American Federation of Labor.

We ask this, knowing as we do that we represent that large body of labor, which, due to its lack of particular skill or ownership of a trade or craft is the least organized. We know, as do all students of unionism, that the large mass of unorganized common laborers is a constant menace to the organized workers of the country. And we respectfully suggest that to that element (the unorganized common laborer), special attention should be given and special inducement be held out, that the danger which they embody might be removed from the work of upbuilding and the maintenance of unionism.

All this being true, your honorable body, in our humble opinion, should assist and encourage, rather than make it a hardship, for the building up and keeping together organizations of common laborers, such as ours.

We believe that the best and most reasonable way to do that is to permit such organizations as ours to live at the least possible expense.

Therefore United Laborers No. 13,018 respectfully asks that the American Federation of Labor take such action as will excuse them from the payment of: First, one-fourth, or twenty-five per cent., of all sums received from initiation fees; second, the payment of twenty-five cents to the American Federation of Labor for each reinstatement. This latter in consideration of the fact that all book-keeping, etc., in connection with each reinstatement must be taken care of by our union, is preposterous.

We also ask to be absolved from the requirement to make detailed reports monthly of our entire membership. This matter is fully covered by the audit of the Central Labor Council.

Placing these matters before your honorable body, this union respectfully asks that you give to the matters contained herein your careful and considerate attention.

Most respectfully submitted.

UNITED LABORERS' UNION NO.  
1301<sup>c</sup>

The foregoing five resolutions deal with the relations of local trade and federal labor unions with the American Federation of Labor and were considered jointly by the Committee on Laws. Your committee reports the following as a substitute for all proposals offered in the five resolutions: that present Section 14 of Article XIII be amended to read:

"Section 14, Article XIII. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 or more than \$10.00 and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the names of members paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation."

President Gompers stated that he was in accord with the recommendation that a higher initiation fee than \$10 shall be prohibited, but was not in accord with the recommendation to make the minimum \$2.00. He recommended that \$1.00 be the minimum fee.

Delegate D'Alessandro offered as an amendment to the report of the committee that the Executive Council instruct local unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor to apply for charters in the national or international unions that claim jurisdiction over the work they are doing.

Delegate Mahon opposed the recommendation of the committee that the minimum fee be changed from \$1.00 to \$2.00 and agreed with the recommendation that the maximum be fixed at \$10.

The question was discussed by Delegate Cotterill, who urged that we continue sending the Federationist to all who now get it through direct affiliation, and if possible to all delegates to central bodies as a matter of education.

Delegate Riley, Stenographers, moved that the minimum initiation fee be fixed at \$1.00. Seconded by Delegate Mahon.

The question was discussed by Delegate

Ernst, Delegate Johnson, Delegate McAndrews, Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Driscoll, Secretary Morrison, Delegate Bohm and Delegate D'Alessandro.

The committee accepted the amendment to fix the minimum initiation fee at \$1.00 instead of \$2.00.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.): I rise to move as an amendment that the report read: "except where such locals control 70 per cent. of the workers in the federal local, when the initiation fee shall be determined by that Federal Labor Union itself."

Delegate McAndrews: I move as a substitute that a section in the law pertaining to the initiation fee be stricken out. (Seconded but not carried.)

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Treasurer Lennon: In connection with Resolutions 37, 47, 51, 64 and 66, jointly considered by the committee, we recommend that the Secretary of the Federation, together with the Executive Council, give careful consideration to the adoption and use of some plan of making monthly reports by Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions more simple if possible than the one now in use, and consequently less burdensome to the officers of such Local Unions.

The report and recommendation of the committee were adopted.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, There are a number of local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are not affiliated with State Branches or Central Bodies; and

WHEREAS, We believe that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with their respective State Federations and Central Bodies; and

WHEREAS, Article XI, Section 17, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, sets forth, "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist, similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction"; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been presented to the American Federation

of Labor Conventions year after year anent this matter without bringing the desired results; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That Article XI, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby amended by striking out the entire section and inserting in lieu thereof the following, to be known as Section 11 of Article XI:

"It shall be mandatory upon all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make it mandatory upon their local unions to join the chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. It shall be mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with all trade and central labor unions in their respective districts."

Your committee is in entire accord with the end that these amendments seek to attain, but we feel that the recent accomplishments in the direction of securing the affiliation of every local union with central labor bodies and State federations, warrants us in recommending the continuance of the policy of urging national and international officers to continue and accentuate their efforts to influence their respective local unions to so affiliate, rather than attempt by law to force the matter. All local trade and federal labor unions are now compelled by Executive Council to affiliate with all central bodies. Much has been accomplished by these persuasive methods, and your committee urge the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of all affiliated unions, to be, if possible, still more diligent in their efforts to bring about proper affiliation of every local union in the United States and Canada. Your committee, therefore, non-concurs in proposed amendments as found in Resolution No. 38.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

In discussing the question Delegate Ernst stated that he would like to see some more drastic action taken than recommended by the committee.

Delegate Ryan, Plate Printers, urged that a plan be adopted to compel organizations to affiliate with central bodies.

Delegate McCarthy (T. H.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 44**—By Delegate S. B. Marks, of the Georgia Federation of Labor:

Amend Sec. 1, Art. 3, page 4 by striking out all of the section after the word "November" in the third line, and inserting the following: "at Washington, D. C." When amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November at Washington, D. C."

Your committee reports non-concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Marks, Georgia Federation, spoke in favor of the adoption of the amendments contained in the resolution.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Mahon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 49**—By Delegate J. H. Walker, of the United Mine Workers:

**RESOLVED**, That Section 11 of the constitution be amended to permit the affiliation with State Federations, Central Bodies, and Building Trades Councils, of bona fide trade-union organizations of workmen and women, who, though their international unions may not be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor is desirous of being affiliated, and where the membership involved have declared their desire to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, and where such affiliation is mutually satisfactory and advantageous.

Your committee reports non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 96**—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The Illinois State Federation of Labor at its thirty-third annual convention, adopted resolutions instructing its delegate to this convention to prepare and urge the adoption of suitable resolutions providing that the American Federation of Labor employ the principle embodied in the initiative, referendum and recall, in transacting the business and affairs of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this convention that we endorse and ratify the initiative, referendum and recall and the officers are hereby instructed that wherever it is practical in transacting the business

of this Federation, that these measures be employed.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Alton, Ill., October 18th to 23d, 1915, instructed its delegates to this convention to ask this convention to submit to the membership of the affiliated organizations the question of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum system of voting; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to submit to the membership of the affiliated organizations, through the proper channels, the question: "Shall the officers of the American Federation of Labor be elected by a referendum vote of the membership"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers in submitting this question use every reasonable means within their power to secure a "yes" or "no" vote from the individual members of the affiliated organizations upon this question.

Your committee considered Resolutions Nos. 96 and 97 together, as both involved the use of the principles of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in the transaction of legislation and the election of officers by this system. Your committee finds that the Rochester convention of the Federation carefully considered this entire subject and adopted a report by the Committee on Resolutions, which is herewith submitted as the report of this committee, as follows:

"Your committee, while in full accord with the declarations of the American Federation of Labor on the application of the Initiative and referendum to the election of public officials and the enactment of general legislation, does not believe that it would be advisable to apply this method to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. In the political fields and on questions of legislation there is public and common information as fully available to one citizen as to any other through the public forum and the press.

"Your committee is aware that there are organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which elect their officers by the Initiative and referendum; also that some affiliated organizations which at one time applied the Initiative and referendum to the election of their officers, have returned to the convention system because of their experiences under the former method, and that many affiliated organizations have not considered it advisable to adopt the Initiative and referendum for that purpose. On that phase of the question members of unions electing officers

through the Initiative and referendum have opportunities through trade information of knowing something concerning the availability and qualification of candidates for office. On the subject of applying the Initiative and referendum to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, your committee is as fully aware that neither of the preceding opportunities of essential information are apparent. The members of one union have little opportunity of receiving trade or other knowledge concerning the availability or personnel of members and nominees of other unions, for officers of the American Federation of Labor. Apart from the enormous cost of such a method of election, the possibility of irregularities in connection therewith; the evident multiplicity of nominations which would follow, and the impossibility of guaranteeing an election by a number approaching a majority vote, there is the evident fact that there are neither adequate methods of conducting such elections nor are there available opportunities for the dissemination of proper and essential information to properly conduct such an election.

"Your committee has examined the report of the Executive Council upon the subject under consideration and find that in reply to the circular letter sent to all affiliated organizations on this matter as a result of the action of the Atlanta Convention on the subject, the officers of 52 affiliated organizations representing 890,240 members recorded themselves as opposed to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the Initiative and referendum, while the officers of but 23 affiliated organizations representing 508,116 members expressed themselves in favor of this system.

"For the reasons submitted and in view of the present method wherein representative conventions' officers are elected with due regard to their ability, fitness for the office for which they are selected, with fair and just consideration for the rights of affiliated organizations, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation: It seems to me the committee has failed to understand the purpose of the resolution. The report which the chairman of the committee read does not deal with any part of the resolutions or the intent of the resolutions as presented by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. We have two separate resolutions, one dealing with the question of trying to transact business of the American Federation of Labor by the Initiative and referendum, and everything that the chairman of the committee has read to you deals with the question of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the Initiative and ref-



erendum. The men and women of Illinois feel that if questions are taken up that are part of the business of the American Federation of Labor and submitted to the rank and file, it would be a helpful proposition; it would be a matter of education, and it might develop more confidence on the part of the rank and file in the American Federation of Labor than it has in it at the present time. Five hundred thousand men and women of the State of Illinois, through their representatives in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, have stated that they believe it is a practical proposition, and in order to test out the efficiency of the initiative and referendum, think the question should be taken up, put on the program and let the rank and file vote it up or down. That is not an unreasonable proposition on the part of such a large element of the labor movement of this country. We ask you to give this a trial, and your committee deals with another question presented to this convention. So much for that resolution. The other resolution deals with an entirely different proposition. The proposition it deals with is that the question of the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor be sent back to the rank and file. Now we know how the international officers are going to feel on this subject, but we do not feel that we have to bow to the will or the power of the international unions in performing that particular function for the American Federation of Labor. The men and women of Illinois do not think that must be done. And in order to find out how the men and women feel on this question, they submit a proposition. The proposition is this: "Shall the officers of the American Federation of Labor be elected by a referendum vote of the membership?" That is the important proposition involved, a yes or no vote from the rank and file, and then we ask that the Executive Council use particular caution in preventing international organizations from voting their organizations in their entirety. We ask that the Executive Council go to any extent necessary in order to present this question to the rank and file and give them an opportunity to decide whether this course shall be pursued or not. The men and women I represent think the officers of the American Federation of Labor ought to be

more in touch with the rank and file of the labor movement, and when they present the proposition in the way it is presented here it is not unreasonable; the only unreasonable situation that has developed is that the committee has lost sight of the intent of the resolution and has juggled the situation so completely that we do not understand what we are going to vote upon.

Delegate Bourne: Representing the Oregon State Federation of Labor, the home of the initiative and referendum, I would not be a true representative of the State if I did not say a word upon this question. The initiative and referendum has done a great deal for the working people of Oregon. That law has done more for the workers than any law we have in the western country. We do mighty things with the referendum, and I want to say to those members of the international unions here that I was elected by a referendum vote to come to this convention; the rank and file elected me to represent them, and that is a whole lot more than you fellows can say. I have no objection to the present officers, they have been selected by the convention in days gone by, they have been tried and have measured up very well. We are satisfied with the result, but here is a demand by the rank and file for true democracy, a demand that the rank and file shall have something to say about our representatives. President McNulty of the Electrical Workers got on the floor this morning and said his organization would have to submit the question under consideration to a referendum vote. The Electrical Workers' organization, bad as some of you think it is, has the referendum.

Delegate Barnes, Cigarmakers: The report of the committee is exactly what I have been expecting from it. The proposition is a simple one. They ask: "Let us consult the rank and file, see what their wishes are and what their opinion and their judgment are." It provides no machinery; it does not take into consideration the great difficulties that may be found in operation; but asks in simple language to let the rank and file of our different divisions have a voice and an opportunity of recording their judgment for or against the referendum principle both in regard to the enactment of laws and electing officers.

The committee points out to you that this Federation has had a wonderful experience by consulting the members, and there are those high in power who do not expect to ever let that opportunity be granted. Twenty-two years ago in the Chicago convention it was agreed by the delegates there present that the membership should be consulted on a certain proposition. The Cigarmakers' Union, by a membership vote of ten to one, endorsed what was known as the public ownership of all means of production and distribution. Nearly all the affiliated organizations brought in a similar result, not by quite such a large majority, but a majority of the delegation had behind them the endorsement of their members. Once we heard the voice of the membership in this convention hall, and that was fatal. Those who can prevent it will never endure it again. Since the time of which I speak there has been proposed not less than twenty-two resolutions looking to the same purpose, saying: "Let us give ear to the membership on this, that, or the other proposition." And every time it has gone down in defeat and you may expect, as long as this convention is constituted as it is, such things will be voted down. If the membership wants this they will overcome any obstacles that may be found in erecting a machine to carry it out. Once their will is recorded, a means will be found in our organization to provide machinery. There is no barrier we can not surmount. I charge you men to let the opinions of the members be recorded—the men down the line, not ourselves. We have a right to refer these things to the members and the members have a right to expect that you will ask their judgment in vital questions of this kind. That report which the committee reprints—it is to laugh! Have you read carefully the report of the Rochester convention? The Atlanta convention provided by resolution, introduced by Joseph Proebstle, that we ascertain from the affiliated unions—the officers of the unions, not the rank and file—whether they were favorable to electing the officers of the American Federation by referendum. If you read that report you will find at least six unions that are using the referendum for the election of their officers whose officers voted against the referendum;

said they thought it was impracticable, or clumsy, or something else. But notwithstanding the misrepresentation of a number of officers, there was still recorded a membership of over five hundred thousand favorable to it, one-fourth of our membership at least. Fully a quarter of our membership said the initiative and referendum should be adopted in the election of our officers. Vote this down if you will, but my advice is to listen to the voice of the people. The report of the committee is against that proposition. If you want democratic government you should commit yourself to the proposition in these resolutions and vote down the report of the committee.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

Delegate D'Alessandro: Do you believe that all of the business that has been transacted in this convention, all these questions of jurisdiction and law, could be sent to a referendum? Do you think the membership would be able to consider all these questions fairly or not?

Delegate Barnes: I believe the membership should have an opportunity to say how much they want to do. If they decide to do that they will find a means to do it. The Illinois Federation, by the way, is conducting its business in that manner. I believe the membership should be given an opportunity to say how much they want to do anything. They will find a way to do it if they have the opportunity.

President Gompers: The last remark made by Delegate Barnes is quite significant—if the members want to do a thing they will find a way to do it! May I say at the outset that at the convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union in 1877 I proposed a series of resolutions for the election of the officers of that international union by the initiative and referendum, and in every convention thereafter, whenever the opportunity presented, I persisted in that course. At the Indianapolis convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union I proposed that a special committee be appointed for the purpose of drafting ways and means by which the officers of that organization might be nominated and elected by initiative and referendum.

**Delegate Barnes:** Make it the Milwaukee convention and you will be right.

**Delegate Perkins:** It was in Indianapolis in 1891.

**President Gompers:** The convention adopted the motion and the committee was selected, of which I was made chairman. The committee sat, with the exception of an hour or two, in continuous session to frame that law. It was introduced, contested, discussed, debated, and finally adopted, and from that day to this, with very little exception, that law has remained practically unchanged. I think I can be fairly classed with those who will go as far as possible in order to conduct the affairs of the labor movement upon the principle of democracy by the membership of the organizations. I have seen the system introduced into other organizations. The cigarmakers have had a number of nominations and elections under that system. And, let me say, that some few years after its introduction the committee on laws of that organization met a week in advance of the convention and recommended, because of certain conditions which arose, to abolish the initiative and referendum and to go back to the election of the officers of the international union in convention. I led, or at least aided in defeating that recommendation and maintaining the initiative and referendum. Now, speaking upon the question of the business of the American Federation of Labor. Here we have been in session for nearly two weeks. We are crowded with work, we have to meet by committees and meet at evening sessions, and in many instances we finally refer subjects for further consideration and action to the Executive Council and to special committees for consideration during the time between conventions. I wonder how much of understanding of all the elements involved in the one hundred and sixty-one resolutions introduced in this convention, and the nearly one hundred different subjects referred to this convention and reported by the Executive Council, could be discussed and understood and voted upon intelligently and comprehensively by the membership during the year? How much attention could the membership

of the unions give the questions affecting their immediate interests? The proposition—I was going to stigmatize it as absurd, but I will not—is ill-considered. Reverting back to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum. Under instructions of the Atlanta convention the Executive Council took up the matter and directed me to make the fullest investigation possible. I asked all national and international unions, affiliated and unaffiliated, I asked the national unions of Europe, I asked the federations of labor of the various countries, and the answers came back from the foreign countries that they would not give a moment's consideration to a proposition of such a character. There is not in all the world a federation of labor which conducts its affairs or elects its officers by the initiative and referendum. I want to speak of a few experiences which have occurred in international unions of America that conduct their nominations and elections by the initiative and referendum. I shall not speak of an organization whose affairs are not public property, but refer to the organization of which I am a member. But it has been asserted that in one of the international unions in America, through the machinations of an executive officer, and some of those who worked in league with him, nearly fifty thousand votes were perverted and the change of the election made by the initiative and the referendum system. That matter has not been made public property and hence I will not name the organization. There was an election by the initiative and referendum in the International Association of Granite Cutters within the past six months—that is public property—and the organized campaign of villification and misrepresentation is perhaps unparalleled in any of the political parties of our country. Delegate Barnes said, "It is to laugh!" referring to the recommendation of the committee. No, it is not to laugh; it is to weep at some of the actions taken by some men under pretense of agitating the initiative and referendum. During the time of the nomination and election of the officers of the Cigarmakers' International Union five years ago, circulars were sent out to the membership through which concentrated

action by a group of the membership was organized and conducted. Right now the members of the Cigarmakers' International Union are engaged in the initiative and referendum for nominations, and in a few months the elections are to occur. The convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union of Baltimore declared emphatically upon the question of the development of the trade union movement as it was adopted by the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor. That declaration for the development of trade unionism as against the misnomer of so-called industrial unionism was not only adopted by the convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union but went to the membership and was ratified by a vast majority. And yet in this convention one of the delegates of that organization voted in direct opposition to the instructions of the referendum vote. Reverting back to the fact that there is now a campaign on for the election of the officers of the Cigarmakers' International Union. Do you know that at the Baltimore convention a number of the delegates met, so I am informed over the name of Mr. J. Mahlon Barnes, and they no longer called themselves an "organization" but they instituted what they euphoniously called a "Correspondence Club."

Delegate Barnes: I will ask the chair is the speaker talking on the question? Is this interesting to the delegates?

President Gompers: I assure the delegate it will be interesting to him.

Chairman Green: If any delegate wants to ask a question he may do so after President Gompers has concluded his address.

President Gompers: That Correspondence Club is nothing more or less than an organization formed within the Cigar Makers' International Union to control the affairs of the International Union, and to control the affairs in a way that I shall try to show you in a few minutes. Somehow or other this Correspondence Club, according to the authority of Mr. Barnes, has grown; it has all the appearance of an organized entity. I haven't with me all the circulars Mr. Barnes has issued, but I happen to have the last one—at least if it is not the last one it is one under date of October 27th. I do not want to burden you

with all this circular contains, but I want to read you a few whole sentences. He says: "The Correspondence Club, composed only of members in good standing and with first fealty to the International Union, has grown wonderfully since its foundation and we want to enroll members in every union." Again he says: "Later the Executive Board of the Correspondence Club will have published some facts and comparisons, taken from the Journal, relating to the development of the industry, its changing phases, and opportunities for the advancement of the union." "If you know any member of the Cigarmakers' Union anywhere in the nation who would be interested in the Correspondence Club, send me his name and address. Also write him or send him one of these circulars with your name and address written on it. You will realize that some money is necessary." And then subscriptions are asked. Now I have heard that in some other unions there has been some sort of secret organization to influence its affairs, but in all my experience in the labor movement I have never yet seen where a body of men have had the effrontery within a trade union to make the propositions that have been made by this organization called "The Correspondence Club." May I say that in some of the circulars, superficially, asking certain men as to their preference for nominations for every office in the international union, and later a supposed referendum vote came to Mr. Barnes, and the names of those whom he desired to have nominated for the officers of the international union were those he sent out again in another circular. And in the effort of this so-called "Cigarmaker's Correspondence Club," is the element that makes for disintegration. Let me say this: That the conduct of some of those who have been the most ardent in the advocacy of the initiative and referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor has been—not all, I acquit any one who is innocent—but they have been guilty of such conduct that it makes me stand up and inquire whether, after all, the whole system of the initiative and referendum in our international unions is not being brought into disrepute. Some of the international unions have already gone back from the system of the initiative

and referendum in the election of their officers to the system of electing their officers man-fashion, face to face, in order that man may be put to the test. In the presentation to the Federation of that pictorial history of the Seamen's legislation, Delegate Furuseth quoted these words from it: "To-morrow is also a day." A work of the character of the "Correspondence Club" cannot last long without finding its retribution. If there is to be an initiative and referendum in the affairs of our organizations we must ourselves be free from contamination, we must ourselves permit of the free and untrammelled expression of opinion by the members of an organization and not by a clique formed within the organization to control the business, the legislation and the election of the officers who are to conduct the affairs of the organization. And at least until that is accomplished, at least until the organizations themselves have adopted the initiative and referendum to govern their own organizations, it is not difficult to discern how impossible it is to conduct the affairs or elect the officers of the American Federation of Labor by any other system than the present one, where we have white-heat debates by men in the conventions, when the light of the world is upon us to test us as to what we are doing in the open. We have much to do, and too little time to do it, and I realize that I ought not to take as much time as I have, but these questions are injected into our conventions from one source and another, from some I believe ill-considered, even though sincere, from other sources to provoke discussion and dissention. What safety would there be for the American Federation of Labor if we were to conduct our affairs and elect our officers by the initiative and referendum when in the international unions things go on such as I have stated? What would be the control of the American Federation of Labor in the affairs of the international and local unions? What safety, what protection for honor and honesty? We have had the statement that men want to perpetuate themselves in office, want to control, and all that sort of thing. I have worked five years for the Federation before it was able to pay one cent either in salary or compensation for time lost and effort given, and I worked for

several years at a salary of one thousand dollars a year. I imagine, with all the munificent salary now paid me, that if I were to devote whatever small ability and persistency I have to some other vocation in life, I could earn that money, and without the necessity of giving all there is in me. My purpose is to serve. And saying this within a few hours of when you are to determine who the officers of the American Federation of Labor are to be, you make it manifest, in some way that I can understand, and I shall be very glad to yield to your judgment. I have no money, I do not expect ever to have any, but I feel confident that I can manage to live—and that is all a man is entitled to after all—even though I shall not be the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Barnes: I ask a question of personal privilege.

Chairman Green: The chair has recognized another delegate. You may have the floor later.

Delegate Mueller: I had no intention of taking part in the question before the house, but since reference has been made, without mentioning any names, and as I usually am not ashamed of my actions, I feel it would be cowardly on my part if I did not say something on the subject of my vote here the other day. A resolution was before the house providing that the rank and file be given an opportunity to say whether they favored the industrial form of organization. The committee's report was absolutely at variance with giving such an opportunity. My vote upon the committee's report at Rochester upon that question is recorded, and by instructions from the membership of the international organization I have the honor to represent; and I felt the other day, without any consultation with my fellow delegates, that I voted right when I voted as I did. In my judgment I was not violating any act of the international organization I represent by voting for a proposition to give the membership this opportunity. I have voted on numerous occasions absolutely in conformity with my instructions as adopted by the membership, and I hope to do so again. I may err in judgment, just as well as any other delegate on this floor, but in doing so it is not the intent to violate

any instructions or mandates of the international union as adopted by its membership. I want to make that clear. No reference was made to my being a member of the Correspondence Club or that I had any time attended any meeting. I am not responsible for work of that kind, but when I vote I vote as my judgment dictates, and with no idea of violating the instructions.

Delegate Barnes: I rise to a question of personal privilege because the President took a great deal of liberty in using my name. He read some of the circulars. I am secretary of the Cigarmakers' Correspondence Club. It is a voluntary organization. Nobody gets any money from it; all that is paid in by voluntary contributions is expended for postage, printing and stationery. It is a most innocent and worthy institution, with the most proper motives. I think it is an imposition on the convention and delegates for people to stand here and talk for half an hour. Brother Gompers spoke for twenty-nine minutes, and it was a waste of time, abusing me—and he did not abuse me very much after all. The Correspondence Club of which he spoke does not have a political program and none of its members introduced anything of a political nature at the convention. Witness the report of the Committee on Resolutions of that convention, page 86 of the proceedings. The President of the American Federation of Labor was chairman of that committee, and the Resolutions Committee reported: "The convention has not been asked to endorse a political party and there are no resolutions before it for endorsement of any political party." This is a sufficient answer to the contrary rumors spread for a purpose. The members of the club stood at the convention, and I now stand, for an effective, vigorous, cigarmakers' union. President Gompers read some parts of the circular. I will read further: "There is no room for two organizations in any trade, therefore we must have faith in the one we have and make it a live one. An awakened membership can and will satisfactorily solve any question by which we are or may

be confronted." Later I say: "It is a get-together club to keep us in touch with matters of common interest, favoring measures and men for modern organization methods, fitting laws and the complete control of the trade by the workers." That is the sense of the whole thing.

President Gompers: Will Delegate Barnes permit a question?

Delegate Barnes: Certainly.

President Gompers: Is what I read contained in that circular?

Delegate Barnes: Oh, yes, you read what you wished and I am reading what I wish. I submit that Brother Gompers did not say one word to show that members have not a right, as the resolution provides, to decide what they want to do themselves. I was not the issue in this discussion, nor was the Correspondence Club, which is doing a good work in the Cigarmakers' Union, the issue; it was a question of when you as delegates will listen to the voice of the members.

The previous question was called for. A sufficient number supported the request and debate was closed.

Delegate Germer asked for a roll-call on the question.

The report of the committee was adopted by a viva voce vote.

President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison: I move that when we adjourn, we adjourn to 7:30 this evening. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Germer: I would like to ask whether the rules adopted to govern this convention are going to be adhered to?

President Gompers: The chair answers in the affirmative.

Delegate Germer: I think a sufficient number of delegates asked for the roll-call and their demands were not given any attention.

President Gompers: In the opinion of the temporary presiding officer a sufficient number did not ask for it.

Delegate Donlin moved that the convention adjourn.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 5:35 the convention was adjourned to 7:30 p. m. the same day.



## ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 7:30 p. m. Saturday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees:** Christman, Letroadec, Call, Curran, Baker, Clark (J. F.), Ramsay, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Spiegl, Hansen, James (C. E.), Coffey, Hayward, Kempton, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Sachs, Woodman, McGinley (C.), Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Hall, Leber, Reagan, Severance, Lawson, Camomile, Castro, Kraneffeld, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Spear, Dowler, Voll, White, (J. J.), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Johnson (S. P.), Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Matheson, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.).

### Report of Committee on Laws.

Treasurer Lennon, chairman of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate J. Mahlon Barnes, Cigarmakers' International Union:

Strike out section 3 of article III of the constitution and substitute the following: The following committees consisting of 15 members each shall be appointed by the president: Rules and Order of Business, Organization, Labels, Local and Federated Bodies, Education, State Organizations, Boycotts and Building Trades.

Committees consisting of 15 members each, on Report of Executive Council, Resolutions, Laws and Adjustments, shall be elected in the following manner: Nominations for members of all these committees shall be made at one time. The election to determine the personnel of the respective committees. The nominees in the order of the highest number of votes received shall fill the committees in the order in which the committees are herein named; provided, that no member of the Executive Council shall be eligible to membership in committees named in this section.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate G. B. Harrison, of Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union, No. 14605:

WHEREAS, The sick and death benefits administered through our local, trade and federal labor unions are a great factor in getting and retaining members; and

WHEREAS, Members, when changing their vocations, often fail to transfer to the organization having jurisdiction over their work, because of the fact that the benefits to which they were entitled have increased materially in value by reason of their long membership; and

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that this condition be corrected, in order that unionists, driven by unscrupulous employers and other forces from one trade or craft to another, should not be made to suffer unnecessarily; and

WHEREAS, It appears practicable to evolve a plan whereby the American Federation of Labor could administer such benefits (with the possible exception of strike benefits), and thus make the amounts of benefits due dependent upon the number of consecutive years an individual has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor rather than to any particular craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Board to investigate thoroughly the feasibility and possibility of such a scheme, and submit a detailed report, together with a practical plan, if possible, to the next annual convention.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 159 be referred to the Executive Council to investigate the subject matter and report to the next convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Hayes in the chair.

Chairman Lennon: By instructions of the convention, by report of the Committee on Office Building for the American Federation of Labor, your Committee on Laws, in accordance with such instructions, recommends that Section 1 of Article X be amended to read:

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of three-fourths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): I desire to say for the organization I represent that we are absolutely in favor of the increased tax. The work of the Federation is increasing and the amount of business to be done is increasing. I would like to ask the secretary how much added revenue this will amount to.

Secretary Morrison: In twelve months it would bring in twenty thousand dollars. It is an increase of one cent per member per year. To adopt this will require a two-thirds vote.

The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 115 in the affirmative to 6 in the negative.

Delegate Germer desired to be recorded as voting against the increase in the per capita tax.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A large number of local unions of affiliated national and international organizations have their several organizations of women workers, ladies' auxiliaries, which have the encouragement, support and co-operation of local, national or international bodies; and

WHEREAS, Such auxiliaries are of mutual help and encouragement and cause a closer and better affiliation of the craftsmen through better attendance at meetings, and a more thorough study of the principles of unionism; and

WHEREAS, Through such organization, affiliation, encouragement, co-operation and study of the mission and principles of unionism, the demand for the union label and union-made products increases, to material benefit of all and gives our movement greater power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the progress of the ladies' auxiliaries of our trade and labor unions thus far and urge the furtherance of their good work through such auxiliaries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our laws be amended to allow representation from such national or international ladies' Auxiliaries of a bona-fide national or international trade or labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor on the same basis as delegates from state and central bodies.

Your Committee on Laws concurs in the whereases and the first resolve, and non-concurs in the second resolve. With this change the committee recommends its adoption. As amended the resolution reads:

WHEREAS, A large number of local unions of affiliated national and international organizations have their several organizations of women workers, ladies' auxiliaries, which have the encouragement, support and co-operation of local, national or international bodies; and

WHEREAS, Such auxiliaries are of mutual help and encouragement and cause a closer and better affiliation of the craftsmen through better attendance at meetings, and a more thorough study of the principles of unionism; and

WHEREAS, Through such organization, affiliation, encouragement, co-operation and study of the mission and principles of unionism, the demand for the union label and union-made products increases, to material benefit of all and gives our movement greater power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the progress of the ladies' auxiliaries of our trade and labor unions thus far and urge the furtherance of their good work through such auxiliaries.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Lennon: Your committee recommends that Section 5 of Article III be amended to read:

Section 5 of Article III. Resolutions of any character or proposition for changes in this constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

Chairman Lennon spoke in favor of the adoption of the recommendation, and called attention to the amount of work still to be done by the convention, owing in large part to the fact that resolutions and propositions were introduced up to midnight of the fourth day of the first week.

Delegate Morrison moved to strike out Tuesday and insert Wednesday.

Delegate Furuseth favored the report of the committee and opposed the amendment, stating that he would prefer to have the section amended to read that no resolutions would be received after Monday night of the first week.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

President Gompers in the chair.

The chairman stated that Mr. Suzuki, Fraternal Delegate from Japan, desired to address the convention briefly.

Fraternal Delegate Suzuki, earlier in

the session, had distributed to the delegates pictures of a sculptured group, part of the Japanese exhibit at the Exposition.

Fraternal Delegate Suzuki: The print I have distributed among you is a small token of our gratitude for your kindness and cooperation. It is a picture of a group entitled "The Strike," by a Japanese artist, exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts in the Exposition. It speaks eloquently of the story of the bitter struggles of the millions of Japanese workers for industrial freedom. This will remind you how we in Japan are fighting great battles against our common enemies. We have come for cooperation and support from you, our big brothers. When we shall have returned to our country you will please remember that we shall be still fighting for our common cause and give us your unstinted sympathy and assistance. This is an earnest appeal to you from the toiling millions in my country across the Pacific.

Mr. Suzuki then presented to President Gompers, for the Federation, a large picture of "The Strike."

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I move you, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, that we accept this token from Mr. Suzuki with the thanks of the convention and that it be appropriately framed and placed in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, thanked Mr. Suzuki for the picture.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners: I move you that the Executive Council be instructed by this convention to have conveyed to the Friendly Society of Workmen of Japan, through their able representatives sent here, a letter of appreciation and fraternity from the American working men and women to the Japanese working men and women.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Germer and carried unanimously.

Vice-President Duncan: Lest there be

some misunderstanding about the last resolution acted upon, I would like to inquire whether resolutions are to be presented to the end of the second day or the third day.

Treasurer Lennon: The second day.

Resolution No. 125—By T. F. Neary, delegate of Chicago Federation of Labor:

Add new paragraph to section 8 of article II, to read:

"In the event of a local having trouble with its International Union, central bodies will not be required to seat delegates from new unions chartered by such International Union to take the place of the union in trouble. If such unions are made up of strike-breakers and scabs and locals having such trouble shall have to have a full, fair and impartial hearing in the presence of a representative of the American Federation of Labor and the central body involved before any mandatory order of expulsion shall be issued by the American Federation of Labor."

The committee reports non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: I would like to know why the committee non-concurs in a resolution that requires local unions chartered by national and international unions to not seat locals of strike-breakers.

Chairman Lennon: The reason the committee makes the report is that it takes the power to discipline away from the national or international union, so far as the local union is concerned, and places it in the hands of a trial board or committee consisting of the central bodies and representatives of the Federation, and no representative of the national body. The report would have been adverse even if that had been added.

Delegate Smith: The committee's report could not be construed in any way to mean that the committee places the seal of approval on organizing strike-breakers into local unions?

Chairman Lennon: Certainly not.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Lennon: This completes the report of the Committee on Laws, which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN B. LENNON,  
Chairman.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
JOHN MOORE,  
J. W. KLINE,  
HUGH FRAYNE,  
P. H. MCCARTHY,  
H. J. WESSEL,  
THOS. F. FLAHERTY,  
E. W. D. O'DELL,  
F. J. KIERNAN,  
CHAS. P. FORD,  
TIMOTHY HEALY,  
ROBERT BAXTER,  
FORD A. ALLEN.

Secretary.  
Committee on Laws.

Chairman Lennon: I move that the constitution as amended be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried with 4 dissenting votes, the remainder of the convention voting in the affirmative.

#### Election of Officers.

Delegate Mitchell, Mine Workers, in the chair.

Chairman Mitchell: By direction of the convention 8 o'clock to-night was fixed as the hour at which election of officers would take place. Nominations for president are now in order.

Delegate McNulty was recognized by the chair and placed in nomination for president for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' International Union.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Miller, Musicians, Delegate Casey, Teamsters, and Delegate Lipman.

Delegate Post, Carpenters, moved that the nominations be closed.

Chairman Mitchell: A motion to close nominations is not in order.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.) moved that the secretary cast the ballot of the convention for the election of Samuel Gompers as president for the ensuing year. The motion was seconded by Delegate Ogletree, and carried, 3 delegates voting in the negative. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected for the ensuing year.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Germer, Mine Workers, desired to be recorded as voting against the election of President Gompers.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination for first vice-president by Delegate Frey (J. P.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for first vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James Duncan was declared unanimously elected to serve as first vice-president for the ensuing year.

James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination for second vice-president by Delegate Johnston, of the same organization. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James O'Connell for second vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James O'Connell was declared unanimously elected to serve as second vice-president for the ensuing year.

Denis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, was placed in nomination for third vice-president by Delegate McCarthy (P. H.). There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for D. A. Hayes for third vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and D. A. Hayes was declared unanimously elected third vice-president for the ensuing year.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for fourth vice-president by Delegate Wilson (Jas.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Joseph F. Valentine was de-

clared unanimously elected to serve as fourth vice-president for the ensuing term.

John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers of North America, was placed in nomination for fifth vice-president by Delegate Tobin (D. J.). There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John R. Alpine was declared unanimously elected fifth vice-president for the ensuing term.

H. B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for sixth vice-president by Delegate Alexander (H. G.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for H. B. Perham for sixth vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and H. B. Perham was declared unanimously elected to serve as sixth vice-president for the ensuing term.

Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was placed in nomination for seventh vice-president by Delegate Hutcheson. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy as seventh vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Frank Duffy was declared unanimously elected to serve as seventh vice-president for the ensuing term.

Vice-President Duffy: This is the first time I have been on my feet in this convention. Last night the Carpenters got paddled right and left, and perhaps they deserved it. To-night we are handed a bouquet. Last night we had a good many of the delegates guessing; to-night you have me guessing. In a newspaper to-day I saw in big headlines that the Federation's existence was threatened. By whom? By the Carpenters? No. We were with you in the formation of this organization and, if

you let us be with you, we will be with you to the crack of doom. The Carpenters haven't concocted any scheme to leave the Federation, and if we ever should concoct any scheme we will be men enough to get on the floor and tell you right straight to your face. I wish to place the position of the Carpenters clear and distinct at this time before this convention.

William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomination for eighth vice-president by Delegate Hayes of the same organization. No further names being presented, upon motion of Delegate Mitchell, Mine Workers, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for eighth vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and William Green was declared duly elected to serve as eighth vice-president for the ensuing year.

John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors of North America, was placed in nomination for treasurer by Delegate Rickert, Garment Workers. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Altman, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John B. Lennon. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and John B. Lennon was declared unanimously elected to serve as treasurer for the ensuing term.

Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for secretary by Delegate Berry. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Altman, President Gompers was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Frank Morrison was declared unanimously elected to serve as secretary for the ensuing term.

President Gompers: The fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress having been elected two years ago, and at the Philadelphia convention last year it being decided, upon recommendation of the Executive Council, that be-

cause that Congress had been postponed on account of the conditions prevailing in Great Britain, William B. Mahon and Matthew Woll would be entitled to act as the delegates from the American Federation of Labor at the next Congress of the British trade unions; hence there is no necessity for the election of their successors. There is to be a fraternal delegate elected to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Berry, Pressmen: I move that we reaffirm the action of the Philadelphia convention in regard to Delegate Mahon and Delegate Woll, as delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Harry P. Corcoran, representing the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, was placed in nomination by Delegate Rowe, Flint Glass Workers, for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Sullivan (J. L.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed. Upon motion of Delegate Flore, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the convention for Delegate Corcoran. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Harry P. Corcoran was declared duly elected fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

#### Convention City.

The chairman declared in order the selection of a convention city.

Providence, R. I., was placed in nomination by Delegate Alden, Massachusetts Federation of Labor. The nomination was seconded by Delegate McGarry, Providence Central Federated Union, Delegate D'Alessandro and Delegate Johnston, Machinists.

Baltimore, Md., was placed in nomination by Delegate Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Ryan, of the Plate Printers.

Buffalo, N. Y., was placed in nomination by Delegate O'Connor of the Longshoremen. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Flore.

Fort Worth, Texas, was placed in nomination by Delegate Gossett, representing the Texas State Federation.

The secretary proceeded to call the roll, which resulted as follows:

For Baltimore—Mullaney, Myrup, Gold-

stone, Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Feider, Foley (C. F.), Shanessy, Abernathy, Kline, Tobin (J. M.), Kramer, McGuire, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Butterworth, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy (F. H.), Post, Swartz, Cigarmakers' delegation (79 votes), Scoby, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Moser, United Garment Workers' delegation (168 votes), Schlesinger, Polakoff, Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Duncan, Garvey, Smart, McSorley, Taggart, Irwin, Britton, Leary, Reardon, McManus, Roberts, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lent, Dunachie, Miller (Owen), Slissman, Carey (D. A.), Quinn, Woll, Wessel, McGivern, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (James), Deviny, Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Berry, Altman (Henry), Lipman, Murphy, Furuseth, Carney, Steidle, Hylen, Stage Employees' delegation (135 votes), Prefel, Sumner, Funder Burk, Evans (E. Lewis), Carraher, Ernst, Ryan (P. J.), Donoghue, Ogletree, Corcoran, Lorntsen, Allevyn, Ferguson, Warden, Neary, Hoehn, Reagan, Hauser, Gallagher, Ives, Woodmansee, Dale, McFarland, Voll, McAndrews, Milton, Johnson (S. P.), Joss, Giles, Riley (T. G.), representing 7,069 votes.

For Buffalo—McClory, Barnes (J. D.), Tobin (Sam), MacPherson, Cigarmakers' delegation (315 votes), Zuckerman, Feehey, United Garment Workers' delegation (254 votes), Mahoney, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Koveleski, Raleigh, Boek, O'Connor (T. V.), Kean, United Mine Workers' delegation (780 votes), Skemp (J. C.), Trigas, Baker, Norris, Clark (J. F.), Forrest, Berstrom, Gaviak, Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (Michael), Decker, Williams (T. J.), Scott, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), Stevenson, McCullough, Hansen, Allen, Cozzolino, Hayward, Weber, Lennon, Hart, Smith (J. T.), Sesma, Holland, Spooner, Townshend, Triska, Spear, Higgins, Driscoll, representing 4,306 votes.

For Providence—Schneider (R. C.), Balne, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Kiernan, Conway, Christman, McNulty, Grimblot, Singer, Ford, Sweek, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Johnston (W. H.), Taylor, O'Connell (Jas.), Wharton, Van Lear, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, Kemp, Wilson (Jas.), Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Hurley, Fleming, Stage Employees' delegation (45 votes), Golden, Alden, Abrahams, O'Dell, Mayo, McGarry, Cotterill, Kennedy, Merchant, Holm, Bohm, Lamoreux, representing 3,119 votes.

For Fort Worth—Franklin, Hinzman, MacGowan, Gurney, Diehl, United Mine Workers' delegation (2340 votes), Schneider (Geo. J.), Perham, Ramsay, Bode, Alexander, Weeks, Ware, Adams, Riley (J. P.), Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Guscetti, Griggs, Short, Heberling, Clohesy, Broden, Blakeley, Gossett, Schneider (H. R.), Rist, Boswell, Cavanagh, representing 3,899 votes.

Not voting—Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Boyden, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Brock, Morrison



(H. L.), Letroadee, Call, Flaherty, Sultor, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan (T. J.), Brown (J. G.), Hatch, Spiegel, Marks, Fitzpatrick, James (C. E.), Coffey, Casey (P. F.), Bourne, Kempton, Case, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Partelow, Doyle, Sachs, McGinley (Clara), Keller, Skemp (Meta), Porter, Kraft, Smith (E. E.), Anderson (Ed.), Hall, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Sleeman, Camomile, Batchelor, Castro, Dempsey, Kranefield, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Dowler, James (N. A.), Sullivan (John), White (J. J.), Bomar, Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Hammerschlag, Matheson, Harrison, Corbley, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Thompson (A. M.), Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft, representing 565 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll-call.

Neither of the cities having received a majority of the votes cast, no choice resulted. A second roll-call was ordered, the city of Providence having received the fewest votes in the first roll-call, being dropped. The second roll-call resulted as follows:

**For Baltimore**—Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Schneider (R. C.), Noschang, Fischer, Feider, Foley (C. F.), Shanessy, Abernathy, Kline, Tobin (J. M.), Kramer, McGuire, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Butterworth, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy (P. H.), Post, Swartz, Cigarmakers' delegation (158 votes), Kiernan, Conway, Christman, Scoby, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Moser, Rickert, Larger, Altmann (Victor), Daley (Margaret), Schlesinger, Polakoff, Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Duncan, Garvey, Smart, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), McSorley, Taggart, Johnston (W. H.), Taylor, O'Connell (Jas.), Wharton, Van Lear, Irwin, Britton, Leary, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, United Mine Workers' delegation (1170 votes), Reardon, Roberts, McManus, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lent, Dunachie, Miller (Owen), Slissman, Carey (D. A.), Wilson (Jas.), Forrest, Quinn, McGivern, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (Jas.), Deviny, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson (Chas.), Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Berry, Altmann (Henry), Lipman, Murphy, Hurley, Furuseth, Carney, Steldie, Hylen, Freel, Sumner, Funder Burk, Golden, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Ernst, Ryan (P. J.), Alden, Donoghue, Casey (P. F.), Ogletree, Allevy, Harris, Ferguson, Lennon, Warden, Cavanagh, Mayo, Hoehn, McGarry, Reagan, Hauser, Gallagher, Ives, Dale, McFarland, Merchant, Voll, McAndrews, Milton, Johnson (S. P.), Lamoreux, Joss, Giles, Riley (T. G.), Thompson, representing 10,008 votes.

**For Buffalo**—Baine, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, McClory, Barnes (J. D.), Tobin (Sam), MacPherson, Cigarmakers' delegation (236 votes), Zuckerman, McNulty, Grimbolt, Slater, Ford, Sweek, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Schwarz, Mahoney, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Koveleski, Raleigh,

Bock, O'Connor (T. V.), Kean, United Mine Workers' delegation (1946 votes), Skemp (J. C.), Triggs, Kemp, Baker, Norris, Clark (J. F.), Bergstrom, Woll, Wessel, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Gavlak, Fleming, Shay, Barry, Suarez, Dolliver, Dolan (T. J.), Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (Michael), Decker, Scott, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), Stevenson, McCullough, Fitzpatrick, Hansen, Allen, Cozzolino, Hayward, Weber, Abrahams, Hart, O'Dell, Smith (J. T.), Seama, Holland, Spooner, Woodmansee, Higgins, representing 7002 votes.

**For Fort Worth**—Franklin, Hinzman, MacGowan, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschl, D'Andrea, Diehl, Perham, Ramsay, Bode, Alexander, Weeks, Ware, Adames, Guscetti, Griggs, Short, Clohessy, Broden, Blakeley, Bourne, Gossett, Schneider (H. R.), Rist, Boswell, Cotterill, Bohm, Carter, representing 1189 votes.

**Not voting**—Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Boyden, Gurney, Rowe, Clarke (Wm. P.), Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Letroadee, Call, Schneider (G. J.), Flaherty, Sultor, Riley (J. F.), Pettit, Hanley, Brown (J. G.), Carraher, Hatch, Spiegel, Marks James (C. E.), Coffey, Kempton, Case, Corcoran, Lorntsen, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Partelow, Doyle, Neary, Sachs, McGinley (Clara), Keller, Skemp (Meta), Porter, Kraft, Smith (E. E.), Anderson (Ed.), Hall, Townshend, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Sleeman, Camomile, Batchelor, Castro, Dempsey, Kranefield, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Kennedy, Spear, Dowler, James (N. A.), Sullivan (John), White (J. J.), Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Matheson, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft, representing 759 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll-call.

The chair declared that Baltimore, having received a majority of all votes cast, was selected as the next convention city.

Delegate Gossett, Ft. Worth, moved that the selection of Baltimore be made unanimous. Seconded by Delegate Alden and carried.

#### Report of Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Griggs, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department.

Under this caption, in the Report of the Executive Council, appears the following:

The report to the Philadelphia convention on the dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers and the relations of the Carpenters to

the Building Trades Department, was very complete and gave a number of documents.

In accord with that report a conference consisting of three delegates from the Carpenters, three from the Sheet Metal Workers and three other delegates appointed by President Gompers, was held during the convention.

The Conference Committee reported that they had considered the problem very carefully but had not been able to secure an agreement between the two interested organizations, although the conference had been helpful, in that it had developed the realization of a strong community of interest between the two organizations. The Conference Committee recommended that the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the President of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the President of the Building Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and continue conferences for the purpose of securing a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty between the two organizations. This recommendation was adopted by the convention.

A conference was held by the members of this committee in New York City in January, when it was decided that the investigation should be made in Chicago, Cleveland, Jamestown, N. Y., and New York City, starting from Chicago on February 3. The Committee secured information as to the manufacture and the erection of metal trim and secured the opinions of many manufacturers and constructors upon the matter of the erection of metal trim.

After that investigation a meeting was held at Washington for the purpose of securing an adjustment, but no agreement was reached. Since the conference had no power or authority to render an award, its work was necessarily limited to suggestions, proposals and efforts to reach an agreement mutually satisfactory. President Kirby expressed himself as willing to make a compromise based upon an equitable adjustment and subject, of course, to the approval of his general executive board. President Hynes insisted that the entire

metal trim work belonged to the Sheet Metal Workers, and was not willing to consider any compromise.

During the year efforts have continued to secure the re-affiliation of the Carpenters to the Building Trades Department. The great obstacle in the way of securing that result is the unsettled dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers.

A conference between the representatives of the two organizations concerned was held during the September meeting of the Executive Council, but again these representatives were unable to reach any adjustment of the difficulty.

It was agreed that President Gompers and President Williams submit a report upon this matter to the E. C. The report is as follows:

Washington, D. C., October 20, 1915.  
To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Per the Executive Council:

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The special committee appointed by President Gompers during the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers on the jurisdictional dispute over the question of the manufacture and erection of hollow metal trim, made the following recommendation to the convention:

"The committee recommends that, for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations, the president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the president of the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, the president of the A. F. of L., and the president of the Building Trades Department be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and to continue the conferences, to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations."

This recommendation the convention adopted.

This committee met in New York January 6-7, 1915. All members of the committee were present.

At this meeting we agreed upon the scope and method for conducting the investigation and the cities and places to be visited to best learn all the processes of the manufacture of hollow metal trim, in order to visit as many buildings in the different cities as time and opportunity would permit where hollow metal trim was being erected.

We began the investigation on February 3, in Chicago, with all the mem-

bers of the committee present. Two sheet metal shops were visited on this day and the committee was shown certain parts of hollow metal trim in process of manufacture. A number of other sheet metal shops were inspected the next day, and it was agreed that the visits and investigations practically covered all the shops in Chicago engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim. The committee found that all the men working in these shops were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

While in Chicago, the committee was unable to inspect the erection of any hollow metal trim, owing to the fact that there was no building then in process of construction in Chicago in which hollow metal trim was being erected.

The committee left Chicago on the night of February 4, for Cleveland, Ohio, and there visited a new school that was being built in which a certain amount of metal trim was being installed; namely, door frames and doors. The men engaged in erecting the work in this school were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

The committee left Cleveland for Jamestown, and there thoroughly inspected and investigated the manufacture and fabrication of hollow metal trim and metal doors in all its many processes to the finished product.

As far as the committee was able to discover, the majority of the men working in the largest plant, engaged in the work of manufacturing and fabricating this material, did not belong to any union, but the painting or enameling of this hollow metal trim was done by members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

From Jamestown the committee went to New York, and on February 8 visited a very large office building in process of construction in that city known as the Equitable Building. Virtually every part of the work known as hollow metal trim and doors was being erected in this building; in fact, there was to be very little wood finish used on this job; therefore, this particular building was the best example (that is, with regard to quantity) that the committee had an opportunity of inspecting during this investigation of the process and methods used in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors. The work in dispute on this building was very carefully and thoroughly inspected and investigated. The committee found that all the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors on this building were members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. This ended the investigation of the material itself in its manufacture and fabrication and the methods used in the erection of the material.

We availed ourselves of every opportunity to find out both from the men engaged in the manufacture and fabrication and the men engaged in the erection of this material, the length of time they had been working at this class of work. In the erecting part of this

work we invariably found that the men had been selected for their own peculiar ability and had, in a sense, to learn how to handle this material, and that the work had the characteristics of a specialty.

The committee arranged to open the conferences on this subject on March 2, and on that date met in conference with all the members present at A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington. The conference was continued the next day. The entire subject of the dispute was considered and discussed, the late President Kirby and President Hynes presenting briefs and other documentary evidence. At the end of the conference it was agreed that the committee would meet again at the call of the chairman, to continue the conference in order to effect the end desired and hoped for by the A. F. of L.

The entire committee met in Washington on September 22, when efforts were again made by us to carry out the letter and spirit of the recommendation concurred in by the Philadelphia convention.

Our investigation of the manufacture and fabrication and the erection in the building of hollow metal trim and doors was conducted by us in as thorough and practical a manner as time and opportunity permitted and in an impartial and unbiased manner. We desire at this time to commend the spirit of friendliness and the fairness with which the late President Kirby and President Hynes conducted their part of the investigation and conference. However, we were unsuccessful in bringing about any agreement.

At the request of the representatives of both organizations concerned, as well as our own, several manufacturers and employers engaged in the manufacture and erection of hollow metal trim submitted briefs as to the extent of its work and classification, both in manufacture and erection, and the judgment each expressed as to the jurisdiction under which the work should properly come.

In each of the cities we visited, representatives of Sheet Metal Workers' Unions and Carpenters' Unions gave the committee every opportunity and facility to make a thorough investigation and study of the subject.

It will be observed that the resolution of the Philadelphia convention conferred upon the undersigned no more power than "to investigate the work in dispute and continue the conferences to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations." This we have done, and it is doubtful whether the committee has the power to do more than to submit either recommendations or expression of opinion and judgment.

It has been urged that by reason of the dispute in regard to the erection of metal trim that a new organization should be organized covering this class of work. The representatives of both the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers object to this proposition, and

we prefer not to give it our endorsement. But we submit that if a new organization of the workers in this class of erection ought not to be and is not formed, both organizations should be willing to meet the situation in a spirit that will conserve the best interests of the men, avoid unnecessary conflict in the labor movement, and eliminate a controversy involving employers who desire to live in reciprocal relations with organized labor. In our conference with the late President Kirby, and President Hynes, it was claimed by the latter and freely admitted by the former, that there are not any members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who are engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash.

With these purposes in view, we express our best judgment as to the course which should be pursued:

1. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners should relinquish all claim to the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash. Also that there is very little dispute as to the fact that the members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union all or nearly all perform this class of work.

2. We believe that the two organizations should reach an agreement by which the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors may belong to either organization with provision of the right of interchange of cards.

3. That the organizations should arrange so that members availing themselves of the right to interchange cards may upon returning to their original work, rejoin the organization of the trade at which they are employed, and be placed in such beneficial standing as they enjoyed upon leaving the one organization for the other.

4. That under such an arrangement every encouragement be given to the end that hollow metal trim, doors, and sash shall be manufactured under union conditions.

We recommend that if the judgment and opinion we herein express meet with the approval of this convention, that the president of the A. F. of L. and the president of the department be authorized and directed to continue their efforts for the purpose of their consummation.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

THOMAS J. WILLIAMS,  
President, Building Trades Department,  
A. F. of L.

Your committee commends the report of President Gompers and President Williams and recommends to this convention the adoption of the report and the suggestions contained therein, in the hope that this deplorable fight shall be taken off of the buildings and adjusted amicably by the organizations that are parties to this controversy.

Delegate Griggs moved the adoption

of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by Delegate Williams.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged its rejection. He spoke at length of the dispute between the Sheet Metal Workers and the Carpenters' organizations in regard to the erection of hollow metal trim, described the material used, the character of tools necessary for its erection, and various other matters in connection with the work. He referred to decisions of the Building Trade Department and an arbitration board in regard to the disputed work, and submitted samples of the materials the erection of which is in dispute.

Delegate Duffy, Brotherhood of Carpenters, spoke in support of the recommendation and report of the committee. He spoke in some detail of the dispute that has existed in regard to the hollow metal trim, the work on various buildings, the prices paid for the work and the fact that in New York the Carpenters had been awarded the work by an arbitrator. He described the tools used in the erection of the work, the material used and various other technical matters connected with it.

Delegate Frayne, Sheet Metal Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee. He spoke briefly of the character of material used, described the method of manufacture and erection of the work, cited the wages paid the men both in the factories and on the buildings, and disputed any claims made by the Carpenters.

Delegate Post, Carpenters, spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers, opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Hurley urged the adoption of the report of the committee in the interest of peace in the building trades.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.) moved as a substitute for the committee's report that the entire subject matter be referred to the Building Trades Department and that the convention abide by its decision. Seconded.

Delegate Williams, chairman of the committee, spoke in favor of the report of the committee and described at length the investigation he had made, as president of the Building Trades Department,

with President Gompers on a committee appointed by the Philadelphia convention to investigate the matter.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate McNulty. Brief statements were made by President Gompers, Delegate Berry and Delegate O'Connor.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Hynes: I want to ask a question before you put the motion. Does this question at issue now come within what can be called a jurisdictional question and you are going to settle that?

President Gompers: There is no settlement contemplated. The committee recommends that this convention declare that in its judgment the Brotherhood of Carpenters should surrender the claim to the manufacture of the material in question and that the question of erection shall be the subject of a conference with the representative of the organizations, and that there shall be—not that there must be—but that there shall be some mutual arrangement so that men of both organizations can do part of the work, and that the members who transfer from one organization to another, when they return to their original work, may have the opportunity of becoming members of the original organization of the trade at which they are employed.

Delegate Hynes: If the committee's report is adopted does it abrogate what is known as the Tampa decision?

President Gompers: The chair declines to answer that question.

Delegate Hynes: Then it is a jurisdiction question.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, asked for a roll-call. The request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to warrant calling the roll.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost, 84 votes being cast in the negative and 81 in the affirmative.

Delegate Hynes: I move that the Sheet Metal Workers-Carpenters controversy take the same course that was taken last night by the convention in the question of the Carpenters and Machinists under Brother Berry's resolution. I will read it.

Delegate Hynes read the following resolution adopted at the previous session at the close of discussion on the Carpenters-Machinists question:

**RESOLVED,** That the President of

the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five representing international unions, of which he (the President) shall be a member, with instructions that this committee of five attend the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and endeavor to get them to recede from the position they have taken in respect to this claim of jurisdiction; and

**RESOLVED,** That in the meantime the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issue to the various international unions, State federations of labor and central bodies the information, directing their attention to the fact that the jurisdiction claims of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have not been granted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

**RESOLVED,** That this convention call upon the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners not to place in force or operation, pending the convening of their convention, the claims that they have set forth in their journal, which have been read to this convention.

Delegate Hynes: I move that the same course be pursued in this case. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): It is now nearly 12:30 and it is very evident this convention will not be able to complete the work even though we remain in session until 8 o'clock in the morning. I move that the convention recess until 10 o'clock to-day, Sunday. (Seconded.)

Delegate Donlin moved as an amendment that the convention recess until 9:30 Monday morning.

The motion was seconded and, after a brief discussion, carried, and at 12:30 a. m. a recess was taken to 9:30 a. m. Monday, November 22d.

Pursuant to the action of the convention in declaring a recess at the close of Saturday's sessions, the convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. Monday, November 22d, President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison read a communication signed by Edward Flore, President, and Jere L. Sullivan, Secretary, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, stating that they were obliged to leave the convention and asking that Frank Sesma be seated for the remaining sessions of the convention. The request was granted and Delegate Sesma seated.

The Secretary read a communication signed by Daisy A. Houck, Garment Workers, and Frances Noel, President Women's Trade Union League, who ex-

tended, in behalf of the women of organized labor of Los Angeles, a cordial invitation to the delegates to visit that city at the close of the convention. The communication stated that arrangements had been made for sightseeing tours to mountain and sea, and urged all who could do so to visit Los Angeles.

#### Report of Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Griggs, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report, as follows:

##### Marble Workers.

On this section of the Report of the Executive Council, your committee desires to commend the action of the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in their endeavors to assist the Marble Workers, and we recommend that they continue their efforts in this direction in order to bring about the best results for this organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

##### Dock Builders of New York City.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Building Trades recommends to this convention that the President of the Federation be empowered to appoint a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the status of the Dock Builders in New York City relative to the chartering of a local by an affiliated organization, while said charter had been revoked by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and we further recommend that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be requested to suspend the charter granted by them in New York City, known as Local 177, pending this proposed investigation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, opposed the report of the committee. He stated that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers was the only organization that had full and complete jurisdiction over pile-drivers and dock-builders, and described in detail the work done by those men. He referred to conferences held on several occasions with the carpenters and oth-

ers concerned, together with representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in which the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were not represented. He stated that when he found a charter had been granted the local in New York he investigated, with some of the local trade union representatives of New York, and from what he had learned did not feel justified in revoking the charter. He stated that many years ago the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were compelled to take jurisdiction over driving piles and erecting false work, owing to the fact that contractors had employed cheap and inefficient labor upon that work, which had resulted in the injuring and killing of some of the members of the iron workers' organization.

Treasurer Lennon stated that he did not wish to discuss the merits of the question, but desired on behalf of the Executive Council to protest against an insinuation made by Delegate McClory during his address that the carpenters had received more favorable consideration in the matter of conferences than had the iron workers, owing to the fact that Secretary Duffy, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, was a member of the Executive Council. He stated that similar insinuations had been made during the discussion on other matters, and emphatically denied that any such special consideration was ever shown by the Executive Council to any organization that had upon the Executive Council one of its members.

Delegate Duffy (Frank) discussed the question, stating it was not a question of jurisdiction between the Carpenters and the Iron Workers, but a question of men belonging to a local union chartered by the Iron Workers taking the places of carpenters on work in New York who were striking for an increase in wages. He stated that he felt the carpenters could get in touch with the iron workers later on and adjust the jurisdiction, but at present that question did not enter into the dispute at all. Delegate Duffy discussed the question at length and described in some detail the situation in New York, the class of work performed, the wage paid, and other matters connected with the dispute.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers, in the chair.



The question was discussed by President Gompers, who spoke briefly of the action that had been taken in instructing the New York Federated Union to unseat the local referred to in the Executive Council's Report. He gave an account of negotiations that had been entered into in an endeavor to adjust the difficulty.

Delegate Tobin, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Williams, chairman of the committee, stated that the report read dealt with the chartering of the local union, and the question of jurisdiction did not enter into it; that the committee would have a report to make later that he felt would be adopted without debate.

The question was discussed by Delegate Gallagher (A. J.), Delegate Smith, Portland, and Secretary Griggs of the committee.

Delegate McClory moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that the words, "suspended pending the investigation" be stricken out. The amendment was seconded, but not carried, 61 votes being cast in the negative and 51 in the affirmative.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has for many years been, and still are issuing charters to the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association claims absolute jurisdiction over the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The claims of the International Longshoremen's Association are being disputed by both the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to secure a ruling as to which

international organization these workers properly belong to.

In the matter of the jurisdictional dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the International Longshoremen's Association, as contained in resolution No. 106, your committee recommends that the representatives of the three organizations enter into conference, upon the call for said conference by the President of the American Federation of Labor, at as early a date as possible, in an endeavor to bring about a mutual satisfactory adjustment of the matter contained in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Tobin, Iron Workers, and Delegate Post, Carpenters.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 149 was read by the committee. A report and recommendation on the resolution was also read. President Gompers stated that the subject matter of the resolution had been covered by preceding action of the convention. Upon motion of Delegate McClory the resolution and recommendation were expunged from the minutes of the session.

Chicago Building Trades Council Appeal.

Secretary Griggs: In view of the fact that the entire subject matter of this portion of the Report of the Executive Council is to be referred by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Building Trades convention, we recommend that this portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with this subject, be also referred to the Building Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Jas. Moriarty, Thos Redding, Hugh Frayne, John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers); O. A. Wharton, Thos. Van Lear, J. A. Taylor, Jas. O'Connell (International Association of Machinists); M. J. McGuire, J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Chas. MacGowan (Boilermakers); J. A. Grimblot, F. J. Sweek (Electrical Workers):

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Chicago has entered into an agree-

ment with the Construction Employers' Association of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, Clause three of the aforesaid agreement stipulates that there shall be no discrimination against manufactured material, excepting only the product of prison labor; and

WHEREAS, The acceptance of an agreement of this character is in itself a discrimination against the product of the union shops and will eventually mean their disorganization, if such agreements are continued in force; and

WHEREAS, Said agreements tend to discourage union material employers from continuing agreements or entering into them with affiliated organizations on account of union men being compelled to install non-union made material in Chicago, which impedes the progress of the men employed in the manufacture and erection of material used in the building trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Building Trades Council, or any other council or organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which promotes or accepts an agreement containing a clause which places the products of union labor on a level with the products of scab and non-union labor, be most severely condemned for such action by this convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizations affiliated to the Building Trades Council of Chicago be requested to take the necessary steps to cancel this agreement at the earliest possible date in order to prevent so gross an injustice being perpetrated against the interests of the organized workers in the manufacturing industries.

The committee recommends that the following be adopted as a substitute for Resolution No. 99:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Chicago has entered into an agreement with the Construction Employers' Association of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, Clause three of the aforesaid agreement stipulates that there shall be no discrimination against manufactured material excepting only the product of prison labor; and

WHEREAS, The acceptance of a clause of this character is in itself a discrimination against the product of the union shops and will eventually mean their disorganization, if such agreements are continued in force; and

WHEREAS, Said agreements tend to discourage union material employers from continuing agreements or entering into them with affiliated organizations on account of union men being compelled to install non-union made material, which impedes the progress of the men employed in the manufacture and erection of material; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention

recommend to all affiliated international organizations that they instruct their respective local unions that they refrain from renewing such agreements upon their legal expiration so long as they contain such a clause, wherever they may exist within the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Carpenters and the Building Trades.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, your committee commends the action of the Executive Council and the efforts of President Gompers and the officers of the Department in their efforts to have the Carpenters reaffiliate with the Building Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

Whereas, We believe that the many perplexing problems confronting, and worked out, in Local Building Trades Councils furnish most valuable experience, which would be of very great benefit to the Building Trades Department, if available in its convention; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the embittered feelings of International Officials, over jurisdictional matters, sometimes prevents harmonious action, no matter how righteous the cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates to the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to take some action that will cause the Building Trades Department to seat credentialed delegates from Local Councils chartered by the Building Trades Department, and we hereby instruct our delegate to the Convention to do all in his power to secure this most desirable change.

Your committee is of the opinion that this resolution should be referred to the Building Trades convention and the committee so recommends.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Building Trades Department.

It is with extreme regret that your committee feels called upon to draw the attention of the convention to the fact

that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has not reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department.

In the opinion of your committee the understanding was general at the Philadelphia convention when Article 15 was proposed for adoption that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners would, in line with all other organizations eligible to membership in the several departments of the American Federation of Labor, seek reinstatement in the Building Trades Department. That the organization in question has failed to observe the recognized law of the American Federation of Labor has occasioned surprise, and it is our opinion that this convention should go on record most emphatically declaring that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America shall without further delay reaffiliate with the Department to which they are logically and rightfully eligible.

Your committee concurs in the report of the Building Trades Department in expressing the belief that the building trades as at present organized in the Department has been helpful to the American Federation of Labor, and if the work already accomplished is to be continued in the future it can only be by and through the active co-operation of all the organizations that rightfully and promptly belong to the Department.

It is therefore our opinion that this convention direct the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to immediately reaffiliate with the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Smith, Portland: Do I understand the committee to recommend that the convention instruct the Brotherhood of Carpenters to reaffiliate with the Department?

President Gompers: That is what it does.

Vice-President Duncan: The committee uses the word "direct." I understand it means within the scope of the authority of the American Federation of Labor?

President Gompers: It does.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Griggs: That completes the

report of the Committee on Building Trades, all of which is respectfully and fraternally submitted.

THOS. J. WILLIAMS, Chairman.  
SAM GRIGGS, Secretary.  
F. J. McNULTY,  
D. A. POST,  
JOHN J. HYNES.  
JAS. G. HANNAHAN,  
D. D. ALEXANDER,  
J. T. HURLEY,  
JOS. F. CLARKE,  
FRANK FEENEY,  
CHARLES M. RAU,  
J. M. GAVLAK.  
WM. J. MCSORLEY,

Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Griggs moved the adoption of the report as a whole. Seconded and carried.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, in the chair.

#### Report of Committee on International Relations.

Chairman Perkins submitted the report of the committee, as follows:

It is a matter of great regret that the purpose of the International Federation of Trade Unions to hold its congress in San Francisco immediately after this convention of the A. F. of L. cannot be carried out due to the conditions which now prevail in Europe and which affect all nations. The extraordinary conditions and relations now existing affect in some degree all phases of our national life and in a very intimate manner the labor movement. Regardless of sympathy with any purposes of any nation involved in the war, the preservation of neutrality of the labor movement of our country is of great importance, not only for the welfare of the workers of America, but that we may ultimately be in the best position to render assistance to the workers of all countries when the time comes for determining constructive policies for the future. We are well grounded in the principle of the right of nations to settle their own problems and difficulties in their own way, and cannot sanction unwarranted interference with that right. On the other hand, the welfare of the American labor movement is of fundamental import and cannot be set aside

for things of less importance than human welfare. We declare our great concern is, first, for the preservation and maintenance of the national and international trade union movement, regardless of the outcome of the present war; and, secondly, we hope for a cleaner, broader, and a more comprehensive democracy for all nations, especially for those that are temporarily submerged by the flood of human blood, devastation and carnage now rampant in Europe.

On that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption of International Peace and War, we are in full accord and take pleasure in so reporting. We have taken note of and fully indorse the statement that the "horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery seemed so horrible as to be well nigh impossible"; and again with the further statement: "It is then our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations, and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation"; and further and more particularly with the following statement: "There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. . . . So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free, they cannot be forced or coerced by other nations even in the matter of peace"; and finally: "Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist; so now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for American citizens as well as our desire to restore peace."

We are fully in accord and agree with the sentiments expressed. We hold America has the right to carry forward

its normal or extraordinary activities, industrial, political or otherwise, so long as we do not violate any rule of humanity or fundamental rule of strict neutrality. We stand for justice and right rather than for peace at any price, we want peace, we shall work for peace, and hope finally to attain it. We agree with and commend the sayings, acts and attitude of President Gompers which in their wise application have done much to safeguard and protect the honor and best interests of the American labor movement and all America. Fearlessly, freely and boldly expressed, his guidance has received the warmest endorsement of our nation and has been a potential factor in the national policy that has kept us out of the spineless class, yet free from entanglement in the cataclysm now devastating Europe.

Your committee fully agrees in everything under the foregoing caption and recommends its adoption.

Chairman Perkins moved the adoption of the report of the committee as read. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

#### Labor's Peace Conference.

We are in full accord with the plan suggested by the Executive Council as outlined in its report, and fully concur in the suggested arrangements for holding such conference. While we reaffirm the action taken by the Philadelphia convention, we hold the Executive Council should again be instructed to make all arrangements for holding the anticipated conference, and further that the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to select the President of the American Federation of Labor and one other to represent the A. F. of L. in such conference.

The A. F. of L., the American trade union center, because of its strict neutrality, isolation and distance from the seat of trouble, its freedom from race bitterness, hatred and passion, is eminently qualified to lead in the effort which portends so much and is so important for the future wellbeing of the trade union movement, human life, liberty, justice and a broader democracy for all mankind.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### The International Federation of Trade Unions.

We have read and carefully considered the report under the foregoing caption, together with the correspondence entitled "Labor's Book of all Colors," published in the November, 1915, issue of the American Federationist, and fully concur in every action taken by President Gompers and the action of the Executive Council as a whole. The report and correspondence present forcefully the human side of the world's trade union movement, and emphasize the necessity of a more comprehensive and more effective system which will safeguard and protect the movement regardless of any and all circumstances which may develop. The preservation of the national, international unions, the national trade union centers, and finally the International Federation of Trade Unions, is our highest concern. One way to do this is to formulate a method and organization whereby prompt action may be taken. Under this caption and at this time your committee prepared the following declaration:

Because the maintenance of the trade union movement of our country, or all civilized countries, and of the International Federation of Trade Unions is of paramount importance in so far as the economic condition of the workers is concerned, at all times and under all conditions, the stability of our movement here or elsewhere should not be subject to the disturbing influences and possible destruction by any cataclysm, be it a fire, flood, war, or pestilence. In times of great stress there is more and greater need of workable machinery and unhampered officers to safeguard and protect our movement and the rights and best interests of the members thereof. Under the present laws of the Trade Union Centers and the International Federation of Trade Unions, there is no law flexible enough to meet an emergency which might be caused by any of the foregoing catastrophes.

We recommend, first, that the next delegate to the Congress of the Federated Trade Unions be and is hereby instructed to offer a motion creating an honorary President who shall perform under circumstances stated hereinafter all of the functions and necessary duties of the President of the

International Federation of Trade Unions, to wit:

If the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions is prevented from exercising and performing the normal functions of his office, by reason of a disastrous fire, flood, war, or pestilence, the functions and duties of the office shall temporarily revert to the honorary President, and as soon as the cause or causes which rendered it impossible for the President to perform the normal duties of the office no longer exist, the functions of the office of President of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall automatically revert to the regularly elected President.

And, second, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed, if in the judgment of the Executive Council it may be deemed necessary, to take this matter up by correspondence and endeavor to have the principle involved in this resolution adopted.

We wish to call particular attention to the recommendation of the Executive Council and recommend that the convention specifically endorse that suggestion which is as follows:

"In discussing the subject of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, President Gompers has urged upon the officers of the labor movement of other countries that the spirit of the Zurich declaration should be observed and that when the official congress shall be held after the close of the war, it should be held in the United States, and at some time approximately near the time of the holding of the convention of the A. F. of L."

The report of the committee was adopted.

### British Trade Union Congress.

We declare that in our judgment the plan of exchanging fraternal delegates with the British trade-union movement cannot be otherwise than beneficial to all concerned. We note with extreme regret that the war has temporarily interfered with the free exchange of fraternal delegates, but express the hope that normal conditions will soon permit the free and untrammelled exercise of that fraternal spirit which will finally band together the world's workers, re-

ardless of birth or nationality, in one common whole, with one purpose, a better and still better economic, social and political existence for all working men and women, and a result which is inextricably bound up with the welfare of all humankind.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee has amended Resolution No. 113 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger and S. Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers of North America; Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union;

WHEREAS, It has been the good fortune of the people of the United States to be comparatively free from the turmoil of European strife, its hatreds and prejudices; and

WHEREAS, The people and the Government of the United States are in a position to exercise a beneficent influence in adding the world to lay a foundation for a durable and permanent peace based upon justice to all; and

WHEREAS, In some of the countries of Europe the Jewish people are still deprived of elementary political and civic rights; and

WHEREAS, Every form of religious oppression and discrimination is contrary to the spirit of the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests the Government of the United States to urge upon the governments of the nations of other countries to cease discriminations wherever it exists and now practiced against the Jewish people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the same appeal be made by the American Federation of Labor to the organized workers of all nations.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended, and further recommends that if adopted the resolution be referred to the delegates to the Labor Peace Conference, when selected.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: Brother Bevin, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, informed me while Chairman Perkins was reading this resolution, that the British Trade Union Congress at its session last September adopted a resolution of a similar

character, urging upon the government of Great Britain that the principles and declarations contained in the resolution should be urged and pressed upon the governments which are offending against that principle.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The report of the committee was continued as follows:

Your committee feels that this convention can serve the best interest of all our fellow workers regardless of where located, and moreover and especially those of our trade-union movement, by maintaining strict neutrality in the present crisis in the history of the world's trade-union movement, and we so recommend. After all, down deep in the minds and hearts of all real unionists lie that fraternal spirit and world-wide brotherly love, genuine sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow workers, regardless of place or nationality. This fraternal spirit must and shall be kept alive. Bitterness, hatred, passion and even brutality may temporarily divide us, because of the machinations of kings, potentates, big interests, financiers and the inhuman and brutally selfish; but ultimately common interest grounded upon self-preservation will bring about unity of purpose, will rekindle and keep alive the spirit of economic solidarity, fraternity and good will. This result will require patience, prudence and diplomacy. Because of its neutrality, environment, temperament and well known determination to be right and to do likewise, America, the American trade union center, is qualified to exercise leadership in this undertaking which we owe to justice, liberty, humanity and advancing civilization.

We recommend that this convention urge that everything possible be done to make a permanent part of international relations and institutions the spirit and the purpose that shall be mindful of the supreme importance of human welfare and protection, and shall make provisions for institutions and agencies that shall make their ideals effective factors in the determining of world policies and the relations between nations as well as within nations.



The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Perkins: That completes the report of the committee, which is

Respectfully submitted,  
 GEO. W. PERKINS, Chairman;  
 C. L. BAINE, Secretary;  
 JAS. DUNCAN,  
 D. J. TOBIN,  
 J. H. WALKER,  
 B. A. LARGER,  
 JAS. O'CONNELL,  
 MAX S. HAYES,  
 J. P. FREY,  
 T. F. TRACY,  
 T. V. O'CONNOR,  
 G. L. BERRY,  
 JAS. WILSON,  
 MATTHEW WOLL,  
 MARTIN LAWLOR,  
 ANDREW FURUSETH,  
 SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Upon motion, the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

At 12:30 a recess was taken to 2 p. m. of the same day.

Pursuant to the action of the convention in declaring a recess to 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, November 22, the convention was called to order at that hour by President Gompers.

#### Report of Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Mueller, secretary of the committee, presented the report, as follows:

Your Committee on Boycotts begs leave to submit the following report relative to the matters referred to us from the Report of the Executive Council and such resolutions as were properly referred to our committee.

#### The Holt Manufacturing Company—Resolution No. 146.

On the subject-matter of the Holt Manufacturing Co. of Stockton, Cal., which has received due consideration on the part of the Executive Council, we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to cause additional circular letters to be issued to National, International, State and City Central bodies as well as to all Farmers' Alliances, Granges, agricultural and horticultural organizations, showing the antagonistic attitude of the Holt Manufacturing Company towards organized labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Detroit Cigar and Tobacco Trust.

On the subject-matter of the Detroit Cigar and Tobacco Trust, your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Cigar Makers' International Union, immediately take steps to acquaint all organizations in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor of the deplorable and outrageous labor conditions that exist in the Detroit non-union cigar factories.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to lend whatever moral aid it may deem necessary to successfully combat the inhuman exploitation of the toilers engaged in said industry in Detroit, Mich.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Ward Baking Company.

On the matter of the Ward Baking Co., your committee commends the Executive Council for its action and co-operation with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union in their fight against the Ward Baking Co.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts in this matter and in general co-operate with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union in their campaign against the Ward Baking Co. and the Bread Trust.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Resolutions 79, 92, 154 and 161.

On the subject matter contained in resolutions 79, 92, 154 and 161, Philadelphia Convention, under the caption, Abram S. Cox Stove Co., Lansdale, Pa.; Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., and United States Broom and Brush Co. of Chicago, Ill., your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue their efforts with the Abram S. Cox Stove Co., Victor Talking Machine Co. and the United States Broom & Brush Co. with the view of bringing about an amicable adjustment of the controversies existing between said firms and the organized labor movement.

The attention of the Executive Coun-

all is directed to the fact that since the Philadelphia American Federation of Labor Convention the stove mounters of the Abram S. Cox Co. have been organized and have been locked out.

Your committee further recommends that all organizations directly interested in the controversies affecting the Abram S. Cox Stove Co., the Victor Talking Machine Co. and United States Broom & Brush Co. be urgently requested to co-operate with the Executive Council in their efforts to adjust these several difficulties.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Sliissman, and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, One of the serious problems facing the American Federation of Musicians is the formation of non-union bands and orchestras by fraternal organizations, covering such bands and orchestras with the cognomen of the order and assisting such in competition with the American Federation of Musicians; also the formation of juvenile bands and orchestras ostensibly for educational purposes, but in nearly all instances eventually used for speculative purposes in competition with legitimate musicians; and

WHEREAS, There is scarcely an institution in the country maintained for the purpose of caring for and educating boys, but what has its band, nearly always used in competition with adult musicians; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians has not the slightest objection to the formation of bands and orchestras for educational purposes, as the organization recognizes that a knowledge of music tends to higher culture, but it decidedly objects to the use of such musical aggregations for speculative purposes to the injury of the membership of the American Federation of Musicians; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request all affiliated bodies to support the American Federation of Musicians in opposing the use of such bands and orchestras in unfair competition with the American Federation of Musicians.

Your committee recommends favorable consideration of the resolution and compliance with same on the part of affiliated bodies, as well as its individual members.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the California State Branch, the Holt Manufacturing Company of Stockton, California, with an auxiliary plant at Peoria, Illinois, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farming implements, continues to discriminate against members of organized labor and remains to this day a standing menace to the shorter work-day, a decent living wage and the right to organize; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that the Holt Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farm implements, be placed on the unfair list; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That especial efforts be made during the ensuing year to organize the plants controlled by this firm and to urge upon the organized farmers to refrain from purchasing the products of that concern.

Inasmuch as the subject matter of resolution No. 88 is embodied in the Executive Council report, and that body is recommending what course to pursue, this resolution is, therefore, referred to the Executive Council for consideration in conjunction with our previous recommendation in the matter of the Holt Manufacturing Company of Stockton, Cal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):

WHEREAS, There exists at this time a Barbers' Supply Company, which is making every effort to defeat the objects and aims of organized labor, to the extent that the following organizations have declared it unfair: Carpenters' District Council, Painters' District Council, International Association of Machinists No. 9, Metal Polishers' Local No. 13, Sheet Metal Workers' District Council, Plumbers' and Steamfitters' U. A., Stationary Engineers, Upholsterers' No. 21; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all organizations affiliated that the Koken Barber Supply Company, of St. Louis, Mo., does not employ union men.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council put forth renewed efforts in an attempt to adjust the difficulty between the several organizations

and the Koken Barber Supply Company of St. Louis, Mo.

Your committee desires to commend the officials of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union for keeping the antagonistic attitude of this firm constantly before their membership.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 137—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, R. R. Donelley & Sons Co., printers and publishers, of Chicago, Ill., have been opposed to the printing trades unions since the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the printing industry, and have been and are now operating a non-union establishment in all branches of the printing trade; and

WHEREAS, There is about to be placed on the market a new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, reduced in size, especially designated for sale among working men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Allied Printing Trades Unions in the effort to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of this new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica before the membership of all unions affiliated with organized labor and also to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to adjust this complaint.

Your committee recommends favorable consideration and concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 139—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Star Publishing Company of St. Louis, Mo., directed against "The St. Louis Star," which boycott is instituted and conducted not only without justification in fact and in violation of the laws governing Federal Labor Unions, but is likewise in conflict with the laws governing the St. Louis Central Trade and

Labor Council and in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as prescribed in article IX, section 1, as well as in violation of the ruling of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, rendered June, 1903, to-wit:

"RESOLVED, That all central bodies, State federations and directly affiliated local unions shall be required, before declaring or endorsing as unfair any person, firm or corporation, to submit the dispute to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and adjustment"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares the boycott instituted by Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 against "The St. Louis Star" not justified in fact and unwarranted by the constitutional laws and rulings of the American Federation of Labor, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, immediately after adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as is possible, instruct Federal Union No. 5783 to annul this boycott at once and immediately cease a further boycott or any other concerted form of opposition intended and directed to lessen or interfere with the sale or patronage of "The St. Louis Star"; that failing to comply with these instructions within thirty days after receipt of such instructions, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to revoke the charter of Federal Union No. 5783, and to organize an affiliated union of these workers who will adhere to, live up to and fully comply with the laws, rules, regulations and instructions of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee submits the following substitute for resolution No. 139 for consideration and recommends its adoption:

WHEREAS, Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Star Publishing Company of St. Louis, Mo., directed against "The St. Louis Star," which boycott is instituted and conducted in violation of the laws governing Federal Labor Unions, and is likewise in conflict with the laws governing the St. Louis Central Trade and Labor Council and in total disregard of the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor;

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares the boycott instituted by Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 against "The St. Louis Star" has been illegally placed in accordance with the laws and rulings of the American Federation of Labor, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Coun-

all of the American Federation of Labor, immediately after adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as is possible, instruct Federal Union No. 5783 to annul this boycott at once and immediately cease a further boycott or any other concerted form of opposition intended and directed to lessen or interfere with the sale or patronage of "The St. Louis Star"; that the Executive Council be authorized to cause an investigation to be made into the complaint of the Newspaper Carriers' Union of St. Louis, and attempt to adjust whatever local difficulties may exist; that in the event of Federal Union No. 5783 failing to comply with these instructions within thirty days after receipt of such instructions, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to revoke the charter of Federal Union No. 5783, and to organize an affiliated union of these workers who will adhere to, live up to and fully comply with the laws, rules, regulations and instructions of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 141—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The G. and C. Merriam Company of Springfield, Mass., are having Webster's New International Dictionary and other dictionaries published in non-union or unfair offices; and

WHEREAS, All efforts of the Allied Printing Trades Unions to have this work done in offices that pay the union scale of wages and observe all other union conditions required by the Allied Printing Trades Unions have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Printing Trades Unions in a final effort to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this complaint, and that failing to bring about a satisfactory settlement and agreement, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are directed to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of Webster's New International Dictionary and all other books of the G. and C. Merriam Company before the members of all affiliated unions, and also to take such other steps as may be deemed essential and necessary to adjust this grievous complaint.

Your committee recommends favorable consideration and concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The stationary firemen employed by the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company of Chicopee Falls, Mass., were locked out by the chief engineer, who is also master mechanic, on account of their membership in the firemen's union; and

WHEREAS, Said company has refused to meet a committee of the firemen or the Holyoke Central Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, The Westinghouse Company has been declared unfair by the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the Holyoke (Mass.) Central Labor Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company be declared unfair and do all in its power to stop the sale and shipment of the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company until such time as it agrees to stop its discrimination against organized labor.

Your committee recommends that the subject-matter contained in Resolution No. 151 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate conditions complained of and endeavor to adjust same, and in the event of being unable to bring about a satisfactory settlement, the resolution then be given the necessary favorable consideration by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate James O'Connell, President Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The York Manufacturing Company of York, Pa., has for years indicated by its action that its policy was one of hostility towards the trades-union movement; and

WHEREAS, The interests of the metal-working trades which have been injured by the attitude of the York Manufacturing Company have been jointly considered by the International unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and at the sessions of this department; and,

WHEREAS, After jointly considering the welfare of the metal-working trades unions in 1911, the Presidents of the affiliated organizations decided to put

forth an effort to organize this plant; and

WHEREAS, The non-success of the effort is largely due to the fact that several international organizations claim jurisdiction over the installation and setting up of this class of machinery; and

WHEREAS, The membership of the International Association of Machinists decided not to install or set up the product of this company, but members of other international organizations claiming jurisdiction over this work, would take advantage of such opportunities to do this work, and thereby destroyed the possibilities for bringing about organization in this plant; and

WHEREAS, In view of this fact the International Association of Machinists signed an agreement with the management of the York Manufacturing Company, which declares this company fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Said company's attitude towards organized labor has not been such as to warrant the general declaration that they are fair to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, put itself on record as not recognizing the York Manufacturing Company as being fair to organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend every assistance to the Metal Trades Department in its endeavor to organize and bring about an agreement with the York Manufacturing Company covering all crafts employed.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 154 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that the Executive Council put forth every effort to organize the York Manufacturing Company as applying to all crafts employed therein and endeavor to adjust the differences existing between the contending parties.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, In May, 1915, the members of Machinists Local No. 354, and the members of Federal Labor Union No. 6170 (Horseshoe Nail Makers) employed by the Capewell Horseshoe Nail Company of Hartford, Conn., started negotiations for a renewal of agreement, such negotiations including a demand for an increase in wages; said demand being based upon the fact that the cost of living had been materially increased and that this company paid a lower rate of wages than other firms engaged in the manufacture of the same product; and

WHEREAS, Every effort put forth by the officers and members of these organizations resulted in failure to secure the just and equitable increases asked and no other recourse being left open, the men went on strike to enforce their demands in May, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The following firms: The Union Horseshoe Nail Co. of Chicago, Ill., The Fowler Horseshoe Nail Co. of Seymour, Conn., and the Standard Horseshoe Nail Co. of New Brighton, Pa., use the Union Label of the A. F. of L., The Capewell Horseshoe Nail Co. being the only non-union and unfair manufacturer of horseshoe nails in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that we request all affiliated organizations and all friends of labor to use every legitimate means and influence to make the strike effective and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take the necessary steps to place the facts before the labor movement with the view of bringing this strike to an early and successful termination.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing and that the Executive Council be instructed to take the necessary steps to acquaint the labor movement with the facts in the case and urge the membership to assist in bringing about an early and successful termination of this strike.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Respectfully submitted,  
D. A. HAYES, Chairman;  
JAS. J. FREEL,  
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,  
WM. H. JOHNSTON,  
W. W. BRITTON,  
C. M. FEIDER,  
A. A. MYRUP,  
THOS. O'HARE,  
JOHN RADER,  
WM. CHRISTMAN,  
W. L. FUNDER BURK,  
HENRY ALTMAN,  
JOSEPH COZZOLINO,  
PHIL. H. MUELLER, Secretary.

Secretary Mueller: That completes the report of the committee. I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was adopted.

Delegate Johnston stated that it was gratifying to the committee that its report had met with the unanimous approval of the delegates.

**Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.**

Chairman Perham presented the report of the committee as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies renders the following report on all matters that have been submitted to it:

Excerpt from the Report of the Executive Council entitled "Municipal Housing."

Resolution No. 61 on this subject was adopted after being amended at our Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, and it is noted that the Executive Council and our Legislative Committee in Washington, D. C., have done everything possible at this time to forward the legislation desired.

Your committee suggests that the subject should be brought to the attention of city and State governments by those interested. Before Congress will become convinced that the people desire such legislation it must be brought before that body in tangible form as coming direct from the people, and municipal and State enactments seem to be the most feasible method of getting the subject started.

With this further recommendation your committee endorses the action already taken by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, An increase in dues among the labor unions is a dire necessity, due to the growing expansion and importance of the Labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and federal unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that whenever a subordinate union obtains an increase in wages, that they cause to be put into operation an increase in their dues amounting and equivalent to 10 per cent. of said raise in wages.

This resolution is doubtless applicable to some organizations where the dues are too low, and to those its intent and purposes might be beneficial, but to a very large number of national and international labor organizations to increase the dues as proposed in the proportion of ten per cent. of each in-

crease in wages obtained, might be undesirable as well as impractical.

Your committee favors proper regulation of dues and believes that in many instances the dues are too low and that such organizations would be made more effective if the dues were increased, but such changes in the laws should and must be made by the national and international organizations themselves.

Your committee therefore does not concur in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, Dissatisfaction and discord prevails amongst the local unions affiliated with the Central Body in Louisville, Ky.; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs is highly detrimental to the welfare of all organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send some representative to Louisville to investigate the affairs and the conduct of certain individuals of the Central Body of Louisville, Ky., with a view of bringing about harmony.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of carrying out its intent as early as possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Perham: That concludes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

H. B. PERHAM,

Chairman;

EMANUEL KOVELESKI,

Secretary;

THOMAS CLOHESSY,  
JOHN F. DONAHUE,  
CHAS. W. McFARLAND,  
J. G. BROWN,  
WM. MacPHERSON,  
JOHN J. BARRY,  
S. B. MONK,  
C. F. HANSEN,  
CHAS. A. GUNTHER,  
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,  
JAMES A. SHORT,  
ANDREW J. GALLAGHER,  
P. H. TRIGGS.



The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

#### **Report of the Committee on Organization.**

Vice President Duffy submitted the report of the committee, as follows:

We, your Committee on Organization, herewith submit for your consideration the following report:

Relative to the letter from the Philippine Labor Assembly, which was read by Secretary Morrison, we are glad to learn that an organized labor movement has been established on the islands and we recommend that the American Federation of Labor encourage this movement and give it every assistance possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Organization of Women Wage Workers.**

We, commend the work done during the past year by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in organizing the women wage workers of our country. The records show that seventeen organizers were engaged in this special business and that the sum of \$9,192.62 was spent for that purpose. Realizing the necessity of organization among women who have to work for a living, we recommend that the campaign of organization started last year be continued by the Executive Council during the coming year.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Labor Forward Movement.**

We consider the "Labor Forward Movement" not only one of the best means of organizing the unorganized, but at the same time one of the best means of stimulating and arousing interest among members who have become careless and indifferent. Officers and members of subordinate local unions often feel they are neglected, that they are left to work out their own salvation as best they can without assistance from any one; that no interest is taken in them. They feel the struggle is too great, and that, therefore, they might as well give up. This feeling must be overcome, and we know of no better way to do this than through Labor Forward Movements. The American Federation of Labor should not be expected to do all the work in this direction. National

and international unions should willingly give their assistance in these movements, for, after all, they are the organizations which are benefited most. Those conducting Labor Forward Movements should report in detail to the American Federation of Labor the success achieved, the number of unions organized or reorganized, the membership gained, the methods used, how conducted, and any other information that may be of use and assistance in conducting similar campaigns elsewhere.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Organizers.**

We concur in all that has been said about the organizers of the American Federation of Labor in the Executive Council's report. They are deserving of much credit for the work they have done, especially those who have willingly given their services without pay.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Telegraph Companies.**

We concur with the action of President Gompers in notifying all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor relative to the conditions under which the Commercial Telegraphers work for the Western Union and Postal Telegraph companies.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Affiliation of International Trades Unions.**

We concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council that the efforts to secure the affiliation of all unaffiliated national or international unions be continued during the coming year. A labor organization which holds aloof from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor places itself in the same category as a person who refuses to become a member of the union of his craft or calling. Such an organization cannot be considered or looked upon as fulfilling its mission in the labor movement. It is only through united effort and action that success can be achieved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Organizations of Teachers.**

It is with a feeling of pleasure we note that the Executive Council has

taken up the fight of the teachers of our country for the right to organize. If any class of workers deserves our support, encouragement and advice, not for the right or privilege to organize, but to organize and become part and parcel of the great American labor movement, it is the teachers. We know of some of the difficulties with which they have to contend, but do not wish to recount them here.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts and give its fullest support and encouragement to the teachers in their work of organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Educational Activities.

We endorse the plan adopted by President Gompers of issuing circulars and pamphlets to the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, giving information of value and importance in organizing work. We believe that the most effective policy the American Federation of Labor can follow for educational work among the members of organized labor, as well as among the unorganized workers, is to put at the disposal of the organizers information that will assist them to present matters in a clear manner, through lectures, talks, discussions and addresses, that will benefit the labor movement, the wage workers and the general public. We recommend that the system be continued during the coming year.

We further recommend that the Executive Council continue its work in the establishment of the American Federation of Labor library, as suggested by the Philadelphia convention, without restricting them in any particular course to follow. We feel in this way a library of useful information will be sooner established than by restricting them to hard and fast rules.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are approximately 220,000 Butcher Workmen in this country who are unorganized and whose working conditions are deplorable; and

WHEREAS, The A. M. C. and B. W.

of N. A. have since the 1904 strike been waging an unequal struggle with this most powerful combination ever known in history (The Meat Trust) to reach and organize their men but without avail; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the present gigantic European struggle, which is creating a large demand for meats of all kinds, both for home and export trade, we feel that the present is the opportune time to effect a more thorough organization of the people working in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to assign some one organizer to devote his entire time and energy to this work and to confer with the Executive Council of the International A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. and outline a policy to be followed until success shall crown their efforts.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject matter of the resolution and that the American Federation of Labor render such assistance as its funds will permit for carrying on such work, with the understanding that when they are organized these workers shall be assigned to their respective organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, Local officers of unions, and of the Central Federated Unions, are versed in conditions and affairs pertaining to their respective local communities, and are in possession of knowledge relevant to the well-being and welfare of organized labor, which a visiting brother could not be aware of; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make it a law or rule of the American Federation of Labor, and also that the said American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and Federal unions affiliated with them that all officers and organizers of the aforementioned bodies be instructed, when making more than a temporary stay in a town or city, to seek the officers of the Local Central Federated Union and find out the condition of affairs existing in that city. Also that all national and international unions, when planning to hold a convention in a city or town, be instructed to get in touch with the local officers of the Central Federated Union of said city or town. This would prevent the possibility of patronizing hotels, halls or places of industry or business that are unfair to organized labor.

Your committee would recommend non-concurrence in the resolution for the

reason that the American Federation of Labor has no authority to instruct the officers of voluntarily affiliated national or international unions how or in what manner they shall carry on their work of organizing. Nor has the American Federation of Labor authority to instruct the organizers of said organizations how they shall transact their business. We would suggest that the organizers and representatives of all national and international unions visit with local officials of the labor movement and confer upon the matters touched upon in the resolution whenever possible or necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Oscar Joss of Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861:

WHEREAS, On account of certain resolutions passed by the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, Cal., all dairies were removed from and out of the city limits; and

WHEREAS, On this account Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861 is unable to control the membership throughout the State of California without the assistance of its parent body to effect a thorough organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled this . . . day of November, 1915, pledges its fullest support morally, and if necessary, financially, to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Organizer of the A. F. of L. of this district be and hereby is instructed to give all assistance possible to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject-matter of the resolution and render such aid as the funds of the American Federation of Labor will permit, governed by the laws and requirements set forth for such local bodies.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by Instruction):

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor are putting forth every effort to more thoroughly organize the City of Los Angeles and surrounding territory; and

WHEREAS, In this herculean task it

is necessary and essential to have the active co-operation of all National and International organizations having local unions in this section of our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we impress upon the Executive Officers of the affiliated National and International Unions the need for immediate, active assistance in carrying the gospel of trade-unionism to the thousands of unorganized workers in Los Angeles and vicinity; further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all National and International Unions who can possibly do so, to send organizers to that locality and direct them to "get together" and map out an organizing campaign to the end that the workers of Los Angeles may become thoroughly unionized.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject-matter of the above resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Herb. R. Schneider, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

According to a census, just completed, by the State of Wyoming the fact is disclosed that while the total population of said State is but 141,705 and that the population of its citizens above the age of twenty years is 83,395 (43,779 being male) that 23,872 presented as information as to their vocation the title "laborer" and 5,823 "miner."

The fiscal year of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, concluded at the same time, gives the information that for the past year the average number of members affiliated with that body numbered 9,051.

Statistics from the Government census of 1910 gives Wyoming the highest percentage of a State population engaged in occupational pursuits.

And the last-named figures indicate that Wyoming has the largest percentage of organized workers of all the States in the Union; but

WHEREAS, Eighty-five per cent. of the members of organized labor in Wyoming are members of the United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, This membership is without the cities and otherwise industrial centers of that State, it becomes evident that the twenty-eight national and international organizations represented in Wyoming and in the counsels of the American Federation of Labor, as well as those who can be, have in this commonwealth a fertile field for expansion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As an expressed desire of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, that an organizer be assigned to the State of Wyoming for a period of six months, or so much of such time as shall be necessary, for the purpose

of assisting the State body and the various trades unions in a campaign already begun that shall culminate in a complete organization of Wyoming.

**OUR ASSURANCE.** Members of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor pay a per capita assessment of ten cents per month. Its objects have ever been to promote education and organization. Only three times within our existence has aid been given from without our State in the matters of organization—yet in spite have we grown to number considerable over a hundred local unions, three central bodies and one district organization. We are sincere and honest in our belief that much good will result from these contemplated desires, and we pray that the aid necessary to make and maintain Wyoming (a young State in years and industry) a good place to live and work in, be granted us.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the request contained in this resolution insofar as the funds of the American Federation of Labor will permit of such work being carried forward.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Maryland is a fertile field for the work of organization of men and women workers; and

WHEREAS, The Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and the central bodies of the City of Baltimore and the City of Cumberland have jointly inaugurated a campaign of organization to cover a period of one year, and have adopted a slogan of "Ten Thousand New Members in the Year"; and

WHEREAS, Such an undertaking should meet with the approval of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention urges national and international unions, so far as possible, to co-operate with the trade unions in Maryland by sending representatives to direct and assist in the work of organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to do all things to make this movement a success; and, should funds be available, place an experienced organizer in that jurisdiction, to have full charge of the campaign of organization, and press the movement to a successful conclusion.

We recommend that the convention concur in the resolution and comply with the request in so far as the funds

of the American Federation of Labor will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, There are in the United States and Canada over forty thousand gardeners and florists of whom only two per cent. are organized; and

WHEREAS, We believe with the hearty assistance of the state federations of labor and city central bodies in the United States and Canada, we can organize the thousands of workers in our line; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request its membership and friends to use their best endeavors in the state and city organizations to help in organizing our trade.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The members of the Pacific Division No. 37 of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, employed as wireless operators by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, which controls and operates the majority of coastal and maritime radio stations in the United States, are now on strike as a protest against extremely low wages and intolerable working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company has and does refuse to enter into negotiations looking toward a favorable settlement of said strike, or in any way to deal with organized labor and has used every means at its command to destroy the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as viewing with extreme disfavor the unreasonable and arbitrary attitude of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of these members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America and that its officers and members render them whatever aid, moral or otherwise, possible, in support of their endeavors to effect better conditions for their craft.

We commend the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union for their efforts to better their conditions. Upon investigation, however, we find that the strike mentioned has been en-

dorsed by their national organization and we do not consider further endorsement necessary by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Geo. L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There has been formed in the southeastern States an organization of the workers known as the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Southern Labor Congress purposes the fostering of organizations and uniform legislation in the interest of the workers of the South; and

WHEREAS, Through the address of the representative of that Congress, Mr. Jerome Jones, made before this convention thoroughly indicates the far-reaching possibilities of the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that a more concentrated action and attention should be given the work of organization in the south, in order to successfully cope with the growing industrial activities of that comparatively new industrial field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon all national and international unions to render such co-operation as possible in assisting the work of the Southern Labor Congress and the organization of the various crafts in the southland; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is directed to render such general support as may be found possible in carrying out the work indicated in this resolution.

This Congress may and no doubt is doing much good in its own way. From information received we learn it consists of labor unions affiliated and unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, farmers' organizations, women's clubs, welfare associations and the like. It takes unto itself the right to direct state federations of labor in the South as to the course they should pursue in educational and legislative matters. This we consider the business of the American Federation of Labor and not of the congress. We, therefore, cannot see our way clear to recognize it as a component part of the American Federation of Labor; nor do we believe it should be represented in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor by a fraternal delegate.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women wage workers is well understood by the American Federation of Labor, as is proven by the fact that at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor a special one-cent assessment was levied for that purpose; and

WHEREAS, The money collected by this assessment was used to such good purpose that it resulted in adding several thousand women to the ranks of organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are many millions of women wage workers who do not belong to any organization, among whom we may specifically mention the one hundred and twenty-five thousand unorganized women employed in the laundry industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the Executive Council to levy a one cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to expend part of the funds collected by this assessment in organizing the women and girls employed in steam laundries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor directing their attention to the great field for organization work that is to be found among the women wage workers of the laundry industry.

We recommend that the first resolve of the resolution be adopted by the convention.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the second resolve, believing that the best judgment of the Executive Council will prevail in the expenditure of the fund thus created.

We recommend that the word "instructed" in the second line of the last resolve be stricken out and the word "requested" be inserted in lieu thereof, and that the convention concur in the request, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women wage workers is well understood by the American Federation

of Labor, as is proven by the fact that at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor a special one-cent assessment was levied for that purpose; and

WHEREAS, The money collected by this assessment was used in such good purpose that it resulted in adding several thousand women to the ranks of organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are many millions of women wage workers who do not belong to any organization, among whom we may specifically mention the one hundred and twenty-five thousand unorganized women employed in the laundry industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the Executive Council to levy a one-cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor directing their attention to the great field for organization work that is to be found among the women wage workers of the laundry industry.

The resolution as amended by the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 107.—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The necessity of an active campaign of organization in Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa, commonly called the Tri-Cities, was brought to the attention of the recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This is a most important center and any activities engaged in there have effect upon two great States; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor is anxious to make the Tri-Cities a union labor center; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its President to assign one of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in unionizing the Tri-Cities and such assistance and co-operation be continued as long as, in the opinion of the President, it seems advisable.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the resolution in so far as the funds of the American Federation of Labor will enable this to be done.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 108.—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the State of Kansas there exists an unorganized condition among the workers of the State, both skilled and unskilled, the forces of organized labor in the State have, in the past been divided by the existence of two State movements, viz., the Kansas State Federation of Labor and the State Society of Labor and Industry; and

WHEREAS, The State Society of Labor and Industry (the dual movement), has now ceased to exist, and conditions are most favorable at the present time to organize the unorganized and build up a strong State Federation of Labor in Kansas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through the proper channels, inaugurate a state-wide "Labor Forward Movement," in the State of Kansas, in the Spring of 1916, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various National and International Unions be requested by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to co-operate in this movement by sending organizers to assist in bringing about a more thorough organization of the workers of that State, and the affiliation of their local unions with the State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The advancement of the interests of Organized Labor and Farmers' Organizations calls for a closer co-operation on the part of these two great forces of the producers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations, City Central Bodies and Local Unions, conduct an energetic and persistent campaign to the end that the desired co-operation may be brought about.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council and that they render such assistance in the work suggested as will be warranted by the funds of the American Federation of Labor at the time requested.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123.—By Delegate Thomas J. Mahoney of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The O. C. Hansen Manufacturing Company, the Ellsworth Thayer Manufacturing Company and the Milwaukee Glove Company of Milwaukee, Wis., who for years have made agreements with our organization and used our union label, have refused to



renew the agreements with us, although no changes in either the agreement or wage schedule was asked for by our organization, and locked out our members July 1 of this year; and

WHEREAS, Our members have been waging a struggle since that time to maintain their organization and resist the reduction of wages made by the Milwaukee Glove Company, and

WHEREAS, The gloves made by these manufacturers are used particularly by the men in the organized trades, and we believe this attack on our organization in Milwaukee is backed by the Glove Manufacturers' Association of Wisconsin, so we need every possible assistance to successfully carry on this fight; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention urge the affiliated unions of their organization to render their moral and financial support to the glove workers involved in this lockout.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the subject matter of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):

WHEREAS, There exists a condition in the silver industry of this country that should be of vital importance to every trade unionist affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Silver Trust, known as the International Silver Company, own or control nearly all the silver factories of this country, thereby have stamped out competition and can regulate prices of this product. Manufacturing an article that is a luxury and only purchased by the wealthy, they are in a position to pay fair wages to the workers in their many factories.

They, however, are bitter and antagonistic towards organized labor and have successfully stamped out all attempts of their employees to form organizations at their very inception, punishing the agitators by instant dismissal and the use of the black-list.

This corporation must of necessity employ only the most highly skilled mechanics, and these men and women are compelled to labor ten hours a day and sixty hours a week for a rate of wages ranging from one dollar to a dollar and a half a day less than paid union men and women doing the same work in other branches of industry.

The employees, enthused by the eight-hour agitation in the East, succeeded in organizing thoroughly several of the largest factories of the International Silver Company, and demanded the shorter work-day and a fair living wage. The International Silver Company immediately refused their demands and over three

thousand men and women went on a strike, grimly determined to stick solidly together until fair conditions were conceded to them.

The strike occurred on October 4, 1915, and involved six of the factories of the International Silver Company, all located in Meriden, Conn. This corporation then began having its work done in its other shops. These other employees had been organizing and refused to do the scab work, and as a consequence strikes are now on in Derby, Wallingford, Norwich, Waterbury; ten factories now on strike and more to follow, bringing the number on strike up to close on eight thousand.

The winning of this strike will not only remove the competition of the underpaid mechanic in keeping wages down in other industries, but will add at least thirty thousand more men and women to the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to provide food and living necessities to these destitute brothers and sisters, who are fighting so hard to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The organizations these strikers are affiliated with are not large enough to bear this great burden without assistance from this great labor movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to send out letters of appeal to the International, National, State Federations, City, Central Councils, Federal Labor Unions, and all local unions affiliated either directly to this American Federation of Labor, or through their International or National Unions, for financial assistance to help the organization and the men and women now involved to carry this fight on to a successful termination.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the request presented in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Leary: There are now on strike in the southern factories about eight thousand men and women, and the present indications are that the fight will last all winter. I would like to offer, as an amendment to the resolution, that the officers be instructed to send out these letters of appeal as soon as possible.

The amendment was seconded and carried and the motion as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 136 was amended by the committee to read:

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, R. G.

Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, There exists in Massachusetts a so-called Brotherhood of Power Workers with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is in fact a dual organization to the general labor movement and particularly to the International Brotherhood of Steam and Operating Engineers, the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and members of all trades working in boiler rooms and power plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all local and central bodies in Massachusetts of this fact.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as presented, and later accepted amendments offered by Delegate Healy and Delegate Alden, changing the resolution to make it read as above.

The resolution was adopted as amended.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 147 be amended to read:

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, Wm. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has succeeded in establishing a uniform wage scale in many of the municipalities, county and State institutions for oilers, stationary firemen and helpers; and

WHEREAS, We are now engaged in an effort to obtain the prevailing rate of wages for oilers, stationary firemen and helpers now employed in the federal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request its Executive Council and all central bodies as well as its organizers to render the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen such assistance as may be necessary to bring about the desired result.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates J. E. Giles, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, and Newton A. James, Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, During recent years office workers in Washington, New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco and other cities have organized into local unions; and

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in

any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above-named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to make an investigation into existing organizations of office workers, the need for such organizations, the field for further organization and the whole question of the advisability of organizing a national union, and to make an early report of its findings; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor designate one of its special organizers to work among the office employees of the District of Columbia and of the country as long as practicable during the coming year; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the meantime the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in connection with the central labor bodies, be instructed to begin the organization of office workers wherever possible in any of the cities of the United States.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject matter of the resolution and that such assistance be given to this work as the funds of the Federation available for such work will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate Frank Spiegl, Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Every incorporated municipality in the United States has its fire department, the membership of which is composed exclusively of the working class; and

WHEREAS, In almost all of these municipalities these men are compelled to be on continuous duty 24 hours per day, with only short intervals for meals; and

WHEREAS, To improve such intolerable conditions is one of the objects of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every legitimate effort to organize locals of firemen connected with the municipal fire department of the country, with a view of forming a national organization of members of Municipal Fire Departments to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution, in so far as it deals with the organization of municipal

firemen, and would recommend that the portion of the resolve, seeking the formation of a national organization, be referred to the Executive Council to act upon as their judgment may direct.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Duffy: The above report covers all matters that have been referred to your committee, and it is respectfully submitted, signed by

FRANK DUFFY,

Chairman;

O. M. PARTELOW,

Secretary;

P. W. DOWLER,

A. J. KUGLER,

A. HINZMAN,

JOHN T. TAGGART,

JAMES ROBERTS,

THOS. F. FARRELL,

W. J. BRENNAN,

HERB R. SCHNEIDER,

FRANK J. HAYES.

Chairman Duffy moved the adoption of the report as a whole as amended. (Seconded and carried.)

#### Report of Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Alpine submitted the report of the committee, as follows:

Your Committee on State Organizations, having carefully considered the different matters referred to them, beg leave to report as follows:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Charles W. McFarland of the Wallace (Idaho) Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, We have no State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The State of Idaho is a fertile field for the work of skilled organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to transfer one or more organizers to this district; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in this work of organization to the full extent of our ability.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that the subject-matter be given serious consideration by them and that they take such action as in their judgment is advisable.

And also that that section of the Executive Council's report covering this matter under the caption of "City Central Bodies—State Federations of Labor," be adopted.

The committee desires to report further that it secured from Secretary Morrison a partial list of the local unions that are part of some of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and that are not affiliated with the central bodies and State federations in whose jurisdictions they are located. We also learned in connection with this matter that Secretary Morrison had rendered material assistance in co-operation with international officers in bringing about the affiliation of many local unions during the past year. The committee also took up the question of the affiliation of their local unions with the central bodies and State federations with a large number of international officials, and they all agreed to render any assistance that they could during the coming year to bring about the affiliation of all unaffiliated local unions. And in an effort to bring about this condition which means the greatest strength and highest efficiency of those bodies to do the greatest good for the workers and the labor movement, we would recommend that Secretary Morrison be instructed to continue to work in co-operation with the officers of the international unions and of the different central bodies and State federations to bring about the complete affiliation of all eligible local unions with those bodies; and that the Executive Council also use its good offices and render whatever assistance they can to this end, and that all salaried and voluntary organizers be furnished with a list of the unaffiliated local unions in their territory with instructions to use their influence in every manner possible to bring about their affiliation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McFarland discussed the condition of the organizations in the state of Idaho, thanked the committee for the report submitted, and urged that organizers be sent there by the American Federation of Labor. He suggested that international organizations instruct the organizers going through that state to

aid the local movement whenever possible.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many local unions of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are not affiliated with the State Federations of Labor of their respective States; and

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor is one of the important links in the chain of organized labor, and is the principal instrument through which State legislation in the interest of the workers can and is secured, and therefore should receive the undivided support of all bona fide labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its Executive Council to request the various national and international unions at their next conventions, to amend their Constitutions so as to provide: that their local unions must affiliate with the State Federation of Labor where such Federation exists in the State in which the local union is located, and provided further, that the dues to such State Federations shall be collected through the general office of the national or international union and by the general office paid to the proper officers of the various State Federations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention be earnestly requested to use every honorable means in their power to secure the adoption of such amendment to the Constitution of the organization of which they are delegates.

The committee endorses the spirit of this resolution, but believes that the time has not arrived when such action can be enforced to the best advantage of our movement. We therefore recommend as a substitute that the action of the Philadelphia convention, which is herewith quoted, be reiterated:

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes that part of the report of the Executive Council to the effect that there should be a greater degree of harmony between the Federation and some central bodies and state federations, and that there should be on the part of some of them more consideration for and obedience to the mandates of the Federation.

Your committee feels that there is one reason that can be assigned for this attitude on the part of these bodies, and that it is subject-matter of affiliation. We are aware, of course, that there are other causes for the failure of these

bodies to co-operate; but we wish to assure the convention that we have made an investigation through some of the delegates from these bodies and find that the failure of internationals to secure the affiliation of local unions with state federations and city centrals, and also building trades councils, has considerable to do with the lack of harmony existing.

Year after year complaints are made to these conventions of the failure or inability of certain internationals to do their full duty in this regard.

These recurring complaints are the cause of friction, and do not encourage that healthy loyalty to this Federation, and to the internationals which is so much needed and desired for the success of the movement.

Just as this American Federation of Labor obtains its highest efficiency and greatest strength from the collective effort of all organized labor, so, too, are these States and local bodies strengthened or weakened by full affiliation or refusal of locals to join.

In all fairness it must be conceded that these city centrals and State federations, in many instances organize unions, finance strikes, father and secure the enactment of progressive and beneficent legislation, and are often the means by which the internationals, acting through the American Federation of Labor, accomplish and sometimes compel obedience to their law by locals throughout the land.

There must be some reciprocity in these things. If it is proper to compel a central body to keep these unions within the fold (by threats to revoke its charter), why is it not as logical to take steps to insist upon the affiliation and federation of these local unions?

Sometimes the unions complain that the per capita tax is too high, and urge that as a reason why they are not affiliated. In that regard your committee would say that if it became necessary for this or a succeeding convention to set the maximum amount of per capita that might be charged by these bodies, it would be vastly preferable to a state of non-affiliation of local unions.

We believe that the time has come to deal definitely with this evil, and to that end we recommend that the following steps be taken as a means of assisting the State federations, city centrals and building trade councils, and encouraging from them a greater respect and obedience far and to this Federation.

First—That each international convention be visited by a representative of the American Federation of Labor with a specific request that said convention legislate to insist upon affiliation of locals with State federations, city centrals and building trade councils.

Second—That the Executive Council be instructed to secure for the information of the next convention the names of locals in States not in affiliation with their State federations, and from central bodies and building trades councils the

names and numbers of unaffiliated locals in their cities.

Third—That this information be submitted to the next convention in printed form. The Executive Council is to recommend to the next convention the appointment of a special committee, whose duty it shall be (during the convention) to inquire of international officers the reasons for non-affiliation of their locals. The secretary of this Federation is to supply, if possible, to each international the names of its unaffiliated locals at least sixty days prior to the convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Rosenthal.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): There is one recommendation which provides the representatives to the American Federation shall visit every national and international union convention. In the Label Trades Department it is provided that, so far as we could do so, we will send a representative to every national and international convention. It is possible the Metal Trades have taken a somewhat similar action, and that the Building Trades will have a representative for purposes of their own. That would be duplication. I would like to amend that there be co-operation between the American Federation of Labor and its departments in assigning these representatives to visit the national and international conventions.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was seconded and carried, and the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Your committee also wishes to recommend that the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything within their power to secure the affiliation of all local unions with the central bodies and state federations in whose jurisdiction they are under, and that all central bodies affiliate with state federations under whose jurisdiction they are located.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ernst stated that as a member of the committee he concurred in the report, except that the part of the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention in regard to sending out the names of unaffiliated locals to the Internationals prior to the convention had not been carried out. He moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that the secretary be instructed to compile a full list to be submitted to the next convention.

Chairman Alpine stated that the committee, with the exception of Delegate Ernst, did not deem it advisable or expedient to publish a list of the local unions and send it broadcast; that the

committee had received from Secretary Morrison a list of the unaffiliated locals, and many of the representatives from international unions in the convention were interviewed, and they promised further assistance in the matter.

The question was discussed by Delegate Ferguson, Delegate Bourne, Delegate Ernst, Delegate Blakeley, Delegate Tobin (D. J.), Vice-President O'Connell and Chairman Alpine.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

#### **Model Anti-Trust Injunction Limitation Law for State Use.**

The committee recommends the adoption of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Convict Labor.**

The committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report on the subject of Convict Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Child Labor.**

The committee recommends the adoption of the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Proposed Welfare Amendments.**

The committee recommends that the Council's action be endorsed and that their efforts be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Alpine: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN R. ALPINE, Chairman,  
JOHN H. WALKER, Secretary,  
STUART A. HAYWARD,  
FRANK SPIEGL,  
ED. S. ALDEN,  
HUGO ERNST,  
JOHN T. DEMPSEY,  
SAM TOBIN,  
R. L. WOODMANSEE,  
P. J. RYAN,  
JOHN F. McGRATH,  
H. G. ALEXANDER,  
FRANK M. COFFEY,  
FRED L. BOURNE,  
HARRY P. CORCORAN,  
Committee on State Organizations.

Upon motion by Chairman Alpine the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

#### Report of Committee on Labels.

Secretary Altman of the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Labels, after careful consideration of all the resolutions and recommendations referred to it, begs leave to submit the following report:

#### Registration of Titles and Labels.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council in regard to the registration of titles and labels.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate H. O. Gossett of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The union label is a mark of distinction "union made" and should not only be requested but demanded on all articles of our purchase and use; and such demand and purchase should not be confined to any special few of any personal choice, but to all union-made articles of whatever craft and kind, and

WHEREAS, The universal purchasing power is compiled through the individual demand and purchase and as, approximately, ninety per cent., or more, of our membership do not know the designs of all the various union labels, and, for the want of such knowledge, the concentration of our universal purchasing power is but a small per cent. of what it should be, and

WHEREAS, We, the American Federation of Labor, as a unit for the universal good and betterment of unionism and mankind, believe that simplified aid should be given to utilize a progressive universal purchasing power among all trade unionists and friends; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the adoption of a Universal Monogram Label for all union-made goods and that the Label Committee submit an appropriate design of such a label for the adoption of this convention.

Your committee feels that, in view of the fact that the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor itself in previous conventions, have considered and investigated the advisability of adopting a universal label, and the different national and international organizations have reported as to the impracticability of such a label, and in past conventions of the

Union Label Trades Department have declared against the adoption of same, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Frank W. Cotterill and J. G. Brown, of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle, through the efforts of its educational committee and label committee recently held a most successful exposition of union labels, union house and shop cards, and products of union labor, said exposition having been made possible by the hearty and enthusiastic co-operation of the officers and the rank and file of a large majority of all affiliated unions, and

WHEREAS, This exposition has created a marked increase in the demand for the union label and for union labor products, and

WHEREAS, Local manufacturers and merchants interested themselves in said exposition and contributed to its success by making attractive and creditable displays for the purpose of taking advantage of the advertising opportunities presented, and whereas also the labor press received a flattering increase in advertising patronage through said exposition and was enabled to prove its value as an advertising medium; and

WHEREAS, All local unions of Seattle having benefited by said exposition, central councils in other cities have planned or are planning similar expositions for the education of the members of their affiliated unions and the general public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby indorse the holding of such expositions for the advertisement of union labels, union house and shop cards and union labor products, and in furtherance of the exposition idea authorizes its executive council to place at the disposal of organizations making proper application such statistics, literature and exhibits as it may now have on hand, or may hereafter acquire; such, for example, as the American Federation of Labor exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and other exhibits of paintings, sculptures, photographs, music and literature of special interest to labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That merchants and manufacturers fair to organized labor be invited to participate in such expositions at the discretion of the central labor councils holding the same, or at State fairs under the auspices of State Federations; and that such other assistance be extended at such expositions as the executive council of this federation, or the label department thereof, may deem necessary.



Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Experience has fully demonstrated the necessity for, and the value of union labels to lend discriminating power in favor of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The good results to come from the use of the union label must come from the patronage bestowed by labor and the friends of the Union Label; and

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that products bearing the Union Label do not enjoy the demand that Union Labeled products have a right to expect from the members of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a blue label which now is placed on hundreds of brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best quality produced, and is as well advertised proportionately as any other label in this country; and

WHEREAS, The patronage given to Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is not within fifty per cent. of that which it should be, which reliable statistics will prove; and

WHEREAS, With the ever growing membership of the American Federation of Labor, these conditions could be greatly changed for the better by remembering the Label when exchanging good Union-earned money for tobacco, cigarettes or snuff; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as delegates will ourselves do our duty and we will as far as lies in our power urge others to patronize only such tobacco products as do bear the Union Label, and we will endeavor wherever possible to induce dealers in tobacco products to put in full lines of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will refrain from and urge others to not patronize places of business who persistently refuse to keep in stock an assorted line of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, G. P. Leary, of the International Union of Metal Polishers; John J. Hynes, of the Sheet Metal Workers; James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers; J. S. Merchant, of the Central Labor Union of Wallingford, Connecticut; Wm. H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has adopted a universal label; and

WHEREAS, The appearance of this label will be a positive guarantee that all employees in the employ of the firm using same are carrying a card in the organization representing their craft or trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor request the Label Trades Department to advertise thoroughly the existence of this label, to the end that all mechanics may know that they can purchase tools bearing the union label.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Union Label Trades Department.

Your committee recommends the endorsement of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In conclusion, your committee desires to commend the good work and recognizes the valuable services rendered by the Union Label Trades Department in promoting a demand for union label products and shop cards. We believe this department would do more in that direction if the policy of demanding union labels and shop cards is pursued by all members of organized labor more rigorously, especially in regard to the labels and cards of those organizations whose existence depends upon such demand. If this demand were more general, it would be only a short time until no manufacturer in this country could operate his establishment without the recognition of union labor.

And we further believe that in this manner the necessity for strikes, lock-outs and boycotts could be entirely eliminated. And the manufacturers would realize that any reasonable and just demand of a labor union must be met in a fair and impartial manner and properly and promptly discussed. Impatient as they may be, there is always an opportunity for a settlement of the differences existing between the union and the employer without the necessity for any drastic action.

Therefore, your committee recommends to the officers and delegates of this convention that after the adjournment of this convention, upon their return to the

different localities in which they reside and to the organizations to which they belong, they take up especially the question of promoting the demand of Union Label Shop Cards and Buttons. And that efforts be made to interest every member of the organization to purchase Union-Label commodities and patronize the Union Shop Cards and Buttons, if for no other reason than the selfish reason of benefit to themselves. A proper demand for the Union Label, Shop Cards and Buttons would undoubtedly bring about conditions under which all of the moneys now expended on strikes, lockouts and boycotts could be used for further propagation for Union Label, Shop Card and Buttons, and for organizing the unorganized workers, and in that manner insure better conditions under which the laboring people would work. Increased salaries mean better home conditions, more education for the children, and will lead toward the human uplift.

Respectfully submitted,

**M. ZUCKERMAN, Chairman;**  
**PHILIP BOCK,**  
**THOS. J. MAHONEY,**  
**F. A. SCOBY,**  
**JAMES F. BROCK,**  
**JACOB GOLDSTONE,**  
**MAX S. HAYES,**  
**J. MAHLON BARNES,**  
**M. L. GREENE,**  
**GEO. ABERNATHY,**  
**P. F. RYAN,**  
**J. THOS. BEASLEY,**  
**VICTOR ALTMAN, Secretary.**

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

#### Report of Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Delegate Leary, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The ship-building industry is enjoying a volume of business unprecedented in recent years; and

WHEREAS, The war now going on in Europe has taken from this industry all competition in connection with ship-building for the United States; and

WHEREAS, The eight-hour limitations contained in the several appropriation bills authorizing the construction of vessels has forced many ship-building plants to work at least a por-

tion of their forces eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The conditions as above enumerated would indicate that the time is most opportune for the complete organization of this industry, and the inauguration of the eight-hour day generally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled indorse and give its moral and financial support to a joint movement of all the trades directly interested towards the organization of and the establishment of the eight-hour day in this industry.

We concur in the preamble of this resolution and recommend that the subject-matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### The Shorter Work Day.

On the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reports as follows:

Every expression made by the American Federation of Labor regarding this subject either in convention, by the Executive Council, or otherwise has been in favor of the shorter work-day. It is gratifying to observe that as a result of these repeated declarations and reaffirmations the working people have been stimulated and encouraged to strive for the establishment of this humane principle until now the eight-hour day prevails generally in a very large number of trades and industries.

We express the hope that ere long a maximum work-day of eight hours will be universally established.

We believe the language contained in the following paragraphs of the Executive Council's report, reflects the hopes and aspirations of the workers everywhere on this question and we recommend it be emphasized as the expression of this convention:

Because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter work-day upon the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, we cannot too strongly impress upon all wage-earners the necessity to concentrate their chief effort to secure the shorter work-day—the general application of at least the eight-hour day.

We, therefore, recommend that all wage-earners—all the toilers of America, unite and make common cause for the attainment of this economic, social, political and moral boon at the earliest possible day. No proposition more sound economically, sociologically and humanely can be adopted than the en-

forcement of the general eight-hour work-day for all the workers engaged upon any field of human endeavor.

Signed:

WM. GREEN,  
Chairman;  
GEO. LEARY,  
Secretary;  
JOHN WILLIAMS,  
M. G. SCOTT,  
C. L. BAINE,  
C. R. CASE,  
H. ABRAHAMS,  
THOS. REDDING,  
M. J. MCGUIRE,  
J. F. HART,  
J. H. BAKER,  
WM. TABER,  
J. CARNEY,  
D. G. RAMSAY.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers: The convention has directed the President of the American Federation to appoint a committee on Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws. The committee is to make an investigation during the year. The President appoints the following committee:

John P. White, United Mine Workers, Indianapolis; T. W. McCullough, Typographical Union, Omaha; John Williams, Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Pittsburgh; Matthew Woll, Photo-Engravers, Chicago; Charles L. Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, Boston; Paul Scharrenburg, Seamen, San Francisco; D. D'Alessandro, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, Albany, N. Y.; P. F. Casey, Glass Bottle Blowers, representing the Ohio State Federation, Zanesville; M. Donoghue, Plumbers, Butte, Mont.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate, Frey, secretary of the committee, submitted the final report of this committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 22—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

RESOLVED, That this convention reiterates the position taken at the Philadelphia convention in the following resolution which was there unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The registration laws have been so altered as to permit foreign vessels to come under the American flag

and to sail for two years without inspection, and for seven years with officers not citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels so admitted thereby become able to sail with no inspection whatsoever, to the danger of human life and property; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels have no rights, other than those mentioned, that they would not have enjoyed under any foreign flag; and

WHEREAS, That part of our registration laws which prohibit foreign-built vessels from being engaged in the coast-wise trade acts as a deterrent on the building of American merchant marine; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the United States as licensed officers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

RESOLVED, By the 35th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that this Federation hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coast-wise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of said laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There is under consideration the question of opening our coast-wise trade to foreign-built vessels; and

WHEREAS, The world's history, now in the making, emphatically warns us not to rely on outside sources for our means of protection; and our ability to defend ourselves in times of war and to use the ocean highways in times of peace, will largely depend upon the up-building of our shipyards to the end that quantity in construction and efficiency in labor will eventually lessen the cost to a point where we may reasonably expect to meet any competition; and

WHEREAS, These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards, and to protect the vessels in their operations on our sea coast. All the present merchant marine of the United States is the by-product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition; and

WHEREAS, Having faith in the protection of these laws, American ship-owners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards, and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would not only be unjust to permit the injury to their investments of allowing cheaper, because foreign-built, vessels to compete with them, but highly impolitic because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor rescind its action in concurring in Resolution No. 2, page 329, of the Philadelphia proceedings, and oppose any interference with our present coastwise navigation laws.

The subject of these resolutions were referred to two committees, the committee on Executive Council's Report and the Committee on Resolutions. These committees met in joint session, which lasted over three hours, and during which interested parties were given a hearing. The committees, acting jointly and with the approval of the contending parties present and the joint meeting, decided to report to the convention the recommendation that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of securing additional information.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee amended Resolution No. 146 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Jos. W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, In some of the principal cities there has been established a wage scale for Stationary Firemen, Oilers and Coal Passers in all branches of the municipality; and

WHEREAS, The Boards of Education in certain cities have adopted a form of contracting for the heating of buildings whereby union men may be deprived of what they should receive; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we oppose any system which has for its purpose a reduction of wages.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate J. P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, News reports from Washington indicate that President Wilson may recommend to Congress an appropriation of five hundred million dollars for the construction of warships in pursuance of a policy of general preparedness; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor and all progressive thinkers fully realize that militarism and navalism is the greatest enemy to peace, happiness and the general welfare of the American people and all other nations; and

WHEREAS, National preparedness must mean a well directed defense of our country against any invasion and not a military aggression against other nations; and general preparedness must not be a pretext for the growth of militarism and the destruction of popular rights nor a capitalistic menace to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, A huge national appropriation will be a mighty impetus to industrial activity and the employment of thousands of workers for many years; and

WHEREAS, Warships are tax-eating and unproductive as well as obsolete and valueless after the lapse of but a few years, while merchant ships are producers of revenue and do not add to the burden of the tax-paying people; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson stands already committed in favor of the creation of a National Merchant Marine owned and controlled by the Government; and

WHEREAS, In the present deplorable and horrid war between the great nations of Europe the historic achievements of several big German liners, which were built both for commerce and naval reserve service, have conclusively demonstrated that merchant ships may be so constructed as to serve with equal efficiency the pursuits of peace and in an emergency the exigencies of war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That general preparedness for the naval defense of the country and for the protection of the economic inter-

ests of all the people is best attained by the construction of a revenue-producing merchant marine and naval reserve combined in preference to that of costly, unproductive and tax-eating warships for military purposes only; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity be and hereby is requested to urge the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor to favor the progressive policy as expressed in this resolution.

Inasmuch as this convention has already taken action upon the subject covered by this resolution, your committee recommends that the following be adopted as a substitute for this resolution:

**RESOLVED**, That this convention place itself on record as favoring the upbuilding of a merchant marine under the American flag, which shall be a part of the nation's defenses against foreign aggressions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 155**—By Delegate Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union:

**WHEREAS**, The Public Printer having recommended to Congress, last year, an increase to certain employees of the Government Printing Office, as follows:

"In view of the technical nature of most of the work handled in this office and the knowledge and skill required on the part of the employees, I recommend that authority be given to me to increase the pay of the printers and bookbinders from 50 cents to 55 cents per hour, and the bookbinders machine operators from 55 cents to 60 cents per hour"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Congress of the United States, is hereby urged to grant at the coming session, the authority requested by the Public Printer.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 80**—By Delegate Thos. Van Lear, of the International Association of Machinists:

**WHEREAS**, Past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have urged upon all State Branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day; and

**WHEREAS**, The best interest of all the workers demand a general reduction in the hours of labor at the earliest possible moment; and

**WHEREAS**, The activities and power of the organized employers of this

country are taking advantage of the long hours of labor to keep thousands unemployed; and

**WHEREAS**, A considerable number of States at present enjoy the right to initiate and pass legislation by a vote of the people; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the direct legislation method of shortening the work-day in such States as the State Federation of Labor in said States deem it desirable.

**Resolution No. 152**—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The Illinois State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of the eight-hour work day by legislation by the adoption of the following resolution:

"**RESOLVED**, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation that we go on record and hold solid for the eight-hour work day by legislation, both industrially and politically, and that every delegate use all of his influence in his local union and boost for the eight-hour law by legislation, that some day we will all be working eight hours per day and thereby keeping in line with the increased productiveness of modern machinery;" therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this convention that the spirit, intent and purpose of the foregoing resolution be adopted by this convention.

Your committee is of the opinion that one of labor's first great victories was the winning of industrial freedom through the repeal of those laws through which the workers' terms of employment had been largely determined by legislative and judicial authorities and the establishment of the workers' privilege to organize on the industrial field and, through their collective strength, enforce their right to have a determining voice in the terms of their employment.

Your committee recommends as a substitute for the resolution the endorsement of the Executive Council's report on shorter work-day, which reads in part:

It is an accepted principle that the shorter work-day is a fundamental step in the betterment of the workers. The shorter work-day affects the length of life, the health, the standards of life, and in fact, every phase of the lives of the workers. The wage-earner whose hours of labor are decreased goes to work and comes from work at a different time than before, and consequently comes in contact with people whose

habits of living are different. From contact with these people of greater leisure, he establishes new ideals. He has a greater number of hours in which to rest, revive his energies and devote to recreation or the development of his mind. Thus the shorter workday makes of the worker a different person, a person of greater physical endurance, greater vitality, higher ideals, and consequently a person who will not be satisfied with the old standards of the long hours of work.

The improved methods of production which always follow a reduction in the hours of labor increase the productive power of the worker and consequently he is in a position to demand and receive higher wages. Invariably every decrease in the hours of work per day is accompanied or followed by an increase in wages. The shorter work-day movement is to secure to the workers greater material advantages. It is an important movement in conserving national vigor and health and in guarding against those tendencies that undermine true national power. From this is evident the importance of the action of the Philadelphia convention, in adopting the following:

"The American Federation of Labor, as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade-union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting insofar as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by federal, state or municipal government."

The economic strength of the organization determines the bargaining power of that organization. One of the objective points which the anthracite miners include in their demands for the new 1916 contract is the eight-hour work-day. They have wisely planned their campaign in advance and have measured their forces, so that they will be in the best position possible to enforce their demands. It is very significant that the gains that have been made in shortening the work-day in private industries throughout the country have been fundamentally due to the influence of the economic power in the trade organizations, and have been secured through economic action. Also significant in connection with this is the recommendation of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations: "The regulation by legal enactment of hours of work of adult workmen is not generally practicable or desirable except for public employees." It cannot be over-emphasized that the wage-earners must depend upon their economic organizations for securing a shorter work-day. This method is not only effective in securing for the workers this fundamental step in their betterment, but it enables them at the same time to maintain their independence and their resourcefulness, together with the right to determine those things which affect the conditions of work under which they must toil.

To secure the shorter work-day by any other method makes it necessary for the wage-earners to delegate to other authorities other things which vitally affect them, and which constitute a limitation upon their activities and their rights, and thus finally lessen their freedom.

Because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter work-day upon the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, we cannot too strongly impress upon all wage-earners the necessity to concentrate their chief effort to secure the shorter work-day—the general application of at least the eight-hour day.

We, therefore, recommend that all wage-earners—all the toilers of America, unite and make common cause for the attainment of this economic, social, political and moral boon at the earliest possible day. No proposition more sound economically, sociologically and humanely can be adopted than the enforcement of the general eight-hour work-day for all the workers engaged upon any field of human endeavor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Secretary Frey: The subject-matter concerned in this resolution was very late in being referred to the committee. The whole subject had been referred to three committees, that is, the Committee on Shorter Work Day, the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and these two resolutions to the Committee on Resolutions. We were not able to report this when last on the platform and consequently the entire matter was referred to this committee, including the section of the report of the Executive Council with which it deals.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists: I am opposed to the report of the committee. They make practically the same report they made in Philadelphia, that we should legislate to shorten the hours for women but not legislate to shorten the hours for men. Just three days prior to the action they took in Philadelphia they passed upon a recommendation of the Executive Council which states: "Representative Stevens of New Hampshire introduced bill H. R. 12102, for the purpose of making eight hours the maximum work day for Railroad Telegraphers employed by railroad companies engaged in interstate commerce. This bill is being strongly urged by the Order of the Railroad Telegraphers and affiliated organizations. It is before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, which has given hearings on it. We believe that if this measure is



strongly urged we can obtain complete action upon it during the next session of Congress." This same resolutions committee in Philadelphia recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to take action to secure legislation for railroad telegraphers. Railroad telegraphers are neither women nor children. They also passed a resolution in the Philadelphia convention and in the Seattle convention on the shorter work day. There was a resolution coming from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters asking to have the hours reduced to six. The committee submitted a report which was adopted by the convention. I will read the latter part of it:

First. That we strive for a more general application of the eight-hour day in all trades and occupations before commencing a general agitation for a six-hour work day, but in the event any national or international organization desires to commence an agitation for a working day less than eight hours, that they be given the encouragement and moral support of the American Federation of Labor.

Second. That the American Federation of Labor work unceasingly for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day, and not more than forty-eight hours per week.

Third. Where women's eight-hour laws already exist an agitation should immediately begin for the enactment of general eight-hour laws.

Fourth. That the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to do all in its power to aid and promote the principles hereby enunciated.

This same resolution practically was passed in Seattle. Appearing before the committee, President Gompers made the statement that that applied to government and state employees. There is not a sentence, not a word, in that resolution that has anything to do with government or municipal employees. Both of those resolutions were acted upon previous to the eight-hour legislation question, which was passed three days later. I think that is a somewhat inconsistent attitude for the American labor movement to assume. When you take action to legislate for a shorter work-day for women and then refuse to take action to legislate for a shorter work-day for men, you are legislating the women on the shelf. When that law was passed in the State of Washington, Japanese, Chinese, and in some instances young white men took the places of

women so they could work ten hours a day. Why don't you organize them? We should take a stand one way or the other. Either agitation for a shorter work day by legislation is right or it is wrong all the way through. I hope the delegates will be given the fullest opportunity to discuss this question on the floor, because I believe when people legislate for a shorter work day they know what they want, and should be given the right by the American Federation of Labor to do it. I believe this convention should take action reversing that part of the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention that says we must not enact a shorter work day by legislation.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: I realize that the time is rather short for extensive debate, but I want to reiterate the position of the California State Federation on the eight-hour provision. The California State Federation of Labor still believes it should be the right of each and every state that has the initiative and referendum to enact an eight-hour law for men as well as for women if they see fit to do so. We have an initiative law that would have made it possible to establish an eight-hour day for men had it not been for the fact that the enemies of labor availed themselves of the declaration of the American Federation of Labor that it is not in favor of the eight-hour day for men. I would like to place the California State Federation on record as emphatically opposed to the report of the committee and in favor of the resolutions.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor: I am interested in one of the resolutions that came before the committee, Resolution No. 152, adopted by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. It asks that the eight-hour day, as far as it is possible to rightfully bring it into operation, be established, and that we proceed to do that either industrially or through legislation. What I want to bring to the attention of the convention is this: When the Philadelphia convention acted upon this question, the men and women of labor of America were more concerned about other questions. It is a bread-and-butter question with the workers, and all their time is consumed in trying to meet that situation. They haven't the time to investigate the re-

ports of committees, and decisions and actions; but when the Philadelphia convention acted upon this matter and it began to trickle down into the rank and file, the rank and file began to study the situation and it came to the conclusion, at least in our state, that the eight-hour day, either through legislation, industrially or any other way, as long as it can be brought within the reach of the workers, is one of the things the labor movement ought to try to accomplish. I don't know whether the working men and women of Illinois are going to be given any weight when this thing will be voted on. We are not going to vote direct upon the proposition which the men and women of Illinois sent here; we are going to vote on an action that was taken some time before, an action which caused them to think and present their idea of the situation. I don't think it is the best way of approaching the situation. I know of some of the arguments, some of the objections and the reasons that will be given to show this is a dangerous thing; to show why we should not undertake any further action, that what has already been said and done is sufficient for the labor movement. If that is the position you are going to have a lot of your city central bodies and state federations absolutely in contradiction to the plan and purpose of the American Federation of Labor. We don't want to do that. We want to be in conformity with the American Federation of Labor. When I look back and see the representatives of the Illinois State Federation going to the Legislature and asking this legislation be enacted, I see the Illinois State Federation in a position it does not want to occupy. It was determined by the men and women of Illinois, in their last convention, to proceed along this line; and if there is anything in their road, that they proceed to try to remove that obstacle. It is said that some organizations already have a lesser number of hours to work than eight, and possibly among the building trades they have an eight-hour day for five days in the week and a half holiday on Saturday. That is one of the achievements of the labor movement; it is nothing we need to be afraid of or ashamed of. Then it is said that we will jeopardize what we have already got

if we permit further action, and that there is a tendency to keep those who already have it away from their fellows in the struggle. The Federation was not intended to divide labor's forces. The Federation's purpose is to bring the men and women closer together, that we may make sacrifices in one another's interest if that is necessary. That is the purpose of our movement, and when you raise a false issue in matters of this kind the fellows who are selfish and who allow selfishness to actuate them will step out of the fight and save what they have got. That is not doing the thing we ought to do or doing it in the way it ought to be done. Another argument offered is that the American Federation of Labor has already gone far enough in this situation. The American labor movement has spoken for the women and children of America, and as far as women and children are concerned, well and good. I would not care how much benefit and protection you bring to the women and children, whether through legislation, our organizations or otherwise; and if you want to put our organizations on record in these matters and say we are liable to lose some of the ground we have gained, why, if we are going to give up that which we already have got we are not worthy the name we have attached to us. If we haven't the manhood and the red blood in us to hold the things we have gained after the struggles we have made and the lives that have been sacrificed, if we are going to forego them because some legislature may take action, I say we are not worthy of the name. But that is not getting where we want to. The question of women and children is involved. How about the other women and children that are not in the factories and the workshops? Don't you suppose their lives are worth anything to them? Don't you suppose their future is worth anything to them in this world? But still the American Federation of Labor disregards that great army of defenseless women and children; you only take into consideration the women who go into the mill, the factory and the shop. You do not take into consideration that in this country we have some one hundred million people, 2 per cent. of them or-

ganized. Among the other 93 per cent. there are men and women who have to toil for a living, and these men and women are absolutely and totally at the mercy of big business in this country. There is absolutely no ray of hope in their lives, and still we are going along regardless of the interests which they may have in the premises. If you can secure this for these millions; if you are going on to organize them, and after you have them organized let them cut down their hours and in that way you are going to bring the eight-hour day into their lives, all right; but life is too short. We are not Methusalas in this day and age; we don't live for hundreds of years; we die off pretty early, and the term of our lives is shortened because we are so brutally used in these industries and occupations. But suppose you say that these men, these millions and millions of men in these various occupations who are so hopelessly situated ought to have the red blood in them to get up and fight, and if they won't fight there is no use worrying about them. How about the wives of these men? The lives of the wives of these fellows are just as important to them as the life of your wife and my wife or any other man's wife. These men in the industries are working ten, twelve and fourteen hours a day, which means that their wives have to work two hours longer than the industries compel the men to work. We do not regard the women in the homes, the women who have to work these other extra long hours, and we are not going to make one move politically in that situation. We are working on it industrially and economically, but we say, "Don't do it politically." We have organized two million men after a hard struggle and a great number of years, practically within the period of the average man's life, and then we say to these others, "Live on in hope that some day our organization will reach you and bring you within our beneficent fold." Do you know what the records of the Cigar Makers' Union prove? They prove that when the cigar makers' members worked unlimited hours the average life of the wife in the home was probably thirty years. Then the cigar makers, through their own volition, brought into existence the eight-hour day, and after

a period of ten years they figured the effect it had upon the lives of the wives and they found the average life of the wife had been increased something like eleven years. That trade was organized because of the operation of corporate and private greed. When you take into consideration the millions of men in the industries we cannot reach, and then say to them that we are going to prevent them from doing anything to change that situation until we are able to reach the matter industrially, they will not be satisfied. That is the view, roughly, which the Illinois State Federation takes of this situation. That body represents a large portion of this labor movement of ours, and we felt that when this resolution was sent in here it would not be practically nullified by covering it by a report that was made at a previous convention. We did not think that would be done. We thought that, inasmuch as the men of Illinois had been pinched since the Philadelphia convention, the thoughts which they had developed in their own humble way and then presented to this convention would be considered; at least the situation they have to meet would be considered, instead of going beyond it in the manner and form presented by the committee.

Delegate Germer, United Mine Workers: I am at variance with the report and recommendation of the committee, because in my opinion it does not place the matter squarely before this convention; it leaves the inference that the supporters of the resolution and those who support the eight-hour day by legislation assume the position that that is the only way by which the eight-hour workday shall be secured. That is not a fact. As Delegate Fitzpatrick stated, we want the eight-hour workday by law, and if we cannot get it by law we will get it by economic action, and if we cannot get it by economic action we will try to get it by law; but our purpose is to get it one way or another. Reference is made in the committee's report to the demand of the anthracite miners for the eight-hour day in their next wage scale negotiations. That has been the demand of the anthracite miners for years, and in spite of the fact that they have an economic organization, that they are fairly well organized, they have

been unable to get the eight-hour workday. There is nothing new in the anthracite miners asking for the eight-hour workday in their coming wage scale negotiations. The Illinois miners that are thoroughly organized, and the Ohio miners that are thoroughly organized, and the Indiana miners that are thoroughly organized, where there is no possible hope of increasing the number of hours, still make it part of their agreements to have an eight-hour workday. That is not an acknowledgment of the fact that that is the only way they can get it, but as they have it they intend to maintain it in their wage contracts. In a document handed to every delegate reference is made to the fact that the Ohio miners secured a mine-run law by legislation and then had to go on strike to enforce it. The strike of the Ohio miners was not to enforce the mine-run law, but to compel the Ohio operators to pay a certain price based on the mine-run law. The miners of Eastern Ohio that went on strike to compel the operators to pay a certain price for mine-run coal are represented here by the United Mine Workers, and they are asking the adoption of the resolution providing for the eight-hour day by legislation as well as by economic action. There is one thing in favor of this resolution in connection with the Ohio miners' strike and that is that the operators did not dare to import strike-breakers. If they had, if they had used them for the purpose of defeating the prices the Ohio miners asked, which grew out of the fact that the mine-run law was enacted, they would be violating the law and they dared not do it. In Philadelphia last year it was pointed out that in spite of the eight-hour law on the statute books of that state it was a part of the demands of the Colorado miners. It is in the miners' demands wherever they have a contract, even in the state of Washington, where they have an eight-hour law. Why is not the eight-hour law enforced in Colorado? When the strike was called fully 96 per cent. of the miners laid down their tools, and every mine in the state was closed down. We had economic action there. The reason the laws were not enforced was because we had the so-called "friends of labor," the agents of the coal barons, in political

power, and they did not exercise their political power to enforce the laws of Colorado. I want to refer to an instance to show that after a law is passed there is one more step necessary, and that is to execute it. In the city of Elizabeth, New Jersey, they elected an "undesirable citizen" as Justice of the Peace. One of the editors of a daily paper in Elizabeth made an attack upon a representative of organized labor who attempted to organize the Singer Sewing Machine factory. He recommended in an editorial that the employees take these agitators, tie ropes around their necks, tie stones to them and sink them in the bay. The organizer for the central body brought charges in the court of this Justice of the Peace. He found the editor guilty and imposed a penalty of \$500 for inciting to riot. There we have political power; they placed the political power in the hands of the workers and they used that political power to enforce the law. Of course, they appealed to the higher courts and the case was dismissed. If we had the same kind of judges as that Justice of the Peace the laws of West Virginia would be enforced. Now, we must do one of two things: we must either say that securing an eight-hour day by legislation along with economic action is right, or we must say to those States and to the legislature of those States where they have an eight-hour day by law, that they ought to repeal the laws they have to limit the number of hours. It is either right or it is wrong. If it is right, we ought to extend it to every part of the State; if it is wrong, they ought to go before the legislature in Washington and other States where they have an eight-hour law and ask for its repeal. I am sure this body would not advise the organizations in the States where they have the eight-hour law to ask for the repeal of the law, because we must secure it only by economic action. It is true the miners secured the eight-hour law by economic action in Illinois, but the eight-hour law that has been secured there has been paid for at an awful price. You might as well tell the Illinois miners that they must repeal their qualification law. That law prohibits any one from working who has not the proper qualifications, and it has had a great deal to do with secur-

ing other laws in the State of Illinois. The miners' qualification law was secured by legislative enactment, and it has prevented the operators from importing strikebreakers to take the place of miners several times when they were on strike. This resolution does not say that eight must be the numbers of hours worked; it says not more than eight hours. Of course some will say because we have that in there we cannot ask for any less. I presume that reference will be made here to a certain document gotten out to which my name has been attached, and of course I well realize it will be done to create a prejudice in the minds of certain delegates. The only hope I have to express is that this matter will be discussed upon its merits, not upon individual charges; not by attacks made upon individuals who have taken one or another position in this matter. Now, to sum up the matter briefly: Are we going to place ourselves on record as saying that if any legislature passes an enactment limiting the hours to eight, that legislature is doing something detrimental to the material welfare of the workers? If we reject these resolutions and adopt the committee's report we will be going counter to every organization that is attempting to use its influence and is using its money to secure a reduction in the number of working hours by legislation. I am in favor of securing a maximum eight-hour day, whether it is by law or by economic power. I am not one of those who believe it is better, that it will create more interest, more activity, more solidarity, to have our men shot and our women burned to death in order to get the eight-hour work day. I would rather have the maximum hours determined by law, and then insist that those who are elected and paid to execute the law do their duty and carry out their obligations. If they fail, then again I am in favor of using that mighty weapon, the ballot, to place men in office to execute those laws that have been placed upon the statute books. I have found in the limited years of my experience in the labor movement that it is much cheaper to vote right than it is to strike right. It has cost millions of dollars, it has cost human life and agony and suffering to correct the mistakes we have made at the ballot.

I am unalterably opposed, and I now record my opposition, to the proposition that we go on record that the only way we will accept eight hours as the maximum workday is through economic organizations, strikes, sacrifice and even the yielding up of human life. If I can secure it by law and secure it through the unions' efforts, that is the way I want it. I want the maximum number of hours to be eight. That means that not more than eight hours shall be the day's work. And whether I secure it by law or whether I secure it after months of strike, after spending money and even sacrificing lives, I want a shorter workday. If we can get a shorter workday, whether by law or after a strike, we will get the same benefits, the same results, and they will add to human happiness just the same, whether it is done through the strike or whether it is achieved by law. I am not a syndicalist, I am a political actionist as well as a trade unionist, and I want to use both these arms of the movement to bring a little more sunshine and joy and happiness to the homes of the workers.

Secretary Morrison in the chair.

Delegate Barnes, Cigar Makers: I want to say, friends, that in my humble judgment I consider the proposition of the committee fundamentally unsound as judged by the experience of the whole labor movement. I lay down as a definite fact, and there has been some contradiction, that this is so in every trade and calling, in every town, village, city and nation, that the labor movement roster began with the best skilled mechanic, not the shirker nor the incompetent nor the lackadaisical cuss. The men that first appeared on the roster of the labor movement were the best skilled men. They were the men who could demand their terms and make them. They were independent because they were so highly skilled. I have brought this question up again and again, I have put it to men from every country, and they have always said it was the highest skilled mechanic, the best man at his trade, that headed the roster of the labor organizations in every community; and he did so because he was independent, and along with that, because he was skilled and independent, he had more leisure

and time for thought, and it was the thoughtful and studious man that started the industrial revolt known as the labor movement in any community. And I am going to say now, as I have always said, that I want eight hours for all the working people of this country and every other country, and get it as best we can, in any manner we can. I shall do my share, and ask everybody to do his. It is our duty to get it, along economic lines if we can, but if we cannot, it is our duty to get it somehow, either by economic efforts or by legal requirement. The committee says if we get this by any other power than our economic power it will make us indifferent, it will reflect disastrously upon the labor movement. That is the sense of it. I charge again that those who have the most leisure will be quickest to organize; it is an appetite that grows with leisure, and this report flies in the face of the whole tendency of civilization. That situation is in favor of larger leisure which has more light, more opportunity. And there is a growing public sentiment in that direction, and we want to coin that sentiment into law in the interest of the two million organized people that have been spoken of and in the interest of the ninety-eight million that are not organized. In proportion as they are relieved from arduous toil and have more leisure, they will join us sooner. Has Henry Ford imposed a great injustice upon his people because he has given them the eight-hour day? Will it keep them longer from organizing? John Wanamaker has a big department store and he has granted it. The trend of public sentiment is in favor of more leisure and more light, and a better civilization. It has resulted in each Saturday during the summer months being given as a holiday in some cases, which is an innovation in those establishments. And by this declaration we are going back, we are retrograding absolutely. In the early days of the trade-union movement in England the trade unionists began to knock at the doors of Parliament for some remedial legislation, limiting the hours of labor, limiting child labor, etc., and the captains of industry of those days went

to the legislature and said: "We don't want any interference. Let this fight be between us and our working men. We will attend to this matter." Now the American Federation of Labor goes to the doors of the legislature and says, like the captains of industry in England: "Let us alone; we will fix John D. Rockefeller and his blessed son; we will take care of the steel industry. You gentlemen representing legislation keep your hands off." You will appreciate this if we lick Rockefeller. Yes, we will! This is the position you are taking, going back a hundred years and assuming exactly the position of the master class regarding legislation. The decision of the Seattle convention is capable of only one interpretation. The words "women and children" are not written into it at all. I hold that that was simply an interpretation put upon it in the interim between the Seattle and Philadelphia conventions by President Gompers, when there was a fierce fight on in several States by trade unionists for its adoption. I don't know just what made him change his mind. I never knew he was opposed to the eight-hour day by law. He made that decision between those two conventions. In his speech in Philadelphia he flung at Brother Gallagher: "Do you know where the eight-hour law in California originated?" Gallagher said he thought he did, that it originated among the trade unionists. And in effect, without using the exact words, Gompers said: "It was started by the Socialist Party of California." I say to you I don't know why there was such a change of heart, but I do feel that the rank and file of this organization want relief by any means they can get it, and I hold that committing ourselves to both efforts will not weaken us one iota; but if we get the relief for the workers it will strengthen our organizations, give them a new lease of life, give them more intelligence and increase the spirit of revolt rather than dampen it.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I shall not take up very much time, I could not talk very long if I wanted to, but there are some things that have been said here and some ideas are being distributed that I cannot very



well permit to pass without having a word to say upon them. The Telegraphers have been spoken of. The Telegraphers asked for an eight-hour day in interstate commerce. That is true. If Congress had passed it it would stand, because the Constitution of the United States gives to Congress the full right to legislate upon the hours of labor with reference to workmen engaged in interstate commerce. If California had by a referendum enacted the eight-hour law for men it would have been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States and wiped off the slate in shorter time than we have been wasting here on this question. You cannot get the eight-hour law for men within the United States except for a few and peculiar occupations, except by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared itself and said that for women yes, because they are the weak sex, and in the interest of the health of the people; for children, yes, anything that we can get the legislative powers to enact; for men working under ground in especially dangerous occupations, yes, because of the health and police powers of the State. When you come to pass by referendum in any State a general eight-hour day for men you will waste all the effort you have been making, because the courts will knock it out. You come in here and say you want the eight hours anyhow, you want it somehow. Then go ahead and get it the way you can get it, and don't play the part of the jack-o'-lantern leading the working people of the country into the bogs. Look at things as they are. You can take the youngest boy or the youngest delegate here, and he will have grown to manhood and will have died before you can convince the people of the United States that it is well for them to delegate power over the hours of labor, with reference to full grown men, to the legislative body of any State or the United States. You are not doing the working people a service. There isn't one of you that has spoken but knows the facts I have stated; there isn't one of you but knows you cannot have an eight-hour workday for men stand the test of the Supreme Court of the United States. Any law a State makes that is contrary to the Constitu-

tion of the United States is worthless. If you want to do the things you say you are eager to do, get out among the grown men and use a little of your time and a little of the money of your organizations to teach them how to get this thing without asking anybody's "by your leave." You can in the run of your own lifetime, in the run of one-third of the average lifetime, nail down the eight-hour workday in all other kinds of employment except agriculture, and you cannot get it in agriculture either by economic power or by law. If you could you would hurt the man with the small farm—which I hope is coming generally, that the land will be divided, so that most men will be working for themselves on the land—and the man who cannot work more than eight hours will some day lose his entire crop. You ought to think of these things and you ought to think of the power you have got instead of taking up the time playing, not to these galleries, because they are empty, but to the galleries over the country.

President Gompers: The chair asks whether the introducer of the resolution desires to be heard upon the subject in controversy?

Delegate Van Lear: I do.

Delegate Johnston: I would like five or ten minutes.

President Gompers: If the delegate who introduced the resolution will yield for that purpose you can have it.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: I believe the report of the committee, as well as the action of the Philadelphia convention, does not reflect the real sentiment, the hopes and the aspirations of the toiling millions of America. I further believe that it is altogether inconsistent with the established practices and customs of our organization. Delegate Furuseth tells us to do these things through the economic organizations. I ask him why he did not get the seamen's legislation through the economic organization.

Delegate Furuseth: No misrepresentation here, my friend! Because the men I represent under the law were compelled to work twenty-four hours.

Delegate Johnston: For years the American Federation of Labor has gone on record in favor of the eight-hour day on all Government work, not only

In Government shops but in private manufacturing shops engaged on Government work. For years the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the machinists' organization, and others, have spent time and money knocking, at the doors of Congress in order to establish something by law we were unable to establish by our economic organizations. Some are apprehensive that if the eight-hour day is established through law it will act as a preventative of organization; that it will be more difficult to organize the people in the movement. I contend that philosophy is wrong and not founded on fact. We have established the eight-hour day by law in our Government navy yards and arsenals and we find these men are just as responsive to the appeal of the labor movement as any men in any employment. They recognize that it is the militant power of the labor movement that has made it possible, by knocking on the doors of Congress, for them to secure that condition. We came here some years ago and made the request that the American Federation of Labor ask Congress to grant men in the Government service fifteen days' leave. We have gone on record repeatedly in favor of giving the telegraphers the eight-hour day. After these men have secured these conditions they have a more intensified desire for a larger life, and that is what we are struggling for. The struggle of the labor movement is the old struggle that has been going on since the beginning of time, the struggle of the soul for freedom,—emancipation from the conditions in which we find ourselves. I venture to say there is no organization connected with this movement spending more time and money to shorten the hours of labor through economic action than the one I represent. In the last few months, through the campaign we have been carrying on, we have shortened the hours of one hundred thousand men. At the present time we have fourteen thousand men striking for a shorter work day, and invariably the employers I have talked to have said, "If you can get the employers in adjoining cities where they are at present unorganized to grant these conditions, we will do so." If we had it universally it would be a great deal easier for the

economic organizations. We have spent on strikes in the last three years over a million dollars to secure a condition that we might secure if we used our franchise. Some are apprehensive that if the eight-hour law is established, some who want seven hours, or six hours, will be unable to secure it. I maintain there is nothing in that proposition. It would, in my judgment, be a great help if we could make universal the eight-hour day; it would be much easier for the stronger and better organized trades to secure seven and possibly six hours a day. I maintain that this proposition from the committee is inconsistent with all the former activities of the great movement; and it does not reflect, in my humble judgment, the real sentiment, or spirit, or hopes of the toiling millions, organized or unorganized.

President Gompers: Delegate Van Lear.

Delegate Van Lear: I am thankful to get an opportunity to say something on this matter, and I am rather inclined to think I must be getting popular in the American Federation of Labor, because this is the first time in my life I have been called upon to speak on a subject. Four times it has been ruled that I would not be allowed to speak on this subject.

President Gompers: I have been attending the American Federation conventions for a number of years; I have been President and presiding generally. Can you point out a time when you were denied an opportunity of being heard?

Delegate Van Lear: Yes, at the Philadelphia convention on this same question. You were not in the chair, however. I was not accusing you of ruling me off the floor.

President Gompers: It seems to me strange when this convention has been so liberal in hearing everybody, that here at the end of the second week of the convention such a statement should be made.

Delegate Van Lear: There are some new matters in connection with this question since it was passed upon by the Philadelphia convention. At that time California, Oregon and Washington had just come out of a struggle for the eight-hour day by legislation, and they claimed they had been considerably

handicapped by the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. Since that time there have been some other State Federations of Labor heard from. Delegate Fitzpatrick says that since that time the State Federation of Illinois, representing, I understood him to say the other day, about eight hundred thousand working people, had come to the conclusion that, regardless of the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor in Philadelphia, they still believed the rank and file, the people who work in the shops, would be benefited by an eight-hour day, whether secured by legislation or by any other method. The State Federation of Minnesota has gone on record in exactly the same way as the State Federation of Illinois, and it cannot be claimed in either case that they did not know the action of the American Federation of Labor, because when the report of the committee was brought in it was recommended by the committee that the words "either by legislative action or by ordinary trade union methods" be stricken out and "trade union activity" be substituted therefor and that the resolution as amended be adopted. The recommendation of the committee was not adopted. Delegate Anderson moved to adopt the resolution as introduced, and the resolution as introduced was adopted, carrying with it legislative efforts as well as industrial activity. So we find that when this is put up to the different State organizations they do, in many instances, express themselves in favor of it. It has been said here that the women and children, Government employees, etc., should have this legislation; that it would be all right to legislate an eight-hour day for them. It has been argued that we are afraid of laws, afraid, as has been said, of "Greeks bearing gifts," that once we put into the hands of the authorities jurisdiction over working people we never know where we are going to end. If that is true we are agreeing that women and children, Government employees and those who work for contractors employed by the Government, should take their chances in being under the jurisdiction of these unfair judicial authorities, and be enslaved to that extent, but we say that we do not agree that anybody else but these people shall be. I contend that if there is a fear

of slavery in this, if there is a fear of judicial rulings in this, if we are afraid of putting the American workmen under judicial authority, then we ought not to put anybody under judicial authority. It seems to me the same argument would hold good in all cases. When the assertion was made a few moments ago by Brother Johnston, when he asked Brother Furuseth why he did not get what he wanted by law, he said it was because his men were practically slaves. That is true, but a seamen's law could have been drafted, and there need not have been put in the nine-hour clause, they could have put in a twenty-hour clause. They did not do it, they put in nine hours and they got it by legislation. I believe it is a good thing, but those who are opposed to limiting the workday by legislation, if they don't think it is a good thing, I don't think they ought to use that method. I have heard a great deal said about doing something, and about dreamers that want to do something, in the sweet by-and-by; those that have beautiful day dreams and want us to wait until kingdom come before we do anything. I think we ought to do something now. For more than thirty-five years we have been agitating and educating for an eight-hour day, and the most we can say is that there are two million workers who have received an eight-hour day by organization. That is, we have about two million workers in the American Federation of Labor, and all of them are not working under the eight-hour day, but we will say that two million are working under the eight-hour day after thirty-five years. We have more than thirty million working people I would like to see have the eight-hour day. That is a dream, too; but at the rate we are going, getting two millions of them—and I am giving you two millions, though you haven't got that many—but getting the eight-hour day for two million in thirty-five years, it would take about one hundred and twenty-five years to get it for the thirty millions. I want it a little nearer than one hundred and twenty-five years. The miners' law was brought up; it was said here, as has been said elsewhere, that the run-of-mine law had to be enforced finally by strike. That has been partially denied, or something said to the effect that it

was not exactly what they struck about. But that is neither here nor there; the point I want to make is, that if the miners have secured a mine-run law they only went after it when they found they could not get it on the economic field. It does not necessarily follow when you try to get the eight-hour law that you will discontinue your activity on the economic field. I have no doubt the miners were working on the economic field in every way they could to force the mine-run law on the employers. They failed, but at the same time they were willing, by strike, or threat of strike, or in any way they could, through their economic organizations, to get this law through the State legislature. They secured it, and then they had to strike. I claim that if they had to strike, they were in a better position striking to enforce the law; that they received more encouragement; that the public was more with them, and they had a better argument than if there had been no law on the statute books. They put themselves in the position of men striking to enforce the laws of the State and of the country, and that is a very desirable position to be in. If we can pass an eight-hour law and the employer will not enforce it, and we strike to enforce it, I am sure we will be in a very desirable position. I believe it can be agreed that in the big miners' strike in Colorado, where they suffered so terribly, one of the best arguments on the miners' side of the question was the fact that Colorado had an eight-hour law that had not been enforced. I got into many arguments in reference to the Colorado strike, and when I could not get a man to agree the miners were right in Colorado, or that they had any rights in Colorado, I would finally say to him: "There is an eight-hour law in Colorado and those men struck to try to enforce that law. Don't you believe they ought to have what the law gave them? Don't you believe they were right in laying down their tools when their State had a law that they were only to work eight hours and the mine owners would not obey that law?" That was one of the best arguments they had in their troubles in Colorado. We get eight hours on the economic field very often in a great many industries; not

in all, but in some of the shops in large industries. Sometimes we capture a whole industry for the eight-hour day, but there isn't a man in this hall that does not know that where there are eight-hour workers and ten-hour workers there is trouble. The machinists very often, when sent out on the road, have had trouble to enforce the eight-hour day in ten-hour shops. In every instance where they are men with the eight-hour day they are not permitted to work side by side with other workers in a ten-hour shop. If the machinists had a general, eight-hour day and one of them got into a big sawmill where everybody was working ten hours, they would not let the machinist work the eight hours. They would say, "If you do not want to work the ten hours, get out." It means that a non-union machinist will get and hold that job. And that is being done in every other trade and it keeps them from organizing.

Delegate Ryan, Plate Printers: Do you believe if Congress enacted a law saying that all railroad telegraphers should work only eight hours a day, it would be constitutional? Congress has the right to regulate interstate commerce. Do you think that law would stand the test of the supreme court?

Delegate Van Lear: I have known the supreme court to rule a law was unconstitutional and then over night change its opinion and make another guess. I could not answer your question. It has been inferred, and I believe it was stated in Philadelphia, that if eight hours is obtained by legislation it will have a tendency to make working people depend upon legislation; that it will interfere with the work of organization—practically inferring that if we get eight hours by legislation, we will have everything we want and the workers will no longer be interested in their trade unions; that they will drop out, or at least those not organized will not come into the organization—they will be too well pleased with their eight-hour law. If that were true, the organizations that have obtained eight hours and have had the eight hours for such a very long time would have shown signs of disintegration long ago. They have obtained the eight-hour law, they enjoy all the beauties of the

eight hours, they have all the things the eight hours can bring them. Do we find that it keeps the workers from organizing? Isn't it a fact that we find, in those trades where they have the eight-hour day generally, they are the best organized trades and that they bring the most of their people into their organization and retain them there? Isn't it a fact that there are many other things for organized labor to do after it has obtained the eight hours? We have had some experience with legislation. We fought in the State of Minnesota on the industrial field. In every agreement we brought up for the last ten years on railroads that I have had anything to do with we not only demanded eight hours, but we fought out a demand for eight hours. Every time we fought out the demand for eight hours we have gone to the limit, and took a strike vote on it, and we have been on the verge several times of striking for the eight hours and an increase of wages, but we came to the conclusion that we could not swing it and we had to desist. We did, however, through concerted action get it down from ten hours to nine, and we hope through another effort to get down to eight hours. In every agreement we have submitted for an eight-hour day we have had a clause that the machinists on the job should be paid semi-monthly. In every instance that has been denied, just as the eight-hour day has been denied. Finally we went to the legislature and demanded that the Legislature of Minnesota enact a law for a semi-monthly pay day. We urged that it be adopted in every State the railroads traveled through. We got it in Minnesota but they did not get it in other States. Let us get the eight-hour day, either by industrial action or by legislation. We don't want the convention to go on record, as it did in Philadelphia, that you can only have the approval of the American Federation of Labor to secure an eight-hour day by industrial action. We want this convention to go on record as being agreeable to an eight-hour day established by the industrial activity of the labor organizations, or if they see fit, by their political activity in their own States. We believe that is absolutely fair. I know the men of our trade,

and I have talked to the men of other trades while traveling from St. Paul to Portland. We want an eight-hour day by legislation or otherwise, and I could not explain satisfactorily to the people I met why the American Federation of Labor went on record as not favoring eight-hour legislation. I tried to present it fairly, but they could see no justice in it and hoped it would be reversed, as I hope it will be, by this convention.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan: There have been six speakers against the report of the committee and but one for it, and he was not a member of the committee. I hope that following this convention the statements will not be made that were made after the Philadelphia convention, that delegates who were opposed to the report of the committee at that time were not given a hearing. In the Philadelphia convention ten men spoke on this subject—seven against and three for—yet the charge was made that they were choked off because they were in opposition, or supposed to be, to the report of the committee. I will not have much to say on the subject, because I made my speech upon it at the last convention and it is in the record. I have been badly interpreted by some of those who have different views, but as this phase of it will be dealt with by President Gompers, who has some documents on the subject, I will not go into it. We have been asked to change the position of the convention because of things that have taken place since the declaration by the Philadelphia convention; and the two things named that have taken place to cause us to change our position consist of a declaration by the State branches of two States that those State branches favor establishing the eight-hour day by legislation! I wonder if those delegates have in mind some of the things that have happened since the last convention. What I have to say is not limited to the Pacific coast, because it is known on the Atlantic coast as well. We had in Massachusetts a liberal Governor, a man who had taken a forward position in regard to labor, a Democrat, with a Republican legislature. Although the working people of Massa-

chusetts had tried for years—and eventually succeeded—to put on the statute books of Massachusetts some excellent legislation in behalf of working people, this progressive Governor made a statement, and did everything possible that he could do to wipe out the legislation to which I have reference, so that manufacturers in that State could employ men to work any hours they pleased simply because there was a chance to make shoes, textiles and war munitions on account of the war in Europe. Other States had similar experiences, either with the governor or the legislature, and it shows upon what a slender reed you would be leaning if you were to rely upon the legislatures. Delegate Johnston twitted Delegate Furuseth for not looking to trade-union activity instead of looking to Congress for the seamen's legislation. His argument recoils upon Delegate Johnston, for it was because the law had put its nippers on the seamen and they could not do anything but work under the law or be thrown into prison; and because the law was on them and they were bound by it, the sailors sought freedom in the only way they could. If it had not been for the law the preceding speakers have talked of, it would not have taken the seamen twenty-five years to get a little bit of relief through their bill.

Delegate Smith, Portland: Did that same law apply to the seamen on the Great Lakes, that same slavery law?

Vice-President Duncan: The laws upon the Pacific coast and Atlantic coast, as far as I know, are the same.

Delegate Smith: I asked about the Great Lakes.

Delegate Furuseth: Yes, they applied for a time.

President Gompers: They applied until 1895, when the American Federation of Labor came to the assistance of the Seamen's Union and secured the right of the seamen on the Great Lakes and in the nearby foreign countries to quit their ships when the ships were in safe harbor. Until March 4th, 1914, when the law was passed which went into effect on November 4th, the seamen who quit their vessels in any foreign port, if they refused to return to their ships, could have been and were hunted and arrested and made to work against their will.

Vice-President Duncan: Delegate Taylor refers to the carpenters' resolution for six hours with which the committee dealt in the Philadelphia convention. That resolution and the resolution about the women's eight-hour day came to the Committee on Resolutions and those people with whom Delegate Taylor was in concert in that convention favored the eight hours for women, because they introduced the resolution. As far as that point was concerned, those who introduced the resolution were in unity with the action of the committee, yet it is made to appear here that there was radical difference between the two. Really and truly, the agitation upon this subject at the present time does not deal with the fundamental method by which it can be secured. In nearly every State in the Union the first thing that would be essential in connection with this legislation would be a constitutional amendment giving to the legislature authority to pass this kind of legislation, because to the present time they have not been given that authority. We would first have to endeavor to have constitutional amendments passed wherever they are needed, and they are needed in nearly every State, and if we were successful we would endeavor to enact laws calling for eight hours for all the people. There have always been certain progressive States and certain reactionary States. We would get it passed quicker in some States than in others. What, then, is to become of your activity through your trade union when you declare that on and after a certain day your members are not going to work more than a certain number of hours for a certain amount of wages? In one State you have no law and in another you have a law different from other States. Your activity in that direction would be nil, because there would be different laws in different States. Delegate Germer says this does not state that eight hours must be worked. Suppose you have your constitutional amendments passed, and you had the laws passed, and it came to the enforcement of the law and some of you did not desire to work the eight hours a day, who is going to arbitrate that question? It has become a State law; it must go into the courts and the judge must decide upon the affair. And when the judge



gives his decision and you do not obey—what then? Jail, what else? Is that a safe thing for trade unionists to follow? And, believe me, the judges in dealing with questions of this kind in most instances, exact everything the law allows. The judge will say, "This legislation says the hours shall be only eight. The employer has a right to eight hours from you," and you would be putting a rope around your neck. Reference was made by Delegate Barnes to Henry Ford's philanthropy. Would we turn over to Mr. Ford to say that eight hours shall be the number we shall toil? The committee stands for its report, and in this instance it is by unanimous vote. No delegate has as yet stood on the floor at this convention and made any reference to the Industrial Commission, but one has lauded the chairman of the commission as much as his vocabulary could be called upon. I find that in this city last Labor Day this same Frank P. Walsh, having this very subject we are discussing in mind, gave the trade unionists and the people of this country this warning: He told an audience that as a result of his experience and investigation he was convinced labor should pin its faith to trade unions in the industrial field and not place too much faith in legislative enactment. He said in substance: "I am not a believer in the efficacy of law to help the workers. If the workers will arise in their economic strength they can get anything. If I were a working man I would be very careful about trusting any part of my economic welfare with a legislative body."

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers: I feel it a duty to express my opposition to the committee's report. I do so, first, because the organization which I have the honor to represent in this convention is almost unanimously opposed to the position taken by the American Federation of Labor upon this subject. This I regret very much for two reasons: first, because I would like to have the great organization I represent in thorough and hearty accord with the fundamental principles of the American labor movement; and, secondly, because in opposing the committee's report I know as a member of the Executive Council that I am not in accord

with the opinions of my friends and colleagues thereon. I know that the position of the American labor movement, as expressed through the American Federation of Labor, regarding the shorter work day is clear and concise. The position of our organization and the labor movement is that we shall strive earnestly and conscientiously for the establishment of a shorter work day. The only difference that can exist between those in accord with the committee's report and those who are opposed thereto, is as to the methods to be employed to obtain the shorter work day. I feel there is nothing that will hurt the great organized labor movement of this country as much as the declaration made in the Philadelphia convention, in which we place ourselves in opposition to securing the eight-hour workday by any other method than our economic strength and influence. Why? Because our position has been misunderstood, and I believe there are those who have attempted to place the position of the American labor movement in a false light on this proposition when they knew they were placing the movement in a false light. Attempts have been made to emphasize the fact that the American labor movement is opposed to an eight-hour day. In support of that claim, the argument has been used that the Philadelphia convention most emphatically declared itself in opposition to the eight-hour day by legislation. But nothing could be farther from the truth. It is true the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia declared itself as being opposed to efforts being directed to secure an eight-hour day by legislation, and at the same time declared in most positive and emphatic terms that they favored the shorter workday in every trade and in every industry. I cannot conceive by what process of reasoning we can rightfully arrive at the conclusion that the workers are not entitled to, and should not direct their efforts towards, securing an eight-hour day by every legitimate means at their command. Is there any one here who believes that the man who enjoys the benefit of the eight-hour day through the strength of his economic organization, appreciates and enjoys it more than the man who secures the

eight-hour day through legislation. Is there any difference in the degree of appreciation? Is there any difference in the direct results? If I understand the aim and object behind every move toward the adoption of a shorter work day it is that we may be able to give the fagged brain and tired body of the worker who, through long hours of toil, is reduced in physical strength, an opportunity to study and develop mentally and physically. If that is the aim and object of the shorter work day, then we ought to secure it for him by any honorable means at our command. Our organization has been active in attempting to promote the welfare of our membership, both by legislation and by the use of economic strength. In Illinois we secured the mine-run method of weighing coal through the power and influence of our union. The miners in that State who enjoyed the benefits of the mine-run system appreciate it just as fully as it is possible for mine workers anywhere to appreciate it. In the States of Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri and Ohio we have secured the mine-run method by legislation, and the miners in these states are just as active in behalf of their unions as are the miners in Illinois. It has not lessened their interest in their trade unions, and it has not in any way interfered with their loyalty to their organization. My experience has been such that I believe the men who can secure these things by law are just as true and loyal to the organizations as though they obtained them on the economic field; and for that reason I believe honestly that we are justified in securing shorter hours of employment by any legitimate means at our command, either through legislation or on economic field.

President Gompers: Supplementing the statement made by Delegate Duncan as to the delegates who occupied the time of the convention in this discussion, I have kept memoranda and find that seven delegates have spoken against the proposition and occupied one hour and forty-two minutes, while two delegates, one the chairman of the committee and the other Delegate Furuseth, occupied jointly twenty-three minutes. I wish we had time to go into this fully so that we might have a real un-

derstanding of it. All I can do is to mention a few things at random rather than to follow the subject sequentially.

I want to take cognizance of the statement of Delegate Johnston when he said that during this year a shorter workday has been secured for one hundred and seventy-five thousand men in his trade. Why, he hasn't half of that membership in the International Association of Machinists.

Delegate Johnston: I did not wish to imply that we benefited one hundred and seventy-five thousand organized machinists, but that we benefited one hundred and seventy-five thousand working people in the factories where we made demands.

President Gompers: How many union machinists were engaged in that movement in the aggregate?

Delegate Johnston: Very few.

President Gompers: And that very few union men by trade-union activity secured the shorter workday and other benefits for one hundred and seventy-five thousand workers. Delegate Fitzpatrick of Illinois said there were one hundred million people in the United States and two million organized workers, about 2 per cent. organized. That is repeating the accusations made by the worst enemies of our movement, and it is not true. In speaking of one hundred million people you count men, women and children, and when you say two million union people you speak of adults, nearly all men, and counting what is usually regarded as the average of an American family, five to the family, you have not two millions in the labor movement of America but ten millions. And that does not count the railroad brotherhoods and other international organizations and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and it does not count the farmers. As a matter of fact it is not 2 per cent., it is approximately 18 per cent. or 20 per cent. of the population of the United States.

I want to deal with some phases which Mr. Germer anticipated in his talk, and I suppose the statements were predicated in anticipation upon a guilty conscience. I hold in my hand the pamphlet to which Mr. Germer referred, but before I speak of the pamphlet and its contents I want to

call attention to the advertisement which was published by Mr. Germer and his four associates as the Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America, in which it was declared that they wanted to circulate this pamphlet by the millions. Under date of June 4, 1915, the editor of the official journal of that party sent a circular note to the editors of the Socialist and labor press for immediate release.

"Note to editors, not for publication. You can aid in bringing about good results by publishing the following short notice. The Socialist Party is anxious to get the names of Socialists who are members of labor unions. It wants the help of the Socialists in the unions to get them. You have all heard of the pamphlet, 'Are the workers of America opposed to the Eight Hour law?' If you will send us a list of five or more Socialists or Socialist sympathizers who are members of your union, giving the name of the union and the full names and address of the members, we will send you free a copy of this great pamphlet. You can get the names from your union Secretary."

The pamphlet is signed by Victor L. Berger, Louis J. Duncan, Adolph Germer, James H. Mauer, J. Stitt Wilson, and in the foreword it is declared that the purpose is to have it percolate through the minds of the uninformed and the ignorant union men.

In that pamphlet Mr. James Duncan is referred to and it is asserted that a fair excerpt or quotation is given of his address before the Philadelphia convention. During his address he said, "we" do not want to surrender our right to secure the still shorter work day by our trade union activity. The pamphlet goes on to say that Mr. Duncan was so narrow and selfish that he wanted that activity confined to the Granite Cutters of America, when, as a matter of fact every man there and every delegate at Philadelphia who was not prejudiced enough to place a false construction on what he said knew that when he used the term "we" he referred to the working people of America, to the trade unionists. And, by the way, the trade unionists do not want to secure the eight-hour work day for themselves alone. Proof—Mr. Johnston's statement upon the floor of this convention that

there were few machinists members of the International Association of Machinists in the shops he mentioned, and yet they secured in a very brief time a shorter work day and improved conditions of wages and treatment for one hundred and seventy-five thousand workers.

I remember in St. Louis some twenty-five or more years ago the officers of a local union of carpenters, less than two hundred men organized at the time, conceived the idea that it would be well to try out a movement to secure the eight-hour work day, and the union called a meeting of all carpenters of St. Louis. One of the largest halls in the city was rented and it was crowded to its complete limitations and there were hundreds who could not gain admission. There were not more than two hundred union carpenters in the hall. They mingled with the non-union workers and the non-union workers with them. No one knew who was a union man or a non-union man, but there and then a declaration was made that they would stand out for the eight-hour day. Within forty-eight hours the contractors in St. Louis ran over each other in order to sign up the agreement for the eight-hour day, and from that time until today the eight-hour day in the carpenters' trade has prevailed. The influence of it went broadcast and the Building Trades secured the eight-hour day. Not only did they secure it in St. Louis, but through the effort of the American Federation of Labor to concentrate the minds of the toilers of America upon the eight-hour day, the declaration made in Chicago for the campaign to inaugurate the eight-hour day in 1886, secured it in several trades and secured a reduction in the hours of labor in nearly all trades and callings. The movement for the shorter work day gained momentum every year and every month and every week and every hour.

I grant you that we did not secure the eight-hour day nor the shorter work day as fast as we wanted it. I am as impatient as any man can be at the slowness of the progress, but the thing is of slow growth, slow success, but of natural success, natural development and natural achievement. The whole case was given away by one of the delegates who favors the eight-hour work

day by law, when he said, "It is so much easier!" Somehow or other there are people who think they can find the easy way in the travail of the world; they fail to understand that there must be struggle and travail in the natural growth of human development. There are people who are afraid of the battle and the battle scars; they want to run away from them and think they can do it by dropping a ballot in the ballot box, forgetful of the fact that power is gravitating from the ballot box in politics to the industrial field of human activity.

Year after year and decade after decade you will find that that gravitation has gone on and will go on. I am unwilling as one to place within the power of a political agent, call him what you please, the right to govern my industrial liberty, or the industrial freedom of my fellow workers. There never was a government in the history of the world and there is not one today that, when a critical moment came, did not exercise tyranny over the people. The second premise of the advocates of the eight-hour law is this: They imagine, or back in their brain is this thought, that these working people are unorganizable, that the working people are unorganizable and therefore the strong arm of the law should come in and "protect" them.

Now, there is nothing more unstable and untrue than that any working people are unorganizable. You may work for weeks and months and years upon some workers and apparently not move them, not make an impression upon them; but there comes a time, through the exercise of some special injustice by a great corporation or employer, when the spark that had remained untouched in the human is stimulated and they organize and fight as people in their mood and condition will fight, and they organize and struggle and bear burdens and make sacrifices in order to secure the best conditions of hours, wages, and treatment—and their rights.

No country has been so blessed (?) with legislation governing the working man as Australia and Australasia. I have been in constant touch with the men in the Australasian labor movement. While in this convention I have received a letter from Melbourne in which it is declared that the trade union movement

is becoming weakened and enfeebled and that only here and there, when the workers either strike or threaten to go on strike, do they receive any consideration. But when they do strike or threaten to strike they lay themselves open to lashing and whipping and incarceration in prisons.

On August 14th I received a letter from brother John Fitzpatrick in which he recounted several of the conditions prevailing and the activities of the workers to secure a day of rest in each week for the workers in some of the institutions in the State. After recounting the successes of himself and his associates he says: "So what we failed to get by law we got through our unions."

If to secure the eight-hour day by law has any merit in it at all it must of necessity mean that the eight-hour work day limitation would apply to all workers, not a few, not a majority, not two-thirds, not nine-tenths, but to all.

One of the best writers for labor journals is Mr. Wallace of the United Mine Workers, who I think must stand in the front rank. He published an editorial a few months ago in which I think he put the best foot forward that could be put forward in behalf of that proposition. And because it was done in so courteous and kindly and intelligent a way, despite the fact that I was crowded with work, I undertook to write a reply which was published in the Mine Workers' Journal. In publishing my reply in the same issue, and following it, he made this comment: "I do not believe there are many who hope or expect to bring about the eight-hour day through the mere passage of a law to the effect that eight hours shall constitute a day's work." In other words, the very thought upon which such a law is predicated is that they do not expect the eight-hour day, even if they secured it by law, to be for all workers.

If the movement for the shorter work-day were confined to the trades fighting for it and securing it, and that was the limit of the activity and influence, I might be persuaded to yield my judgment; but I ask whether it is not a fact that the trade-union movement has secured a shorter workday, not only for its members, but that in the past twenty

ty-five years, in every field of human activity, there has been a constant diminution in the hours of labor, of work, of service by every human being in the entire confines of America. The decrease has reached the mines, it has reached even to the steel trust, it has reached the workers of great corporations, it has reached the clerks in the stores, it has reached the domestic servants, it has reached business men, it has reached employers, it has reached professional men. There is no comparison between the hours of work and service performed now by the people of the United States and the hours of a third of a century ago—all through the activity of the trade-union movement.

Delegate Barnes referred to Mr. Ford. I shall not undertake to criticize that statement except to say this: Does he or any one else imagine the idea of putting into force the eight-hour day originated with Henry Ford? Say it is good, if you please, for him to have done it, but the thought behind it was the propelling force, the trade-union movement. I sometimes hear men say that this employer or that voluntarily increased wages when there is a great wave in the movement going on among organized workers to secure higher wages. Do you think the increases in wages are voluntary action, unprovoked or caused by nothing other than the philanthropy of the employers? It is the trade-union movement, the activity and the spirit and the militancy and the aggressiveness of the trade-union movement.

I ought to correct one part of the record of last year, at least for the edification of the delegates here. Last year I called attention to a pamphlet issued by those who were advocating the eight-hour workday by law and undertook to describe hurriedly as best I could the picture presented in that pamphlet—on the one side a ballot box, a beautiful calm ballot box; on the other a scene where people were being killed and shooting at each other, and behind them the smoke of factories. When I described that Delegate Germer said: "Ludlow." I had never been, and I have not yet been to Ludlow, but information given to me from reliable

sources is that there are no stacks and workshops and mills around Ludlow.

I refer to a pamphlet issued by our fellow delegate together with four of his associates. As soon as I received a copy of the pamphlet I wrote an editorial reply. It was contained in twenty-eight pages of the American Federationist. It was rather comprehensive, even if it did not suit our critics. They stated that I had taken twenty-eight pages of the American Federationist to answer or undertake to answer the pamphlet. I want to state that the pamphlet issued by them has thirty-two pages. In my reply I made one statement which I want to repeat here. The truth is it was the Socialist party that first made that declaration to secure the eight-hour day by law. It was predicated upon the motion of ballot-box mania, and it was for the purpose of injecting into the conventions and into the labor movement of America such questions as may tend to divide us so that we can scarcely work in harmony upon the noncontroversial questions of wages and hours and conditions of employment, and drive home every day, not once a year, but every day, the demands of Labor for a higher and better life.

I ask this question now: Supposing the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia had declared for the eight-hour work day by law would the Socialist party have stood behind the American Federation of Labor in trying to secure that law from Congress? I will challenge any Socialist in this convention to answer that question in the affirmative.

Delegate Johnston: Mr. Chairman, I will say that we would.

Delegate Germer: I want to supplement Delegate Johnston's statement that the Socialist party will stand by the American Federation of Labor in securing the eight-hour law the same as they have other things.

President Gompers: And then nominate candidates against the men that are pledged to secure it. If we had waited for the support of the Socialist party we would never have secured the enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust law. Because we stood for that law we were denounced as capitalists' tools because we could not be swerved and side tracked, and

the foremost of us who dared to stand true to our demand were stigmatized as if we were freebooters or traitors to the cause of Labor. And perhaps in the innocence of Delegate Johnston's mind he may be speaking what is in his heart, but he would be so disappointed because while he may be innocent others are not. There may be some who are not and who know, who would let you into the trap.

The miners' organization for the miners of Colorado, the metalliferous miners and the coal miners, tried to secure an eight-hour work day for their trade. The American Federation of Labor and its officers helped to the fullest of their ability. When the telegraphers asked for regulation of their hours of labor by law we aided them to the fullest extent of our ability. If the the miners want that regulation by law, if the telegraphers want that regulation by law, let them have it, but you cannot force it down the throats of other trade unionists and working men who understand the history and the tendency of such legislation. You cannot foist it upon us.

I am not afraid of a fight. I am not afraid of a struggle. I am not afraid of what the intensity of the struggle for right, for justice, for freedom, for a shorter work day means. I think I have a good understanding of the enemy of Labor. I think I understand a little more than some, the subtlety of their action and the knavishness of their activities. I am not willing to go into the spider's web with all the spider's golden trimmings or all his allurements.

I want freedom to act, and the only demand which I will make of Congress is to do for the workers what we cannot do for ourselves—where the Government is the employer to secure the shorter work day by law, because it can be secured no other way. But primarily I want the Government to secure to us by law the right to exert and exercise the normal human activities of self-development and associated effort, and to bear the burdens of the struggle for industrial improvement and freedom, and so that we may fight the battles, not by a piece of paper dropped in an urn or a beautifully carved ballot box, but by scars of battle, by the hunger of the stomach, of the weeping and the wailing of life, and still stand true to the

battle line of Labor. That is the fight I am making. I want freedom to fight and freedom to achieve and I will never consent to anything else.

A motion was made, seconded and carried that the debate be closed.

A roll call vote was requested on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. The request was supported by a sufficient number of delegates to require the calling of the roll.

Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

**Ayes**—Myrup, Goldstone, Schnelder (R. C.), Noschang, Fischer, Felder, Shanessy, Tobin (J. M.), McGuire, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy, Post, Swartz, Perkins, Gompers, Tracy, McNulty, Grimbold, Singer, Ford, Sweek, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Moser, Healy, Stamp, Morton, Brennan, Rickert, Larger, Schwarz, Altman (Victor), Daley (Margaret), Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Duncan, Garvey, Smart, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Flore, Slissman, Farrell, Koveleski, Raleigh, McSorley, Taggart, O'Connor (T. V.), Kean, Chlopek, Butler, Irwin, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' Delegation (753 votes), Wilson (James), Forrest, Deviny, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson (Chas.), Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Printing Pressmen's Delegation (171 votes), Furuseth, Carney, Steidle, Hylan, Fleming, Griggs, Short, Clohessy, Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (M.), Decker, Golden, Williams (T. J.), International Typographical Union Delegation (591 votes), Marks, Broden, Ryan (P. J.), Alden, Ogletree, Corcoran, Lortmsen, Alleen, Rist, O'Dell, Hall, Townshend, Batchelor, Dale, McAndrews, Giles; representing 8,500 votes.

**Nays**—Foley (C. F.), Proebstle, Kugler, Raeder, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, McClory, Barnes (J. B.), Tobin (Sam), Barnes (J. M.), Johnston, Taylor, O'Connell, Wharton, Van Lear, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Hynes, Radding, Frayne, Moriarty, White (J. P.), Mitchell, Hayes (Frank J.), Green (Wm.), Walker, McDonald, Germer, Moore, Riordan, Roberts, McManus, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lent, Dunachie, McGiven, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (James), Printing Pressmen's Delegation (56 votes), Sultor, Weeks, Ware, Adams, Riley (J. F.), Guscetti, Gavlak, Shay, Barry, Suarez, Dolliver, Funder Burk, Ernst, Fitzpatrick, Blakeley, Bourne, Lennon, Mayo, Smith (E. E.), Cotterill, Kennedy, Johnson (S. P.), Matheson; representing 6,396 votes.

**Not voting**—Mullaney, Abernathy, Kline, Kramer, Franklin, Hinzman, MacGowan, Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Baine, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Butterworth, MacPherson, Mueller, Kiernan, Conway, Christman, Zuckerman, Boyden, Gurney, Scohy, Schlesinger, Polakoff, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Mahoney, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Letroadec,



Bock, Call, Miller (Owen), Slissman, Carey (D. A.), Schneider (G. J.), Quinn, Bergstrom, Woll, Wessel, Flaherty, Perham, Ramsay, Bode, Alexander, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Hurley, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Freel, Sumner, Brown (J. G.), Evans (E. Lewis), Carragher, Hatch, Spiegl, Hansen, James (C. E.), Allen, Donoghue, Coffey, Cozzolino, Hayward, Casey (P. F.), Gossett, Kempton, Case, Weber, Schneider (H. R.), Harris, Ferguson, McGinley, Warden, Jennings, Partelow, Abrahams, Doyle, Neary, Hart, Sachs, Boswell, McGinley (Clara), Cavanagh, Keller, Smith (J. T.), Skemp (Meta), Porter, Holland, Spooner, Kraft, Hoehn, McGarry, Anderson (Ed), Leber, Reagan, Severance, Hauser, Lawson, Sleeman, Camomile, Gallagher, Castro, Ives, Dempsey, Kranefield, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Spear, McFarland, Dowler, Merchant, James (N. A.), Higgins, Voll, Sullivan (John), White (G. J.), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Alnsworth, Brown, Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Bohm, Harrison, Corbely, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Lamoureux, Joss, Riley (T. G.), Thompson, Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft; representing 4,061 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll call: For the committee's report, 8,500; against the committee's report, 6,396.

The chair declared the report of the committee adopted.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee, as follows:

The committee reports and recommends the adoption of the following:

That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use its endeavors to have the various heads of departments of the United States see to it, through their respective subordinate officials and inspectors, that the Federal eight-hour law is observed by the contractors doing work for the Federal Government, so that all infractions of this law can be prosecuted by the Department of Justice, through the evidence submitted by the aforementioned subordinate officials and inspectors connected with the office of supervising architects, the Secretary of the Treasury and any other official that has charge of contract work for the Federal Government.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 162—By the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The year 1915 has been made memorable in the history of our country by the presentation to the world by the people of San Francisco, of Cali-

fornia, of states of the Union and foreign countries, of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, an exposition unparalleled in magnificence and unsurpassed in architectural and artistic beauty, education and fraternal advantage; and

WHEREAS, The people of San Francisco, when seeking national and state recognition, through their representatives, made certain promises as to the manner in which this exposition would be builded and maintained, which promises could only be fulfilled by a people of undaunted courage and unlimited resourcefulness; and

WHEREAS, The people of San Francisco, through the exposition management, controlled by the directors of the exposition, have shown to the world the effectiveness of the conceptions of master minds executed by skilled artisans under the general atmosphere and support of a patriotic, harmonious and peace-loving people; and

WHEREAS, It has been conducted as the people's exposition, in which every detail and feature has been worked out to the last degree in order that all persons, regardless of position, class or station, rich or poor, great or small, have felt a just and patriotic pride in its being; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the most earnest and hearty congratulations of the Federation be and hereby are extended to the directors and officers of the exposition, to the city of San Francisco and State of California, and especially to the people of our country, upon the successful outcome of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, for the tremendous influence for good which it will exert generally and through it the advancement which will be attained in the social, fraternal and commercial relations among and between the peoples and nations of the whole world.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 163—By the Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That the ladies in attendance as delegates and the other ladies present in connection with the convention adopt this method of expressing their sincere appreciation for the unfailing kindly and thoughtful consideration for their comfort and pleasure which has been shown by the ladies of San Francisco and the Committee on Entertainment of the San Francisco Labor Council.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 164—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby express our unqualified

praise for the generous spirit of welcome to California and San Francisco which was extended to us by Gov. Hiram Johnson and Mayor James Rolph, Jr., and the official representatives of the State Federation of Labor, the Labor Council and the Building Trades Council, and that we express our gratification and sincere approval for the masterful, comprehensive and emphatic endorsement given to the ideals, accomplishments and value to the nation's welfare of our trade-union movement by Governor Johnson, Mayor Rolph and President Moore of the Panama-Pacific Exposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the local Committee on Arrangements and Entertainment has fully earned our unqualified and unstinted approval for the many provisions which it made for our enjoyment and for the various entertainments which were provided, including the automobile ride and the visit to the most magnificent exposition grounds which the genius and energy of man has yet provided, the buildings of which were constructed by the trades unionists of San Francisco; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our heartfelt appreciation for the bounteous hospitality extended to us by the trade unionists of Vallejo; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our sincere admiration for the kindly and cordial interest which has been shown by the wives and daughters of San Francisco trades unionists and for the spirit of generous sociability which they have at all times manifested for the comfort and enjoyment of our lady delegates and the other delegates in attendance at the convention.

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention throughout the discussions of the subjects which came before them have again given indication of that manly spirit of forbearance and true courtesy towards each other which makes it possible to accomplish constructive work in the interests of our movement and which develop the intellect and broaden the mental horizon of those who attend, better qualifying them to labor more effectively and with still greater success for the growth of our trade union organizations and their efforts to establish a larger measure of social and industrial justice.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Respectfully submitted,  
JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman;  
MATT COMERFORD,  
G. W. PERKINS,  
B. A. LARGER,  
E. M. WARE,  
J. FISCHER,  
J. A. FRANKLIN,  
HUGH STEVENSON,  
A. F. SOVEY,  
JOHN A. VOLL,  
J. W. MORTON,  
EDWARD J. MCGIVERN,  
J. J. DEVINY,  
J. J. GLASS,  
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

Upon motion the report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Secretary Frey: It was my pleasure to serve as the labor representative in the investigation that was made of scientific management. I had the opportunity of going into the principal establishments where the so-called scientific system has been introduced to study its injurious effects upon the workers, organized and unorganized. The investigator of the Commission on Industrial Relations has made a report with which I am in accord, but I felt it my duty to prepare a report for the benefit of the labor movement. I will present to President Gompers my report upon scientific management of labor.

President Gompers: The pamphlet as such is presented to the American Federation of Labor for its use in the interests of truth. If there be no objection, it will be so accepted. It is so accepted.

Delegate Alden moved that the entire discussion on the question of the eight-hour day by trade union activity be printed in the proceedings. Seconded.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: The chair made a statement that Delegate Fitzpatrick used the language of the enemies of the labor movement. I want to resent that and say it is undeserved. I don't think the chair intended it, but if this matter is going to be published it is unjust that that language be used in the way it was presented by the chair.

President Gompers: I think I said Delegate Fitzpatrick innocently used the argument of the enemies. I think John Fitzpatrick knows I would not attribute to him anything that would be unjust to his position, or to his character, or to his manhood. It is a common thing for the enemies of the movement to say that we represent only two per cent. of the people of the country. Brother Fitzpatrick made that statement and I wanted to take cognizance of it and make clear in his mind, as well as the minds of others, the truth, so that it would not be repeated again by those who now know.

Delegate Barnes moved that the statements of Delegate Fitzpatrick and President Gompers be inserted in the proceedings immediately following the discussion on Resolutions 80 and 152.

After a brief discussion the motion offered by Delegate Barnes was lost.

The motion to print the discussion in full was carried.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) moved that the convention adjourn sine die.

President Gompers: Before putting the motion, the chair desires to express earnest hope for the safe return of the delegates. Despite feeling here and there, which men entertain in sincerely pressing upon the convention their thoughts and their views and their hopes, and which no assemblage of real red-blooded men can avoid in fighting for that in which they believe, there is not in my whole make-up a feeling or thought of resentment, even of criticism when undeserved. My thoughts and hopes for the labor movement are for a constant

growth and progress and triumph for all our present ideas and ideals, and that the coming year in our movement may be more prolific of success in bringing hope, and cheer, and comfort, and independence, and character among the toilers of our country and of the world. That is my earnest and fervent hope. All success to our movement, the American Federation of Labor, which has weathered so many storms and has come out of them stronger and more virile than before.

The motion to adjourn was put to the house and carried, and at 8:30 p. m., Monday, November 22nd, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco, Cal., was adjourned sine die.

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor.

*J. J. Bonnington*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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